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PHILOSTRATUS

II





PHILOSTRATUS

THE LIFE OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA

THE EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS AND THE
TREATISE OF ROSEDIUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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IN TWO VOLUMES

II



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PHILOSTRATUS
BOOK VI



ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ

ΤΑ ΕΣ ΤΟΝ ΤΤΑΝΕΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΝ

II

I

^{ΟΛΥ.}
Αἰθιοπία δὲ τῆς μὲν ὑπὸ ἡλίῳ πάσης ἐπέχει τὸ
ἐσπέριον κέραν, ὥσπερ Ἴνδοι το πρὸς ἑω, κατὰ
Μερόην δ' Αἰγύπτῳ ξυνάπτουσα καὶ τι τῆς ἀμαρ-
τύρου Λιβύης ἐπελθοῦσα τελευτᾷ ἐς θύλακταν,
ἣν Ὀκεανοὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ καλοῦσι, τὸ περὶ γῆν ἅπαν
ᾧδε ἐπονομάζοντες. ποταμὸν δὲ Νεῖλον Αἰγύπτῳ
δίδωσιν, ὃς ἐκ Καταδούπων ἀρχόμενος, ἣν ἐπι-
κλύζει πᾶσαν Αἰγυπτον ἀπ' Αἰθιοπῶν ἄγει. μέγα-
θος μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἄξια παραβεβλήσθαι πρὸς
Ἴνδους ἤδε ἡ χώρα, ὅτι μὴδ' ἄλλη μὴδεμία, ὅπό-
σαι κατ' ἀνθρώπους ὀνομασται ἡπειροί, εἰ δὲ καὶ
πᾶσαν Αἰγυπτον Αἰθιοπία ξυμβάλοιμεν, ταυτὶ δὲ
ἡγώμεθα καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν πρᾶττειν, οὔπω ξύμ-
μετροι πρὸς τὴν Ἴνδῶν ἄμφω, τοσαύτη ξυντε-
θεῖσα, ποταμὸν δὲ ἁμφοῖν ὅμοιοι λογισαμένῳ τὸ

PHILOSTRATUS

THE LIFE OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA

BOOK VI

I

ETHIOPIA covers the western wing of the entire ORAP.
earth under the sun, just as India does the eastern I
wing, and at Meroe it adjoins Egypt, and, after Comparison
skirting a part of Libya Incognita, it ends at the of the rivers
sea which the poets call by the name of the Ocean, India and
that being the name they applied to the mass of water Nile
which surrounds the earth. This country supplies
Egypt with the river Nile, which takes its rise at
the cataracts (*Catadupa*), and brings down from
Ethiopia all Egypt, the soil of which in flood-time it
inundates. Now in size this country is not worthy
of comparison with India, nor for that matter is any
other one of the continents that are famous among
men, and even if you put together all Egypt with
Ethiopia, and we may regard the river as so com-
bining the two, we could not compare the two
together with India, so vast is the standard of
comparison. However their respective rivers, the

4. AP. Ἰνδοῦ τε καὶ Νείλου ἐπιρραΐναναί τε γὰρ τὰς
 ἡπείρους ἐν ὥρᾳ ἔτους, ὅπῃτε ἡ γῆ ἐρᾷ τούτου,
 ποταμῶν τε παρέχονται μόνοι τὸν κροκόδειλον καὶ
 τὸν ἵππον, λόγοι τε ὀργίων ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἴσοι, πολλὰ
 γὰρ τῶν Ἰνδῶν καὶ Νείλῳ ἐπιθειμίζεται. τὴν δὲ
 ὁμοιοτητα τῶν ἡπείρων πιστούσθων μὲν καὶ τὰ ἐν
 αὐταῖς ἀρώματα, πιστούσθων δὲ καὶ οἱ λεόντες
 καὶ ὁ ἐλέφας ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ ἀλισκόμινός τε καὶ δου-
 λῶν. βύσκουσι δὲ καὶ θηρία, οὐα οὐχ ἐτέρωθι,
 καὶ ἄνθρωποις μέλανας, ὃ μὴ ἄλλω ἡπειροί, Πυγ-
 μαίων τε ἐν αὐταῖς ἔθνη καὶ ὑλακτούντων ἄλλω
 ἄλλῃ καὶ ὥδε θαυμαστί. γρῦπες δὲ Ἰνδῶν καὶ
 μύρμηκες Λιθιόπων, εἰ καὶ ἀνόμοιοι τὴν ἰδέαν εἰσίν,
 ἀλλ' ὁμοιά γε. ὥς φασι, βούλονται, χρυσοῦ γὰρ
 φύλακες ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ ἵδονται, τὸ χρυσόγεων τῶν
 ἡπείρων ἀσπαζόμενοι. ἀλλὰ μὴ πλείω ὑπὲρ τού-
 των, ὃ δὲ λόγος ἐς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἵτω καὶ ἐχώμεθα τοῦ
 ἀνδρός.

II

5. AP. Ἀφικόμενος γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ Λιθιόπων τε καὶ Λίγυ-
 πτίων ὄρια, Συκᾶμινον δὲ αὐτὰ ὀνομάζουσι, χρυσοῦ
 τε ἀσήμεν ἐνέτυχε καὶ λίμφη καὶ ἐλέφαντι καὶ
 ῥίζαις καὶ μύρῳ καὶ ἀρώμασιν ἔκειτο δὲ πάντα

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

Indus and the Nile, resemble one another, if we CHAP.
consider their natures. For they both spread their
moisture over the land in the summer season, when
the earth most wants it, and unlike all other rivers
they produce the crocodile and the river-horse;
and the religious rites celebrated over them corres-
pond with one another, for many of the religious
invocations of the Indians are repeated in the case
of the Nile. We have a proof of the similarity of
the two countries in the species which are found in
them, also in the fact that the lion and the elephant
are captured and confined in both the one and the
other. They are also the haunts of animals not
found elsewhere, and of black men—a feature¹ not
found in other continents. and we meet in them
with races of pigmies and of people who bark in
various ways instead of talking, and other wonders
of the kind. And the gryphons of the Indians and
the ants of the Ethiopians, though they are dis-
similar in form, yet, from what we hear, play similar
parts, for in each country they are, according to the
tales of poets, the guardians of gold, and devoted to
the gold reefs of the two countries. But we will
not pursue this subject, for we must resume the
course of our history and follow in the sages
footsteps.



For when he arrived at the confines of Ethiopia CHAP.
and Egypt, and the name of the place is Sycaminæ,
he came across a quantity of incensed gold and
linen and an elephant and various roots and myrrh
and spices, which were all lying without anyone to
1
Barbaric
language
Egyptum
and
Ethiopiæ

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

ΟΑΡ
II Ἀφύλακτα ἐν ὁδῷ σιστη· καὶ ὁ τι βούλεται
ταῦτα, ἐγὼ δηλώσω, νομίζεται γὰρ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς
ἔτι· ἀγορὰν Λίθιοπες ἀπάγουσιν, ὃν Λίθιοπία
δίδωσιν, οἱ δ' ἀνελάμενοι πᾶσαν ξυμφέρουσιν ἐς
τὸν αὐτὸν χώρον ἀγορὰν Αἰγυπτίαν Ἰσου ἀξίαν
ᾠνούμενοι τῶν αὐτοῖς ὄντων τὰ οὐκ ὄντα. οἱ δὲ
τὰ ὄρια τῶν ἡπείρων οἰκοῦντες οὕτω μάλαρες,
ἀλλὰ ὁμόφυλοι τὸ χρῶμα, μελαίνονται γὰρ οἱ μὲν
ἦττον Λιθιόπων, οἱ δὲ μῦλλον Αἰγυπτίων ξυνεῖς
οὖν ὁ Ἀπαλλώνιος τοῦ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἡθους, "οἱ δὲ
χρηστοί," ἔφη, "Ἕλληνες, ἦν μὴ ὀβολος ὀβολὸν
τέκη καὶ τὰ ὄνια αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιμῆσαι καπηλεύ-
οντες ἢ καθειργνύντες, οὗ φασι ξῆν, ὁ μὲν θυγατέρα
σκηπτόμενος ἐν ὥρᾳ γάμων, ὁ δ' υἱὸν ἤδη τελοῦντα
ἐς ἄνδρα, ὁ δ' ἐράνου πλήρωσιν, ὁ δ', ὥς οἰκοδο-
μοῖτο οἰκίαν, ὁ δέ, ὥς αἰσχύνοιτο χρηματιστῆς
ἦττων τοῦ πατρὸς δοξαι. καλῶς δ' ἄρ' εἶχεν, ἵνα
ὁ πλοῦτος ἀτίμως ἐπραττεν ἰσοστης τε ἦνθαι,

μέλας δ' ἀπέκειτο σίδηρος,

ὁμολογούντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἡ γῆ πᾶσα ἐδό-
κει μία."

III

ΟΑΡ
III Τοιαῦτα διαλεγόμενος καὶ συμβούλους τῶν δια-
λέξεων, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, ποιούμενος τοὺς καιροὺς,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

watch them at the crossways. I will explain the ^{clear} meaning of this, for the same custom still survives among ourselves. It was a market place to which the Ethiopians bring all the products of their country, and the Egyptians in their turn take them all away and bring to the same spot their own wares of equal value so bartering what they have got for what they have not. Now the inhabitants of the marches are not yet fully black but are half-breeds in matter of colour, for they are partly not so black as the Ethiopians, yet partly more so than the Egyptians. Apollonius accordingly when he realised the character of the market remarked "Contrast our good Egyptians: they pretend they cannot live unless one person begets another and as soon they can force up the price of their goods by chaffering or holding them back, and one pretends that he has got a daughter whom it is time to marry and another that he has got a son who has just reached manhood and a third that he has to pay his subscription to his club, and a fourth that he is having a house built for him and a fifth that he would be ashamed of being a worse man of his house than his father was when he died. What a splendid thing then it would be if wealth were held in less honour and equity flourished a little more, and if the black men were left to rust in the ground for then all men would agree with one another and the whole earth would be like one brotherhood."

III

When such conversations the occasions provided ^{clear} as usual the topics he talked about, he turned his ^{III}

QAP. ^{III} ἐχώρει ἐπὶ Μέμνονος, ἠγεῖτο δ' αὐτοῖς μεριμνῶν
 Αἰγύπτιον, ὑπὲρ οὗ τάδε ἀναγράφει Δάμις· Τιμα-
 σίων μὲν τῷ μεριμνῶν τούτῳ ὄνομα ἦν, ἐφήβον δὲ
 ἄρτι ὑπαπρηεὶ καὶ τὴν ὥραν ἔτι ἔρρωτο. σωφρο-
 νοῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ μητρὶνὰ ἐρώσα ἐνέκειτο καὶ
 χαλεπὸν τὸν πατέρα ἐποίει, ξυντιθείσα μὲν οὐδὲν
 ὦνπερ ἡ Φαίδρα, διαβάλλουσα δ' αὐτὸν ὡς θῆλυν
 καὶ ἐρασταῖς μᾶλλον ἢ γυναῖκοις χαίροντα. ὁ δ'
 ἐκλιπὼν Ναύκρατιν, ἐκεῖ γὰρ ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο,
 περὶ Μέμφιν διητᾶτο, καὶ ναῦν δὲ ιδιόστολον
 ἐκέκτητο καὶ ἐναυκλήρει ἐν τῷ Νεῖλῳ. ἰδὼν οὖν
 ἀναπλέοντα τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, καταπλέων αὐτὸς
 ξυνῆκέ τε, ὡς ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν εἶη τὸ πλήρωμα,
 ξυμβαλλόμενος τοῖς τρίβωσι καὶ τοῖς βιβλίοις,
 οἷς προσεσπούδαζον, καὶ ἰκέτευσεν προσδοῦναι αἰ-
 τῆς τοῦ πλοῦ κοινωνίας ἐρῶντι σοφίας, ὁ δ'
 Ἀπολλωνιος, "σώφρων," ἔφη, "ὁ ναυήσκος, ὦ
 ἄνδρες, καὶ ἀξιοῦσθω ὦν δεῖται," καὶ διῆλθε τὸν
 περὶ τῆς μητρὶνᾶς λόγον πρὸς τοὺς ἐγγυὲς τῶν
 ἐταίρων ὑφειμένῳ τῷ τόνῳ, προσπλέοντας τοῦ
 μεριμνῶν ἔτι. ὡς δὲ ξυνήεσαν αἱ νῆες, μεταβὰς
 ὁ Τιμασίων, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ κυβερνήτην
 εἰπὼν τι ὑπὲρ τοῦ φόρτου, προσεῖπε τοὺς ἄνδρας.
 κελεύσας οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀπολλωνιος κατ' ὀφθαλ-
 μοὺς αὐτοῦ ἰξῆσαι, "μεριμνῶν," ἔφη, "Αἰγύπτιον,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

steys towards Memnon, an Egyptian boy showed them the way of whom Demis gives the following account. Timasion was the name of this stripling who was just emerging from boyhood and was now in the prime of life and strength. He had a step-mother who had fallen in love with him, and when he rejected her overtures she set upon him and by way of spiting him had poisoned his father's mind against him, considering it a lower intrigue than ever Phaedra had done for she accused him of being effeminate and of finding his pleasure in favourites rather than in women. He had accordingly abandoned Naucratis, for it was there that all this happened, and was living in the neighbourhood of Memphis, and he had acquired and mastered a boat of his own and was plying as a waterman on the Nile. He then was going down the river when he saw Apollonius sailing up it, and he concluded that the crew consisted of wise men because he judged them by the cloaks they wore and the books they were hard at work studying. So he asked them whether they would allow one who was so passionate & fond of wisdom as himself to share their voyage, and Apollonius said, "This youth is wise, my friends, so let him be granted his request." And he further related the story about the step-mother to those of his companions who were nearest to him in a low tone while the stripling was still sailing towards them. But when the ships were alongside of one another Timasion stepped out of his boat, and after addressing a word or two to his pilot, about the cargo in his own boat he greeted the company. Apollonius then ordered him to sit down under his eyes, and said, "You stripling of Egypt, for you

CHAP.
I
They must
be
in
the
house of
the
king

CAP. III. *ἔοικας γὰρ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων εἶναι τις, τί σοι φαῦλον ἢ τί χρηστὸν εἴργασται, λέξον, ὥς τῶν μὲν λύσις παρ' ἐμοῦ γένοιτό σοι δι' ἡλικίαν, τῶν δ' αὖ ἐπαινεθεὶς ἐμοῖ τε ξυμφιλοσοφοίης καὶ τοῖσδε."* ὁρῶν δὲ τὸν Τιμασίωνα ἐρυθριῶντα καὶ μεταβάλλοντα τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ στόματος ἐς τὸ λέξει τι ἢ μὴ, θαμὰ ἤρειδε τὴν ἐρώτησιν, ὥσπερ οὐδεμιᾷ προγνώσει ἐς αὐτὸν κεχρημένος, ἀναθαρσήσας δὲ ὁ Τιμασίων, "ὦ θεοί," ἔφη, "τίνα ἐμαυτὸν εἰπω; κακὸς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ εἰμί, ὠγαθὸν δὲ εἰ χρὴ νομίζεσθαι με, οὐκ οἶδα, τὸ γὰρ μὴ ἀδικεῖν οὐπω ἔπαινος." καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "βαβαί," ἔφη, "μειράκιον, ὥς ἀπὸ Ἰνδῶν μοι διαλέγῃ, ταυτὶ γὰρ καὶ Ἰάρχα δοκεῖ τῷ θεῷ. ἀλλ' εἰπέ ὅπως ταῦτα δοξάζεις, κάξ' ὅτον; φυλαξαμένῃ γάρ τι ἁμαρτεῖν ἔοικας." ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀρξαμένου λέγειν, ὥς ἡ μητρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐπ' αὐτὸν φέροιτο, αὐτὸς δ' ἐρώσῃ ἐκσταίῃ, βοή ἐγένετο, ὥς δαιμονίως αὐτὰ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου προειπόντος, ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Τιμασίων, "ὦ λῶστοι," ἔφη, "τί πεπόνθατε; τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀπέχει τὰ εἰρημένα θαύματος, ὅσον, οἶμαι, γέλωτος." καὶ ὁ Δάμις, "ἄτερόν τι," ἔφη, "ἐθαυμίσσαμεν, ὃ μήπω γινγνώσκεις. καὶ σὲ δέ, μειράκιον, ἐπαινοῦμεν, ὅτι μηδὲν οἶσι

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

seem to be one of the natives, tell me what you have ^{ON AP} done of evil or what of good, for in the one case ¹¹ you shall be forgiven by me, in consideration of your youth, but in the other you shall reap my commendation and become a fellow student of philosophy with me and with these gentlemen.' Then noticing that Timasion blushed and checked his impulse to speak, and hesitated whether to say or not what he had been going to say, he pressed his question and repeated it, just as if he had no fore-knowledge of the youth at his command. Then Timasion plucked up courage and said "O Heavens, how shall I describe myself? for I am not a bad boy and yet I do not know whether I ought to be considered a good one, for there is no particular merit in having abstained from wrong." But Apollonius cried "Heaven, my boy, you answer me just as if you were a sage from India, for this was just the sentiment of the divine Iarchas. But tell me how you came to form these opinions, and how long ago, for it strikes me that you have been on your guard against something." The youth then began to tell them of his step-mother's infatuation for himself and of how he had rejected her advances, and when he did so, there was a shout in recognition of the divine inspiration under which Apollonius had foretold these details. Timasion, however, caught them up and said "Most excellent people, what is the matter with you? for my story is one which can be as little for your admiration, I think as for your ridicule." But Damas said "It was not that we were admiring, but something else which you don't know about yet. As for you, my boy, we praise you because you think that you did nothing

A pathos
-on woman's
his
motherman

CAP. III λαμπρόν εἰργάσθαι." "Ἀφροδίτῃ δὲ θύεις, ὦ με-
ρακιον" ἤρετο ὁ Ἀπολλωνιος, καὶ ὁ Τιμασίων,
"νὴ Δί," εἶπεν, "οσημεραι γε, πολλὴν γὰρ ἡγοῦ-
μαι τὴν θεὸν ἐν ἰνθρωπείοις τε καὶ θείοις πράγ-
μασιν." ὑπερησθεις οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ψηφισα-
μεθα." ἔφη, "ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐστεφανώσθαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ
σωφροσύνῃ καὶ προῖκ πολύτου τοῦ ἡσιώως. ὁ μὲν
γὰρ ἐς τὴν Ἀφροδίτῃν ὕβρισε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἴσως
οὐδὲ Ἀφροδισίων ἤττητο, οὐδὲ ἔρωσ ἐπ' αὐτὸν οὐ-
δεὶς ἐκωμάζεν. ἰλλ' ἦν τῆς ὑγροικότερας τε καὶ
ἀτεγκτου μαίρας. οὐτοσι δὲ ἰγτῶσθαι τῆς θεοῦ φαί-
σκων, οὐδέν πρὸς τὴν ἐρώσαν ἔπαθεν. ἰλλ' ἀπῆλθεν
αὐτὴν δείσας τὴν θεόν, εἰ το κακῶς ἐράσθαι μὴ
φυλαξαιτο, καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ διαβεβλήσθαι πρὸς ὄντι-
ναδὴ τῶν θεῶν, ὥσπερ πρὸς τὴν Ἀφροδίτῃν ὁ Ἴπ-
πόλυτος, οὐκ ἀξιώ σωφροσύνης, σωφρονίστερον γὰρ
τὸ περὶ πάντων θεῶν εὖ λέγειν καὶ ταῦτα Ἀθηνη-
σιν, οὐ καὶ ἰγνωστων δαιμονων βῆμοι ἴδρυνται"
τοσαῦτα ἐς τὸν Τιμασίωνα αὐτῷ ἐσπουδήσθη. πλὴν
ἀλλὰ Ἰππόλυτόν γε ἐκίλει αὐτὸν διὰ τοὺς ὀφθαλ-
μοίς, οἷς τὴν μητρὶν εἶδεν. εἶδοκε δὲ καὶ τοῦ
σωματος ἐπιμελεσθῆναι καὶ γυμναστικῆς ἐπαφροδί-
τως ἄφασθαι.

IV

CAP. IV Ἐπο τοῦτ' ἡγεμόνι παρελθεῖν φασιν ἐς τὸ τέμε-
νος τοῦ Μεμνονος. περὶ δὲ τοῦ Μέμνονος ταδε ἰὺνα
γράφει Δάμις· Ἴουὺς μὲν παῖδα γενεσθαι αὐτόν,

very remarkable. And Apollonius asked, "Do you sacrifice to Aphrodite any way?" And Timonon answered, "Yes, by Zeus, every day, for I consider that this goddess has great influence in human and divine affairs. Thereat Apollonius was delighted beyond measure and cried, "Let us, gentlemen, vote a crown to him for his continency rather than to Hippolytus the son of Theseus, for the latter insulted Aphrodite and that perhaps is why he never fell a victim to the tender passion and why he never ran riot in his soul but he was afflicted an austere and unbending nature. But our friend here admits that he is devoted to the goddess, and yet did not respond to his step-mother's gaily overtures, but went away in terror of the goddess herself, in case he were not on his guard against another evil passion, and the more anxious to any one of the gods such as Hippolytus entertained in regard to Aphrodite I do not count as a form of modesty, for it is a much greater proof of wisdom and sobriety to shun even all the gods especially at Athens, where altars are set up in honour even of unknown gods. So great was the interest which he took in Timonon. Next then he asked him Hippolytus for the eyes with which he looked at his step-mother. It seemed also that he was a young man who was particular about his person and enhanced its charms by attention to athletic exercises.

IV

Under his guidance, they say they went on to clear the sacred uncultured of Megara, of whom Damaeus gives the following account. He says that he was

CAP. IV ἀποθανεῖν δὲ οὐκ ἐν Ἑλλάδι, ὅτι μηδὲ ἀφικέσθαι ἐς
 Ἑλλάδα, ἀλλ' ἐν Λιβύᾳ τελευτῆσαι βασιλεύσαντα
 Λιβύων γενεὰς πέντε. οἱ δ' ἐπειδὴ μακροβιώτατοι
 ἀνθρώπων εἰσιν, ὀλοφύρονται τὸν Μέμνονα ὡς κο-
 μιδῇ νέον καὶ ὅσα ἐπὶ αὐτῷ κλαίουσι, τὸ δὲ χωρίον,
 ἐν ᾧ ἴδρυται, φασὶ μὲν προσεοικέναι ἡγορᾷ ἀρχαίᾳ,
 οἶαι τῶν ἡγορῶν ἐν πόλεσσι ποτε οἰκηθείσας λείπον-
 ται, στηλῶν παρεχόμεναι τρύφη καὶ τειχῶν ἰχνη
 καὶ θύκους καὶ φλιάς ἐρμῶν τε ἀγάλματα, τὰ μὲν
 ὑπὸ χειρῶν διεφθόρυτα, τὰ δὲ ὑπο χρόνου. τὸ δὲ
 ἄγαλμα τετράρθρον πρὸς ἑκτὴν μῆτρον γενειάσκον,
 λίθου δὲ εἶναι μέλανος, συμβεβηκέναι δὲ τὸ πόδε
 ἄμφω κατὰ τὴν ἀγαλματοποιίαν τὴν ἐπὶ Δαιδύλῳ,
 καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀπερείδειν ὀρθὰς ἐς τὸν θᾶκον.
 καθῆσθαι γὰρ ἐν ὀρμῇ τοῦ ὑπανίστασθαι. τὸ δὲ
 σχῆμα τοῦτο καὶ τὸν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν νοῦν καὶ
 ὅποσα τοῦ στόματος ὡς φθεγγομένου ἄδουσι, τὸν
 μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἥττον θαυμάσαι φασίν, οὐπω
 γὰρ ἐνεργὰ φαίνεσθαι, προσβαλαύσης δὲ τὸ
 ἄγαλμα τῆς ἀκτίνος, τοῦτ' ἐπὶ γίνεσθαι περὶ
 ἡλίου ἐπιτολὰς, μὴ κατασχεῖν τὸ θαῦμα, φθέγγε-
 σθαι μὲν γὰρ παραχρήμα τῆς ἀκτίνος ἐλθούσης
 αὐτῷ ἐπὶ στόμα, παιδρὺς δὲ ἰστάναι τοὺς
 ὀφθαλμοὺς δόξαι πρὸς τὸ φῶς, οἶα τῶν ἀνθρώπων
 οἱ πύλησι. τότε ξυνεῖναι λέγουσιν, ὅτι τῷ Ἠλίῳ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

the son of the Dawn, and that he did not meet his death in Troy where indeed he never went, but that he died in Ephesus after ruling the land for five generations. But his countrymen being the wisest lived of men, still mourn him as a mere youth and deplore his untimely death. But the place in which his statue is set up resembles, they tell us, an ancient marketplace such as remain in cities that were long ago inhabited and where we come on the remains of columns delicately worked and find traces of walls and of seats and of the yarrow of doors, and images of Hermes, some destroyed by the hand of man others by that of time. Now this statue, says Damis, was turned towards the sunrise and was that of a youth still unbranched, and it was made of a black stone and the two feet were joined together after the style in which statues were made in the time of Iliadon and the hands were thrust down supporting the body upright upon its seat, for though the figure was still sitting it was represented in the very act and impulse of rising up. We have much of this attitude of the statue and of the expression of its eyes and of how the lips seem about to speak but they say that they had no opportunity of admiring these effects until they saw them revealed for when the sun's rays fell upon the statue and this happened exactly at dawn they could not restrain their admiration for the lips quaked immediately the sun's ray touched them, and the eyes seemed to stand out and gleam against the light as do those of a man whose love to look at the sun. Then they say they understood that the figure was of one in the act of rising and making obeisance to the sun, in the way those do who worship the

καρ. δακεῖ ὑπανίστασθαι, καθάπερ οἱ τὸ κρεῖττον ὀρθοὶ
 ῥ θεραπεύοντες. θύσαντες οὖν Ἡλίου τε Λιβύιοι καὶ
 Ἡφίω Μέμνονι, τοντὶ γὰρ ἔφραζον οἱ ἱερεῖς, τὸν
 μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰθεῖν τε καὶ θάλλειν, τὸν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς
 μητρὸς ἐπονομάζοντες, ἐπορεύοντο ἐπὶ καμήλων ἐς
 τὰ τῶν Γυμνῶν ἥθη.

V

καρ. Ἄνδρὶ δὲ ἐντυχόντες ἐσταλμένῳ τρόπῳ, ὥσπερ
 οἱ Μεμφῦται, καὶ ἀλύοντι μᾶλλον ἢ ξυντείνοντι
 ἤρουντο οἱ περὶ τὸν Δαίμν, ὅστις εἶη καὶ δι' ὃ τι
 πλανῶτο, καὶ ὁ Ἰμασιων, "ἐμοῦ," ἔφη, "πυν
 θάνεσθε, ἀλλὰ μὴ τούτου, οὗτος μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν
 εἴποι πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ πάθος αἰδοῦ τῆς ξυμ-
 φορᾶς, ἢ κέχρηται, ἐγὼ δέ, γιννώσκω γὰρ τὸν
 ἄνδρα καὶ ἐλεῶ, λέξω τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν πάντα
 ἀπέκτεινε γὰρ Μεμφίτην τινὰ ἄκων, κελεύουσι δ'
 οἱ κατὰ Μέμφιν νόμοι τὸν φεύγοντα ἐπ' ἀκουσίῳ,
 δεῖ δὲ φεύγειν, ἐπὶ τοῖς Γυμνοῖς εἶναι, κὰν ἐκνήψη-
 ται τοῦ φόνου, χωρεῖν ἐς ἥθη καθαρὸν ἥδη, βαδι-
 σαντα πρότερον ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ πεφονευμένου σημεῖον
 καὶ σφάξαντά τι ἐκεῖ οὐ μέγα. τὸν δὲ χρόνον, ὃν
 οὕτω τοῖς Γυμνοῖς ἐνέτυχεν, ἀλᾶσθαι χρή περὶ
 ταυτὶ τὰ ἔρια, ἔστ' ἂν αἰδέσωνται αὐτόν, ὥσπερ

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powers above standing erect. They accordingly CHAP. IV offered a sacrifice to the Sun of Ethiopia and to Memnon of the Dawn, for thus the priests recommended them to do, explaining that the one name was derived from the words signifying "to burn and be warm,"¹ and the other from his mother. Having done this they set out upon camels for the home of the naked philosophers.

V

On the way they met a man wearing the garb of CHAP. V the inhabitants of Memphis, but who was wandering about rather than wending his steps to a fixed point, so Damis asked him who he was and why he was roving about like that. But Timasion said—The slayer of Ph. Memnon is purified of blood-guilt by the Sages
 "You had better ask me, and not him, for he will never tell you what is the matter with him, because he is ashamed of the plight in which he finds himself, but as for me, I know the poor man and pity him, and I will tell you all about him. For he has slain unwittingly a certain inhabitant of Memphis, and the laws of Memphis prescribe that a person exiled for an involuntary offence of this kind,—and the penalty is exile,—should remain with the naked philosophers until he has washed away the guilt of bloodshed, and then he may return home as soon as he is pure, though he must first go to the tomb of the slain man and sacrifice there some trifling victim. Now until he has been received by the naked philosophers, so long he must roam about these marches, until they take pity

¹ *Αἶθε* = I burn; *Αἰθίοψ* = an Aethiop.

^{καὶ} ἰκέτην." ἤρετο οὖν τὸν Τιμασίωνα ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος,
 πῶς οἱ Ὑμνοὶ περὶ τοῦ φεύγοντος ἐκεῖνον φρονου-
 σιν, ὁ δέ, "οὐκ οἶδα," εἶπε, "μῆνα γὰρ τουτονὶ
 ἔβδομον ἰκετεύει δεῦρο καὶ οὐπω λύσις." "οὐ
 σοφοὺς λέγεις ἄνδρας," ἔφη, "εἰ μὴ καθαίρουσιν
 αὐτόν, μηδὲ γινώσκουσιν, ὅτι Φιλίσκος, ὃν ἀπέ-
 κτεινεν οὗτος, ἀνέφερεν ἐς Θιαμοῦν τὸν Λιγύπτιον,
 ὃς ἐδῆλώσε ποτε τὴν τοῖν Ὑμνῶν χώραν." θαυμάσας
 οὖν ὁ Τιμασίων, "πῶς," ἔφη, "λέγεις," "ὥς γε,"
 εἶπεν, "ὦ μεριάκιον, καὶ πέπρακται· Θιαμοῦν γάρ
 ποτε νεώτερα ἐπὶ Μερφίτας πράττοντα ἤλεξαν
 οἱ Ὑμνοὶ καὶ ἔσχον, ὁ δὲ ὁρμῆς ἱμαρτῶν ἔκειρε
 πᾶσαν, ἣν οὗτοι νέμονται, ληστρικῶς γὰρ περὶ
 Μέμφιν ἔρρωτο· ταύτην Φιλίσκον, ὃν οὗτος ἀπέκ-
 τεινεν, ὁρῶ ἔκγονον τρίτου ἀπὸ δεκάτου, κατάρατον
 δηλαδὴ τούτοις, ὧν ὁ Θιαμοῦς τότε διεπόρθει τὴν
 χώραν· καὶ ποῦ σοφόν, ὃν στεφανοῦν ἐχρήν, εἰ καὶ
 προνοήσας ἀπέκτεινε, τοῦτον ἀκουσίῳ φονοῦ μέν,
 ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δ' εἰργασμένου μὴ καθῆραι;" ἀπ-
 πλαγὲν οὖν τὸ μεριάκιον, "ξέρε," εἶπε, "τίς εἶ;"
 καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ὃν ἄν," ἔφη, "παρὰ τοῖς
 Ὑμνοῖς εὖροις, ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐπω μοι ὅσιον προσ-
 φθέγξασθαι τὸν ἐν τῷ αἵματι, κέλευσον αὐτόν, ὦ

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upon him as if he were a suppliant." Apollonius ^{was} therefore put the question to Themus: "What do the naked philosophers think of this particular case?" And he answered: "I do not know anything more than that this is the seventh month that he has remained here as a suppliant, and that he has not yet obtained redemption." Said Apollonius: "You don't call men wise who refuse to judge him, and are not aware that Phineus whom he slew was a descendant of Themus the Egyptian, who long ago laid waste the country of these naked philosophers." Thereat Themus said in surprise: "What do you mean?" "I mean," said the other, "my good youth, what was actually the fact: for this Themus once on a time was struggling against the inhabitants of Memphis, and these philosophers detected his plot and prevented him, and he having failed in his enterprise retaliated by laying waste all the land upon which they live for by his brigandage he tyrannised the country round Memphis. I perceive that Phineus whom this man slew was the thirteenth in descent from this Themus, and was obviously an object of execration to those whose country the latter so thoroughly ravaged at the time in question. Where then is their wisdom? Here is a man that they ought to crown, even if he had slain the other intentionally, and yet they refuse to purge him of a murder which he committed involuntarily on their behalf." The youth then was astounded and said: "Stranger, who are you?" And Apollonius replied: "He whom you shall find among these naked philosophers. But as it is not allowed me by my religion to address one who

Ἰ^{ΛΡ} μειράκιον, θαρρεῖν, ὥς αὐτίκα δὴ καθαρεύονται,
εἰ βαδίσειεν οὐ καταλύω." ἀφικομένῳ δὲ ἐπιδράσας
ἔσα Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τε καὶ Πυθαγόρας ὑπὲρ καθαρ-
σίῳν νομίζουσιν, ἐκέλευσεν ἐς ἡθῆ στείχειν ὥς
καθαρὸν ἡδὴ τῆς αἰτίας.

VI

ΟΛ^Α Ὑ^Ι Ἐρτεῦθεν ἐξελάσαντες ἡλίου ἀνίσχοντος, ἀφί-
κοντα πρὸ μεσημβρίας ἐς τὸ τῶν Ἰνυμῶν φροντι-
στήριον. τοὺς δὲ Γυμνοὺς τούτους οἰκῶν μὲν ἐπὶ
τινος λόφου, φασί, ξυμμέτρου μικρὸν ἀπὸ τῆς
θχθῆς τοῦ Νεῖλου, σοφία δὲ Ἰνδῶν λείπεσθαι
πλέον ἢ προὔχειν Αἰγυπτίων, γυμνοὺς δὲ ἐστάλθαι
κατὰ ταῦτά τοις εἰληθεροῦσιν Ἀθήνησι. δένδρα
δὲ ἐν τῷ νομῷ ὀλίγα καὶ τι ἄλσος οὐ μέγα, ἐς δ
ξυνίασιν ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν, ἱερὰ δὲ οὐκ ἐς ταῦτόν,
ὥσπερ τὰ Ἰνδῶν, ἄλλο δὲ ἄλλη τοῦ γηλόφου
ἴδρυται σπουδῆς ἀξιούμενα, ὥς Αἰγυπτίων λόγοι.
θεραπεύουσι δὲ Νεῖλον μάλιστα, τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν
τοῦτου ἡγοῦνται γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ. καλύβης μὲν οὖν
ἢ οἰκίας οὐδὲν αὐτοὶ δέονται, ζῶντες ὑπαίθριοι καὶ
ὑπὸ τῇ οὐρανῷ αὐτῷ, καταγωγῇ δὲ ἀποχρῶσαν
τοῖς ξένους ἐδείμαντο, στοὰν οὐ μεγάλην, ἰσομήκη
ταῖς Ἡλείων, ὑφ' αἷς ὁ ἀθλητῆς περιμένει τὸ
μεσημβρινὸν κήρυγμα.

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is stained with blood, I would ask you, my good boy, ^{CHAR} to encourage him, and tell him that he will at once be purged of guilt, if he will come to the place where I am lodging.' And when the man in question came, Apollonius went through the rites over him which Empedocles and Pythagoras prescribe for the purification of such offenders, and told him to return home, for that he was now pure of guilt.

VI

THENCE they rode out at sunrise, and arrived before ^{CHAR} midday at the academy of the naked sages, who ^{VI} dwell, they relate, upon a moderate-sized hill a little way from the bank of the Nile, and in point of wisdom they fall short of the Indians rather more than they excel the Egyptians. And they wear next to no clothes in the same way as people do at Athens in the heat of summer. And in their district there are few trees, and a certain grove of no great use to which they resort when they meet for the transaction of common affairs, but they do not build their shrines in one and the same place as Indian shrines are built, but one is in one part of the hill and another in another all worthy of observation, according to the accounts of the Egyptians. The Nile is the chief object of their worship, for they regard this river as land and water at once. They have no need, however, of hut or dwelling, because they are in the open air directly under the heaven itself but they have built an hospice to accommodate strangers, and it is a portion of no great size, about equal in length to those of Persia, beneath which the athletes await the sound of the midday trumpet.

The houses of
of the naked
men

VII

CAP.
VII

Ἐνταῦθά τι ἀναγράφει Δάμις Εὐφρίτου ἔργον, ἠγώμεθα δὲ αὐτὰ μὴ μεираκιῶδες, ἰλλ' ἀφιλοτιμότερον τοῦ φιλοσοφίας προσήκοντος· ἐπεὶ γὰρ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου θαμὰ ἤκουε βουλομένου σοφίαν Ἰνδικὴν ἀντικρίναι Αἰγυπτίᾳ, πέμπει παρὰ τοὺς Γυμνοὺς Θρασύβουλον τὸν ἐκ Ναυκρατίδος ὑπὲρ διαβολῆς τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὁ δὲ ἤκειν μὲν ὑπὲρ ξυνουσίας, ἔφη, τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ἀφίξεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὸν Τυανέα, τουτὶ δὲ ἐκείνοις ἀγῶνα ἔχειν οὐ σμικρόν, φρονεῖν τε γὰρ αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τοὺς Ἰνδῶν σοφοὺς, οὗς ἐν λόγῳ παντὶ αἶρει, μυρίας δὲ ἐλέγξεις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς συνεσκευάσθαι, ξυγχωρεῖν τε οὔτε ἡλίῳ οὔδεν οὔτε οὐρανῷ καὶ γῇ, κινεῖν γὰρ καὶ ὀχεῖν αὐτὸς ταῦτα καὶ μετατάπτειν οἷ βούλεται.

VIII

CAP.
VIII

Τοιαῦτα ὁ Ναυκρατίτης ξυμβεῖς ἀπῆλθεν, οἱ δ' ἀληθῆ ταῦτα ἠγοούμενοι τὴν μὲν ξυνουσίαν οὐ παρηγοῦντο ἤκοντος, ὑπὲρ μεγάλων δὲ σπουδάζειν ἐπλάττοντο καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνοις εἶναι, ἀφίξεσθαι δὲ κάκεινῳ ἐς λόγους, ἣν σχολὴν ἀγῶσι μάθωσί τε, ὃ τι βούλεται καὶ ὅτου ἐρῶν ἤκεν, ἐκέ-

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VII

AT this place Damis records an action of Euphrates, CHAP VII
 which if we do not regard it as juvenile, was anyhow unworthy of the dignity of a philosopher. Euphrates had heard Apollonius often say that he wished to compare the wisdom of India with that of Egypt, so he sent up to the naked sages one Thrasylulus, a native of Naucratis, to take away our sage's character. Thrasylulus at the same time that he pretended to have come there in order to enjoy their society told them that the sage of Tyana also would presently arrive, and that they would have no little trouble with him, because he esteemed himself more highly than the sages of India did themselves, though he excelled the latter whenever he opened his mouth, and he added that Apollonius had contrived a thousand pitfalls for them, and that he would not allow any sort of influence either to the sun, or to the sky, or to the earth, but pretended to move and juggle and rearrange these forces for whatever end he chose.

VIII

HAVING concocted these stories the man of Naucratis went away, and they imagining they were true, did not indeed decline to meet Apollonius when he arrived, but pretended that they were occupied with important business and were so intent upon it, that they could only arrange an interview with him if they had time, and if they were reformed first of what he wanted and of what attracted him thither.

CAP.
VIII. λευε δὲ ὁ παρ' αὐτῶν ἤκων καὶ καταλύειν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ στοᾷ, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ὑπὲρ μὲν στέγης," ἔφη, "μηδὲν διαλέγου, ξυγχωρεῖ γὰρ πᾶσιν ὁ οὐρανὸς ὁ ἐνταῦθα γυμνοῖς ζῆν," διαβάλλων αὐτοὺς ὡς οὐ καρτερίᾳ γυμνοῦς, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη, "ὅτε δὲ βούλομαι καὶ ὑπὲρ θου ἤκω τοὺς μὲν οὐ θαυμάζω οὐπω γυγνώσκοντας, Ἰνδοὶ δέ με οὐκ ἤρουντο ταῦτα."

IX

CAP.
IX. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐνὶ τῶν δένδρων ὑποκλιθεὶς ξυνῆν τοῖς ἑταίροις ὅποσα ἡρώτων, ἀπολαβὼν δὲ τὸν Τιμασίωνα ὁ Δάμις ἤρστο ἰδίᾳ· "οἱ Γυμνοὶ οὗτοι, βέλτιστε, ξυγγέγονας γὰρ αὐτοῖς, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, τί σοφοί εἰσι," "πολλά," ἔφη, "καὶ μεγάλα," "καὶ μὴν οὐ σοφά," εἶπεν, "αὐτῶν, ὦ γενναῖε, τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ταῦτα, τὸ γὰρ μὴ συμβῆναι τοιῷδε ἀνδρὶ ὑπὲρ σοφίας, ὅγκω δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν χρῆσασθαι τί φῶ οὐκ οἶδα ἢ τύφον," ἔφη, "ὦ ἑταῖρε," "τύφον; ὃν οὐπω πρότερον περὶ αὐτοὺς εἶδον δις ἤδη ὑφικόμενος, ἡεὶ γὰρ μέτριοί τε καὶ χρηστοὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιμαγνύντας ἦσαν. πρῶτον γοῦν, πεντήκοντα δὲ τοῦτ' ἰσως ἡμέραι, Θρασύβουλος μὲν ἐπεχωρίαζεν ἐνταῦθα, χαμπρὸν οὐδὲν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ

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And a messenger from them bade them stay and lodge CHAP. VII in the portico, but Apollonius remarked "We do not want to hear about a house for ourselves, for the climate here is such that anyone can live naked," — an unkind reference this to them, as it implied that they went without clothes not to show their endurance, but because it was too hot to wear any. And he added "I am not surprised indeed at their not yet knowing what I want, and what I am come here for, though the Indians never asked me these questions."

IX

Accordingly Apollonius lay down under one of the trees, and let his companions who were there with him ask whatever question they pleased. But Damis took Timaeon apart and asked him the question in private. "About these naked sages, my good fellow, as you have lived with them, and in all probability know, tell me what their wisdom comes to?" "It is," answered the other, "manifold and profound." "And yet," said Damis, "their demeanour towards us does not evince any wisdom, my fine fellow, for when they refuse to converse about wisdom with so great a man as our master, and assume all sorts of airs against him, what can I say of them except that they are too vain and proud." "Pride and vanity" said the other, "I have already come among them twice, and I never saw any such thing about them: for they were always very modest and courteous towards those who came to visit them. At any rate a little time ago, perhaps a matter of fifty days, one Thrasybulus was staying here who

CHAP.
 IX. πράττων, αἱ δ' ἄσμεται αὐτὸν ἀπεδεξαντο, ἐπειδὴ
 προσέγραψεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ Εὐφράτῃ " καὶ ὁ Δάμις,
 " τί λέγεις, ὦ μειρακίον, ἑώρακας σὺ Θρασύ-
 βουλον τὸν Ναυκρατίτην ἐν τῷ φροντιστηρίῳ
 τούτῳ;" " καὶ πρὸς γέ," εἶπε, " διήγαγον αὐτὸν τῇ
 ἑμαυτοῦ νηὶ κατιόντα ἐνθύνδε " " τὸ πᾶν ἔχω, νῆ-
 την Ἀθηναίαν," ἔφη ὁ Δάμις ἀναβοήσας τε καὶ
 σχετλιασας, " ἔοικε γὰρ πεπανουργησθῆαι τι."
 ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Τιμασίων, " ὁ μὲν ἄνθρωπος," ἔφη,
 " ὡς ἡρώμεν αὐτὸν χθες, ὅστις εἶη, οὕτω μὴ ἤξιον
 τοῦ ἀπορρητοῦ, σὺ δ', εἰ μὴ μυστηρία ταῦτα, λεγε-
 ῖσθαι οὗτος, ἴσως γὰρ ἂν καὶ γὼ τι συμβαλοίμην
 τῇ τοῦ ζητουμένου θήρᾳ." ἔπει δὲ ἤκουσε τοῦ
 Δαμίδος καὶ ὅτι ὁ Τυανεύς εἶη, " ξυπέληφας," ἔφη,
 " τὸ πρᾶγμα; Θρασυβουλος γὰρ καταπλέων μετ'
 ἐμοῦ τὸν Νεῖλον, ἐρομένη μοι ἐφ' ὃ τι ἀναβαίη
 ἐνταῦθα, σοφίαν οὐ χρηστον ἑαυτοῦ διηγείτο, τὰς
 Γυμναῖς τούτοις ὑποψίας ἐμπειπληκεναι φάσκων
 πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολλωνίον, ὡς ὑπεροφθείη, ἵνα ποτε
 ἔλθοι, καὶ ὅτου μὲν διαφέρεται πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐκ
 οἶδα, τὸ δὲ ἔς διαβολὰς καθίστασθαι γυναικείον
 τε ἡγοῦμαι καὶ ἀπαιδεύτον, ἐγὼ δ' ἂν ὡς διώ-
 κεινται, μάθοιμι προσειπὼν τοὺς ἄνδρας, φίλοι
 γάρ," καὶ ἐπαυήθη περὶ δεῖλην ὁ Τιμασίων,
 πρὸς μὲν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον οὐδὲν φράζων πλὴν
 τοῦ προσειρηκέναι σφίς ἰδίῃ δ' ἱπαγγέλλων
 πρὸς τὸν Δάμιον, ὡς ἀφιζοῖντο αὖριον μεστὸν ὥς
 τοῦ Θρασυβουλου ἤκουσαν.

achieved nothing remarkable in philosophy, and they ^{came} received him with open arms merely because he said he was a disciple of Euphrates. Then Damis cried "What's that you say, my boy?" Then you saw Thraseus of Samosata in this academy of theirs. "Yes, and what's more," answered the other, "I recovered him hence, when he went down the river, in my own boat." "Now I have it, by Athene," cried Damis, in a loud tone of indignation. "I warrant he has played us some dirty trick." Timonem then replied "Your master, when I asked him yesterday who he was, would not answer me at once, but kept his name a secret: but do you know this is a mystery? tell me who he is, for then I could probably help you to find what you seek. And when he heard from Damis, that it was the case of Iyana, "You have put the matter," he said, "in a nutshell." For Thraseus, as he descended the Nile with me in answer to my question, what he had gone up there for, explained to me that his love of wisdom was not genuine, and said that he had fired these naked wags here with suspicion of Apollonius, to the end that whenever he came here they might flout him, and what his quarrel is with him I know not, but anyhow, it is, I think, worthy of a woman or of a vulgar person to backbite him as he has done. But I will address myself to these people and ascertain their real disposition, for they are friendly to me. And about eventide Timonem returned though without seeing Apollonius any more than that he had interchanged words with them, however he told Damis in private that they meant to come the next morning pressed with us, that they had heard from Thraseus.

X

ΟΛΥ
 X Την μὲν δὴ ἐσπέραν ἐκείνην μέτριά τε καὶ οὐκ
 ἄξια τοῦ ἀναγράψαι σπουδύσαντες, ἐκαιμήθησαν
 οὐδ' ἐδείκνυσαν, ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ μὲν Ἀπολλώνιος,
 ὥσπερ εἰώθει, θεραπεύσας τὸν Ἥλιον ἐφειστήκει
 τινὶ γνώμῃ, προσδραμῶν δὲ αὐτῷ Νεῖλος, ὥσπερ
 ἦν νεώτατος τῶν Γυμνῶν, " ἡμεῖς," ἔφη, " παρὰ σέ
 ἤκομεν." " εἰκότως," εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, " καὶ
 γὰρ ἐγὼ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁδὸν τὴν ἀπὸ θαλάττης
 ἐνταῦθα." καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα εἶπετο τῷ Νεῖλῳ,
 προσειπὼν οὖν καὶ προσρηθείς, ξυνέτυχον δὲ
 ἀλλήλοις περὶ τὴν στούν, " ποῖ," ἔφη, " ξυνε-
 σόμεθα," " ἐνταῦθα," ἔφη ὁ Θεσπεσίῳν δείξας
 τὸ ἄλσος. ὁ δὲ Θεσπεσίῳν πρεσβύτατος ἦν τῶν
 Γυμνῶν, καὶ ἡγεῖτο μὲν αὐτὸς πᾶσιν, οἱ δέ, ὥσπερ
 Ἑλλανοδικαὶ τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ, εἶποντο κοσμίῳ
 ἅμα καὶ σχολαίῳ βαδίσματι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκύβισαν,
 ὡς ἔτυχε, τουτὶ γὰρ οὐκέτι ἐν κόσμῳ ἔδρων, ἐς τὸν
 Θεσπεσιωνα εἶδον πάντες ὅλον ἐστιάτορα τοῦ
 λόγου, ὁ δὲ ἤρξατο ἐνθενδε " τὴν Πυθῶ καὶ τὴν
 Ὀλυμπίαν ἐπεσκέφθαι σέ φασιν, Ἀπολλώνιε,
 τουτὶ γὰρ ἀπήγγειλεν ἐνταῦθα καὶ Στρατοκλῆς ὁ
 Φάριος, ἐντετυχηκέναι σοι φίσκων ἐκεῖ, καὶ τὴν
 μὲν Πυθῶ τοὺς ἐς αὐτὴν ἤκοντας αὐλῶν τε παρα-
 πέμπειν καὶ ῥόδαις καὶ ψύλλοις, κωμῳδίας τε καὶ

X

They spent that evening conversing about trifles which are not worth recording, and then they lay down to sleep in the spot where they had supped. But at day-break Apollonius, after sharing the sun according to his custom, had set himself to meditate upon some problem when Nilus, who was the youngest of the naked philosophers running up to him, exclaimed, "We are coming to you." "Quite right," said Apollonius, "but to get to you I have made this long journey from the sea and the way here." And with these words he looked Nilus in the face, and after exchanging greetings with the sage and his most numerous to the justice. "We are," said Apollonius, "the we had our interview." "Here," said Thales, pointing to the grove. Now Thales was the eldest of the sect and presided over them all, and they followed him with an orderly and orderly step, not as the rest of the athletic sports at Olympia follow the eldest of their number. And when they had not long when they did arrive and without showing their positions under they all fixed their eyes on Thales as the man who should regard them with a discourse which he proceeded to deliver. They saw Apollonius that you have visited the Pythian and Olympic festivals, for this was reported of you here by Hecataeus of Plaria who says that he met you there. Now those who come to the Pythian festival are they are escorted with sound of pipe and song and are and are honoured with shares of comedies and tragedies and then last of all they are presented

CHAP
I
Thales was
the eldest
of the sect
and presided
over them
all

He was
the eldest
of the sect
and presided
over them
all

CAP. I τραγωδίας ἀξιούν, εἶτα τὴν ἀγωνίαν παρεχειν τὴν
 γυμνὴν ὁψέ τούτων, τὴν δὲ Ὀλυμπίαν τὰ μὲν
 τοιαῦτα ἐξελεῖν ὡς ἰνάρμοστα καὶ οὐ χρηστὰ
 ἐκεῖ, παρέχεσθαι δὲ τοῖς ἐς αὐτὴν ἰούσιν ἀθλητὰς
 γυμνοῖς, Ἡρακλέους ταῦτα ξυνθέντος τοῦτο ἡγοῦ
 παρὰ τὴν Ἰνδῶν σοφίαν τὰ ἐνταῦθα· οἱ μὲν γάρ,
 ὥσπερ ἐς τὴν Εὐθῶ καλοῦντες, ποικίλαις δημαγω-
 γοῦσιν ἱγξιν, ἡμεῖς δέ, ὥσπερ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ,
 γυμνοί, οὐχ ὑποστρωννυσιν ἢ γῇ οὐδὲν ἐνταῦθα,
 οὐδὲ γάλα ὥσπερ βάκχαις ἢ οἶνον δίδωσιν, οὐδὲ
 μετεώρους ἡμᾶς ὁ ἀνὴρ φέρει, ἀλλ' αὐτὴν ὑπε-
 στορεσμένοι τὴν γῆν, ζῶμεν μετέχοντες αὐτῆς τὰ
 κατὰ φύσιν, ὡς χαίρουσα διδοίη αὐτὰ καὶ μὴ
 βασανίζοιτο ἄκουσα. ὅτι δ' οὐκ ἰδυνατοῦμεν
 σοφίζεσθαι, τὸ δεῖνα," ἔφη, "δένδρον," πτελέα
 δὲ ἦν, τρίτον ἀπ' ἐκείνου, ὑφ' ᾧ διελέγοντο, "πρόσ-
 ειπε τὸν σοφὸν Ἀπολλώνιον," καὶ προσεῖπε μὲν
 αὐτόν, ὡς ἐκελεύσθη, τὸ δένδρον, ἢ φωνὴ δὲ ἦν
 ἑναρθρὸς τε καὶ θῆλυς. ἀπεσήμεναι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς
 Ἰνδούς ταῦτα, μεταστήσειν ἡγούμενος τὸν Ἀπολλώ-
 νιον τῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δοξης, ἐπειδὴ διήρει ἐς πάντας
 λόγους τε Ἰνδῶν καὶ ἔργα.

Προσετίθει δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνα, ὡς ἀπόχρη τῷ σοφῷ
 βρωσεῶς γε καθαρῶ εἶναι, ὁπόση ἔμπρους, ἡμέρον
 τε, ὅς φοιτᾷ δι' ὀμμάτων, φθύνει τε, ὅς διδάσκαλος

with an exhibition of games and races run by naked male athletes. At the Olympic festival however these superfluities are omitted as inappropriate and unworthy of the place, and those who go to the festival are on a provided with the show of naked athletes originally instituted by Hercules. You may see the same contrast between the wisdom of the Indians and our own. For they like those who invite others to the Pythian festival appeal to the crowd with all sorts of charms and wizardry, but we like the athletes of Olympia go naked. How earth serves for us no coaches, nor does it yield us milk or wine as if we were merchants, nor does the air uplift us and sustain us as if. But the earth beneath us is our in a couch and we live by partaking of its natural fruits which we would have it yield to us gratis and without being tortured against its will. But you shall see that we are not unable to work tricks if we will. "High you tree vantage" he cried pointing to an elm tree the third in the row from that under which they were talking. "just salute the wise Apollonius will you?" And forthwith the tree saluted him as it was fabled to do in secrets which were articulate and like those of a woman. Now he brought the sign to discredit the Indians and in the belief that by doing so he would win Apollonius of his excessive estimate of their powers, for he was always reconciling to everything what the Indians said and did.

Then the Egyptian added these precepts: he said that it is sufficient for the sage to abstain from eating all flesh of living animals, and from the roving desires which mount up into the soul through the eyes, and from envy which ends by teaching injustice to

¹ α γ
² α
 ἰδίων ἐπὶ χεῖρα καὶ γνώμην ἔκει, θαυμασιουργίας τε καὶ βιαίου τέχνης μὴ δεῖσθαι ἀληθείαν. "σκέψαι γάρ τον Ἀπόλλων," εἶπε "τὸν Δελφικόν, ὃς τὰ μέσα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπὶ προρρησεὶ λογίων ἔχει ἐνταῦθα τοῖσιν, ὥς που καὶ αὐτὸς γιγνώσκει, ὁ μὲν τῆς ὁμῆης θεόμενος ἐρωτᾷ βραχὺ ἐρωτήματα, ὁ δὲ Ἀπόλλων οὐδὲν τερατευσόμενος λέγει, ὅποσα οἶδε καίτοι ῥήδιον γε ἦν αὐτῷ σείσαι μὲν τὸν Παρνασσὸν πάντα, τὴν Κασταλίαν δὲ οἰνοχοῆσαι μεταβαλόντι τὰς πηγὰς, Κηφισῷ δὲ μὴ ξυγχωρῆσαι ποταμῷ εἶναι, ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν τοιούτων ἐπικομπάσας ἀναφαίνει τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτό. ἠγώμεθα δὲ μηδὲ τὸν χρυσοῦν ἢ τὰ δοκοῦντα λαμπρὰ τῶν ἰσθασημάτων ἐκόντι αὐτῷ φοιτᾶν, μηδὲ τῷ νεῷ τὸν Ἀπόλλων χαίρειν, εἰ καὶ διπλῆσις ἀποφανθεῖη τοῦ νῦν ὄντος· ἔφησε γάρ ποτε καὶ λιτὴν στήγην ὁ θεὸς οὗτος, καὶ καλυβὴ αὐτῷ ξυμπλασθὴ μικρά, ἐς ἣν ξυμβαλέσθαι λέγονται μέλιτται μὲν κηρον, πτερὰ δὲ ὀρνίθεα. εὐτέλεια γὰρ διδάσκαλος μὲν σοφίας, διδάσκαλος δὲ ἀληθείας ἦν ἐπαινῶν σοφὸς ἀτεχνῶς δοξεὶς ἐκλαθομένος τῶν παρ' Ἰνδοῖς μύθων. τὸ γὰρ πράττε ἢ μὴ πράττε, ἢ οἶδα ἢ οὐκ οἶδα, ἢ το δεῖνα, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ δεῖνα, τί δεῖται κτύπου; τί δὲ τοῦ βροντᾶν, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖ ἐμβεβροντῆσθαι;

Εἶδες ἐν ζωγραφίας λόγοις καὶ τὸν τοῦ Προδίκου Ἡρακλέα, ὡς ἔφηβος μὲν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, οὕτω δὲ ἐν αἰρεσει τοῦ θίου, κακία δ' αὐτὸν

ITEM OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

hard and will and that truth stands not in need of magic wiggling and wistering. "For look, he said - at the Ajak of Idris who keeps the centre of Hellas for the utterance of his oracles. There then, as you probably know yourself a poem which gives a response to his questions briefly and Ajak tells what he knows without any miraculous display. And yet it would be just as easy for him to restrain the whole mountain of Parnassus, and to enter the springs of the Castalian fountain so that it should run with wine, and to check the river Cephissus and stay its stream, but he reserves the bare truth without any of this show or ostentation. But must we suppose that it is he himself that is quiet god and shows offerings to his treasures, and that he would care for his temple even if it were made like as large as it already is. For once in a while the god Ajak dwelt in quite a humble habitation, and a little hut was constructed for him in which the bees are said to have constructed their houses with wax and the birds their feathers. But Ajak is the teacher of wisdom and the teacher of truth, and you must reverence it if you would have men look you really wise and forget a poor ignorant man that you acquired among the Indians. For what need there to beat the drum over such trivial matters as - Do this or do not do it or I know it or I do not know it or It is this and not that? What do you want with thunder now? I would say, What do you want to be thunder-struck for?

You have seen in picture books the representation of Hercules in Pindarus in which Hercules is represented as a youth, who has not yet chosen the life he

καὶ ἀρετὴ διαλαβεῦσαι παρὰ σφᾶν ἴγουνται.
 ἢ μὲν χρυσῷ τε κατεσκευασμένα καὶ ὀσμοῖς,
 ἐσθῆτί τε ἡλιπορφύρῳ καὶ παρειᾷς ἄνθει καὶ
 χαίτης ἀναπλοκαῖς καὶ γραφαῖς ὀμμάτων, ἐστὶ
 δ' αὐτῇ καὶ χρυσοῦν πέδιλον, γέγραπται γὰρ
 καὶ τούτῳ ἐνσοβεῦσα. ἢ δ' αὖ πεπονηκυῖα
 μὲν προσφερῆς, τραχὺ δὲ ὀρώσα, τὸν δὲ αὐχμὸν
 πεπονημένη κόσμημα καὶ ἀνυπόδετος ἡ ἀρετὴ καὶ
 λιτὴ τὴν ἐσθῆτα, καὶ γυμνὴ δ' ἂν ἐφαίνετο, εἰ μὴ
 ἐγίγνωσκε τὸ ἐν θηλείαις εὐσχημον. ἴγού δὴ καὶ
 σεαυτὸν, Ἀπολλωνία, μισον τῆς Ἰνδικῆς τε καὶ
 τῆς ἡμεδαπῆς σοφίας ἐστάναι, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἀκούειν
 λεγουσης, ὡς ὑποστορέσει σοι ἀνθὴ καθεύδοντι,
 καί, νῆ Δι', ὡς ποτιεῖ γάλακτι καὶ ὡς κηρίοις
 θρέψει, καὶ ὡς νέκταρ σοί τε παρ' αὐτῆς ἐσται
 καὶ πτερά, ὅποτε βούλοιο, τρίποδὶς τε ἐσκευλήσει
 πινόντι καὶ χρυσοῖς θρόνους, καὶ πονήσεις οὐδέν,
 ἀλλ' αὐτόματά σοι βαδιέται πάντα, τῆς δὲ γε
 ἑτέρας, ὡς χαμευνεῖν μὲν ἐν αὐχμῷ προσήκει, γυμ-
 νὸν δέ, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς, μοχθοῦντα φαίνεσθαι, δὲ δὲ μὴ
 πονήσαντί σοι ἀφίκετο, μίγτε φίλον ἡγεῖσθαι μήτε
 ἥδου, μηδὲ ἀλαζόνα εἶναι μηδὲ τύφου θηρατῆν,
 ἀπέχεσθαι δὲ καὶ ὀνειράτων ὄψεως, ὀπόσαι ἀπὸ
 τῆς γῆς αἴρουσιν. εἰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα
 αἰροῖο, καὶ δοξῇ ἀδαμαντίνῃ χρῶο μὴ ὑτιμιζων
 ἀληθείαν, μηδὲ τὴν κατὰ φύσιν εὐτέλειαν παραι-
 τούμενος, πολλοὺς μὲν ἡρηκέναι φησεις λίσσαντα,

TIFR OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

will lead and vice and virtue stand on each side of ¹ ~~you~~
him plucking his garments and trying to draw him to
themselves. Vice is clothed in gold and rubies
and with purple raiment, and her cheeks are painted
and her hair braided, painted and her eyes adorned
with kohl and she also wears golden apparel,
for she is pictured strutting about in these but virtue
in the picture resembles a woman worn out with toil,
with a pinched nose and she has chosen for her
adornment rough aquamarine and she goes without shoes
and in the garment of raiment, and she would have
appeared naked if she had not too much regard for
feminine decency. Now figure yourself Agamemnon,
so standing between Indian windows on one side and
out on Indian walls on the other imagine that
you hear the one telling you how she will strew
flowers under you when you lie down to sleep you,
and by Heaven how she will regale you upon milk
and nourish you on honey-cakes and how she will
supply you with nectar and wings whenever you want
them and how she will wheel in tripods whenever
you drink and golden thrones and you also have
no hard work to be lost excepting will be flung
unthought into your lap that the other divine
monks that you must be on the bare ground on
aquamarine and be seen to him naked as nature and
that you must not feel fear or sorrow anything which
you have not won by hard work and that you must
not be loathsome nor hunt after vanities and pursue
pride and that you must be on your guard against all
dreams and visions which all you of the earth. If
then you really make the voice of Hercules and steel
your resolution never to dishonour truth nor
to decline the superiority of nature, then you may say

^{CAP}
^X πολλὰς δὲ ὕδρας ἐκτετμῆσθαι σοι Γηρνάνας τε καὶ Νέσσους καὶ ὅποσοι ἐκείνου ἄθλοι, εἰ δὲ τὸ τῶν ἀγειρόντων ὑσπιάσῃ, κολακεύσεις ὀφθαλμούς τε καὶ ὦτα, καὶ οὔτε σοφώτερος ἑτέρου δόξεις γενῆσθαι τε ἄθλος ἀνδρὸς Αἰγυπτίου Ἰνυμοῦ."

XI

^{CHAP.}
^{XI} Ταῦτα εἰπόντος ἐστράφησαν ἐς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον πάντες, οἱ μὲν ἄμφ' αὐτόν, ὥς ἀντιλέξοι γιγνώσκοντες, οἱ δὲ ἄμφι τὸν Θεσπεσίωνα θαυμάζοντες, ὃ τι ἀνταρεῖ. ὃ δὲ ἐπαινέσας αὐτὸν τῆς εὐροίας καὶ τοῦ τόνου, "μή τι," ἔφη, "προστίθης," "μὰ Δί'," εἶπεν, "εἶρηκα γάρ." τοῦ δ' αὖ ἐρομένου, "μὴ τῶν ἄλλων τις Αἰγυπτίων;" "παιγνῶν," ἔφη, "δὲ ἐμοῦ ἤκουσας." ἐπισχὼν οὖν ὀλίγον καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐρείσας ἐς τὰ εἰρημένα οὕτως ἔλεξεν "ἡ μὲν Ἡρακλέους αἵρεσις, ἣν φησι Πρώδικος ἐν ἐφήβῳ ἐλέσθαι αὐτόν, ὑγιῶς τε ὑμῶν λέλεκται καὶ κατὰ τὸν φιλοσοφίας νόον, ὃ σοφοὶ Αἰγυπτίων, προσήκει δέ μοι οὐδέν οὔτε γὰρ ξυμβούλους ὑμᾶς βίου ποιησόμενος ἤκω, πάλαι γε ἡρημένος τὸν ἐμαυτῷ δόξαντα, πρεσβυτατός τε ὑμῶν πλὴν Θεσπεσίωνος ἀφυγμένος αὐτὸς ἂν μᾶλλον εἰκοτὼς ξυνεβούλευον ὑμῖν σοφίας αἵρεσιν,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

that you have overcome many lions and have cut off CHAP. I
the heads of many hydras and of monsters like Geryon
and Nessus, and have accomplished all his other
labours, but if you embrace the life of a strolling
juggler, you will flatter men's eyes and ears, but they
will think you no wiser than anybody else, and you
will become the vanquished of any naked philosopher
of Egypt."

XI

When he ended, all turned their eyes upon Apol- CHAP. XI
lonius, his own followers knowing well that he would Apollonius replies
reply, while Thespion's friends wondered what he
could say in answer. But he, after praising the
fluency and vigour of the Egyptian, merely said
"Have you anything more to say?" "No, by Zeus,"
said the other, "for I have said all I have to say."
Then he asked afresh "And has not any one of the
rest of the Egyptians anything to say?" "I am their
spokesman," answered his antagonist, "and you have
heard them all." Apollonius accordingly paused for
a minute and then, fixing his eyes, as it were, on the
discourse he had heard, he spoke as follows "You
have very well described and in a sound philosophic
spirit the choice which Prodicus declares Hercules to
have made as a young man, but, ye wise men of
the Egyptians, it does not apply in the least to
myself. For I am not come here to ask your advice
about how to live, inasmuch as I long ago made Defends his Life
choice of the life which seemed best to myself, and
as I am older than any of you except Thespion,
I myself am better qualified, now I have got here,
to advise you how to choose wisdom, if I did

CAP.
XI

εἰ μήπω ἡρημένοις ἐνέτυχον. ὧν δ' ὁμως τηλικόσδε καὶ σοφίας ἐπὶ τούτῳδε ἀφνυμένος, οὐκ ἀκνήσω λογισταῖς ὑμῖν τῆς ἑμαυτοῦ βουλῆς χρῆσασθαι διδάσκων, ὥς ὀρθῶς εἰλόμην ταῦτα, ὧν μήπω βελτίω ἐπὶ νοῦν ἦλθέ μοι. κατιδὼν γάρ τι ἐν Πυθαγόρου μέγα καὶ ὥς ὑπο σοφίας ἀρρήτου μὴ μόνον γιγνώσκει αὐτόν, ὅστις εἴη, ἰλλὰ καὶ ὅστις γένοιτο, βωμῶν τε ὥς καθαρὸς ᾤψαιτο καὶ ὥς ἀχρίντηρ μὲν ἐμψυχον βρώσεως γαστρι χρῆσαιτο, καθαρῷ δὲ σώματι πάντων ἐσθημάτων, ὅποσα θησειδίων ξύγκειται, γλωττῶν τε ὥς πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων ξυνέσχε βοῦν ἐπ' αὐτῇ σιωπῆς εὐρὺν δόγμα, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην φιλοσοφίαν ὥς χρησμάδη καὶ ἀληθῇ κατεστήσατο, ἔδραμον ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκείνου δόξας, οὐ μίαν σοφίαν ἐκ δυοῖν ἐλομενος, ὥς σύ, βέλτιστε Θεσπεσίῳν, συμβουλευείς παραστήσασα γάρ μοι φιλοσοφία τας αὐτῆς δοξας, ὅπως εἰσί, περιβαλοῦσά τε αὐταῖς κόσμον, ὃς ἐκάστη οἰκείος, ἐκέλευσεν ἐς αὐτὰς βλέπειν καὶ ὑγιῶς αἰρεῖσθαι· ὦρα μὲν οὖν σεμνή τε ὑπασῶν ἦν καὶ θεία, καὶ κατέμυσεν ἂν τις πρὸς ἐνίας αὐτῶν ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως, ἐμοὶ δὲ εἰσθήκει τὸ ὄμμα ἐς πύσας, καὶ γὰρ μὲν καὶ παρεθύρρυνον αὐταὶ προσαγόμεναί τε καὶ προκηρύττουσαι, ὅποσα δάσουσιν· ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ μὲν τις αὐτῶν οὐδὲν μοχθήσαντι πολὺν ἐπαντλήσειν ἔφασκεν ἡδονῶν ἔσμον, ἡ δ' αὖ μοχθήσαντα ἵνα

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

but find that you had already made the choice. Being however as old as I am and so far advanced in wisdom as I am I shall not hesitate as it were to make you the auditor of my life and misdeeds and teach you that I rightly chose this life of mine than which no better one has ever suggested itself to me. But I discerned a certain wisdom in the discipline of Pythagoras, and knew a certain secret wisdom enabled him to know not only who he was himself but also who he had been and I saw that he approached the altar in purity and suffered not his heart to be polluted by partaking of the flesh of animals and that he kept his body pure of all garments woven of dead animals refuse and that he was the first of mankind to restrain his tongue inventing a law of silence observed in the present day. Again on this again it is clear now that his philosophy was a system was a theory of things as they are and true and I can remember your teachings not choosing one form of wisdom rather than another of two. I would tell me as you, my excellent I then pursued along the path. For philosophy marshalled before me her various points of view presenting them with the adornment journey to each and she even made me to look upon them and take a second choice. Now they were all possessed of an equal and like beauty and none of them were of such dazzling brightness that you might well have caused your eyes. If ever I find my eyes fixed upon all of them for that there was a time when I did so by moving towards me as I did, the light shined by a sun which you were giving me. Well out of the 100 professions that the world showed to me was a certain of pleasure without any loss on my part and another

CAP. παύσειν, ἡ δ' ἐγκαταμίξειν εὐφροσύνας τῷ μόχθῳ.

XI

πανταχοῦ δὲ ἡδοναὶ διεφαίνοντο, καὶ ἀνετοὶ μὲν
 ἡνίαὶ γαστροί, ἐτοίμη δὲ χεὶρ ἐς πλοῦτον, χαλινὸς
 δὲ οὐδεὶς ὀμμάτων, ἀλλ' ἔρωτές τε καὶ ἡμεροὶ καὶ
 τὰ τοιαῦτα παθὴ ξυνεχωρεῖτο, μία δὲ αὐτῶν
 ἴσχειν μὲν τῶν τοιούτων ἐκόμπαζε, θρασεῖα δὲ ἦν
 καὶ φιλολοῖδορος καὶ ἀπηγκωμισμένη πάντα εἶδον
 σοφίας εἶδος ἄρρητον, οὐ καὶ Πυθαγόρας ποτὲ
 ἡττήθη, καὶ εἰστήκει δὲ ἄρα οὐκ ἐν ταῖς πολλαῖς,
 ἀλλ' ἀπετέτακτο αὐτῶν καὶ ἐσιώπα, ξυνεῖσα δέ, ὡς
 ταῖς μὲν ἄλλαις οὐ ξυντίθεμαι, τὰ δὲ ἐκείνης οὐπω
 οἶδα, "μεῖράκιον," εἶπεν, "ἡδηδὲ ἐγὼ καὶ μεστὴ
 πόνων εἰ γὰρ ἀφίκοιτό τις ἐς ἡθὴ τὰ ἐμὰ, τρα-
 πεζαν μὲν, ὀπόσῃ ἐμψύχων, ἀνηρῆσθαι πᾶσαν
 ἂν ἔλοιτο, οἶνου δὲ ἐκλελῆσθαι καὶ τὸν σοφίας
 μὴ ἐπιβολοῦν κρατήρα, ὃς ἐν ταῖς αἰόνοις ψυχαῖς
 ἔστηκεν, οὐδὲ χλαῖνα θάλψει αὐτόν, οὐδὲ ἔριον,
 ὃ ἀπ' ἐμψύχων ἐπέχθη, ὑπόδημα δὲ αὐτοῖς βύβλου
 δίδωμι καὶ καθεύδειν ὡς ἔτυχε, κἂν ἀφροδισίων
 ἡττηθέντας αἰσθωμαι, βάραθρά ἐστὶ μοι, καθ' ὧν
 σοφίας ὀπαδὸς δίκη φέρει τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ὠθεῖ,
 χαλεπὴ δ' οὕτως ἐγὼ τοῖς τὰμὰ αἰρουμένοις, ὡς
 καὶ δεσμὰ γλώττης ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔχειν. ἃ δ' ἐστὶ
 σοὶ καρτερήσαντι ταῦτα, ἐμοῦ μίθε· σωφροσύνη
 μὲν καὶ δικαιοσύνη αὐτόθεν, ζηλωτὸν δὲ ἡγεῖσθαι

that she would give me rest after toil, and a third CHAP
21
 that she would mingle mirth and merriment in my
 tea — and everywhere I had glimpses of pleasure
 and of unrestrained indulgence in the pleasures of the
 table — and it seemed that I had only to stretch out
 my hand to be rich and that I needed not to set
 any bridle upon my eye, but love and lusty desire
 and such like feelings were freely allowed me.
 One of them, however, boasted that she would
 restrain me from such things, but she was bold and
 abrupt and in an unblushd manner showed all
 others aside — and I beheld the negative form of
 wisdom which long ago conquered the soul of Pytha-
 goras — and she stood. I may tell you, not among the
 many but kept herself apart and in silence — and
 when she saw that I regarded her with the
 rest though as yet I knew not what were her
 ways she said — Young man I am unpleasant and
 a lady full of sorrows — for I anyone betrays himself
 to my abode he must of his own choice put away
 all likes which contain the seeds of living animals,
 as he must forget wine nor make merry there
 with the cup of wisdom which is set in the
 midst of those that drink no wine — nor shall he let
 keep his warm, nor wear down from a living
 animal — But I allow him choice of back and he
 must weep anywhere and anywhere and if I find my
 votaries yielding to sensual pleasures, I have per-
 ceives to which justice that waits upon wisdom carries
 them and punishes them sore — and I am so harsh to
 those who make choice of my discipline that I have
 little ready to restrain their language. But warn
 from me what rewards you she reap by enduring
 all this — Temperance and justice wrought and

CLP. ^{Σ.} μηδένα, τυράννοις τε φοβερὸν εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπ'
 αὐτοῖς κεῖσθαι, θεοῖς τε ἡδῖω φαίνεσθαι μικρὰ
 θύσαντα ἢ οἱ προσχέοντες αὐτοῖς τὸ τῶν ταύρων
 αἷμα, καθαρῶ δὲ ὄντι σοι καὶ προγιγνώσκειν
 δώσω, καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς οὕτω τι ἐμπλησῶ
 ἱκτῖνος, ὥς διαγιγνώσκειν μὲν θεόν, γινώσκειν δὲ
 ἥρωα, σκισειδῆ δ' ἐλάτχειν φαντάσματα, ὅτε
 ψευδοῖντο εἶδη ἀνθρώπων." ἤδε μοι βίου αἵρεσις,
 ὧ σοφοὶ Αἰγυπτίων, ἦν ὑγιῶς τε καὶ κατὰ τὸν
 Πυθαγόραν ἀλούμενος οὔτε ἐψευσύμην οὔτε ἐψεύσ-
 θην, ἐγενόμην μὲν γὰρ ἢ χρὴ τὸν φιλοσοφήσαντα,
 φιλοσοφοῦντι δὲ ὅποσα δώσειν ἔφη, πάντ' ἔχω.
 ἐφιλοσοφήσα γὰρ ὑπὲρ γενέσεως τῆς τέχνης καὶ
 ὁπόθεν αὐτῆς αἱ ἀρχαί, καὶ μοι ἔδοξεν ἀνδρῶν
 εἶναι περιττῶν τὰ θεῖα ψυχὴν τε ἄριστα ἐσκεμ-
 μένων, ἥς το ἀθάνατόν τε καὶ ἀγέννητον πηγὰς
 γενέσεως.

Ἀθηναίοις μὲν οὖν οὐ πάνυ προσήκων ἐφαίνετό
 μοι ὅδε ὁ λόγος, τὸν γὰρ Πλάτωνος λόγον,
 ὃν θεσπεσίως ἐκεῖ καὶ πανσόφως ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς
 ἀνεφθελγέατο, αὐτοὶ διεβαλλον ἐναντίας ταύτῃ
 καὶ οὐκ ἀληθεῖς δοξας ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς προσέμενοι,
 ἔδει δὲ σκοπεῖν, τίς μὲν εἴη πόλις, ποιῶν δὲ
 ἀνδρῶν ἔθνος, παρ' οἷς οὐχ ὁ μὲν τις, ὁ δὲ οὐ, πᾶ
 σα δὲ ἡλικία ταύτῃ ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς φθέγγοιτο· κινῶ
 μὲν νεότητός τε οὕτως ἀγούσης καὶ τοῦ μήπω
 ξυνιέναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔβλεψα, ἐπειδὴ πλείστα ἐλέ-

at once, and the faculty to regard no man with envy and to be dreaded by tyrants rather than cringe to them and to have your humble offerings appear sweeter to the gods than the offerings of those who pour out before them the blood of wits. And when you are pure I will grant you the faculty of foreknowledge and I will so fill your eyes with light that you shall distinguish a god and recognise a hero, and detect and put to shame the shadowy phantoms which disguise themselves in the form of men. This was the life I chose ye wise of the Egyptians: it was a sound choice and in the spirit of Pythagoras, and in making it I neither deceived myself nor was deceived: for I have become all that a philosopher should become and all that she promised to bestow upon the philosopher that is in me. For I have studied profoundly the problems of the rise of the art and whence it draws its first principles: and I have realised that it belongs to men of transcendent religious gifts who have thoroughly investigated the nature of the soul, the source of whose existence lie back in the unknown and in the forgotten.

Now I agree that this doctrine was wholly alien to the Athenians: for when Plato in their city lifted up his voice and discoursed upon the soul, full of inspiration and wisdom, they raised against him and adopted questions of the soul appeared therein and altogether false. And one may well ask whether there in any city or any race of men where not one more and another less, but wherein men of all ages agree with reverence the same doctrine of the soul. And I myself because my youth and inexperience inclined me, began by looking up to

CAP. γεσθε ὑπερφυῶς εἰδέναι, καὶ πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλον
 XI τὸν ἑμαυτοῦ διήειν ταῦτα, ὃ δὲ ἐφιστάς με, "εἰ
 τῶν ἐρώντων," εἶπεν, "ἐτύγχανες ὦν ἢ τὴν ἡλικίαν
 ἔχόντων τοῦ ἐράν, εἴτα μεираκίῳ καλῶ ἐντυχὼν
 καὶ ἀγασθεὶς αὐτὸ τῆς ὥρας, συ δὲ καὶ ὅτου εἴη
 παῖς ἐζήτεις, ἦν δὲ ὁ μὲν ἵπποτρόφου καὶ στρατη-
 γοῦ πατρὸς καὶ χορηγοὶ οἱ πύπποι, σὺ δ' αὐτοῦ
 τριτηάρχου τινὸς ἢ φυλάρχου ἐκάλεις, ἄρα γ' ἂν
 οἷε προσώγεσθαι τὰ παιδικὰ τούτοις, ἢ καὶ ἀηδὴς
 δόξαι μὴ πατρόθεν ὀνομάζων τὸ μεираκίον, ἀλλ'
 ἀπ' ἐκφύλου σποράς καὶ νόθου; σοφίας οὖν ἐρῶν,
 ἦν Ἴνδοι εὗραν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν φύσει πατέρων
 ὀνομάζεις αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν θέσει, καὶ δίδως τι
 μείζον Ἀλγυπτίοις, ἢ εἰ πάλιν αὐτοῖς, ὥς αὐτοὶ
 ᾄδουσι, μέλιτι ξυγκεκραμένος ἀναβαίη ὁ Νεῖλος;"
 ταῦτά με πρὸ ὑμῶν ἐπ' Ἴνδους ἔτρεψεν ἐνθυμη-
 θέντα περὶ αὐτῶν, ὥς λεπτότεροι μὲν τὴν ξύνεσιν
 οἱ ταιοῖδε ἄνθρωποι καθαρωτέrais ὁμιλοῦντες
 ἀκτίσιν, ἀληθέστεροι δὲ τὰς περὶ φύσεως τε καὶ
 θεῶν δόξας, ἅτε ἀγχίθεοι καὶ πρὸς ἀρχαῖς τῆς
 ζωογόνοι καὶ θερμῆς οὐσίας οἰκοῦντες· ἐντυχὼν
 τε αὐτοῖς ἔπαθόν τι πρὸς τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τῶν

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

yourself, because you had the reputation of an extraordinary knowledge of most things, but when I explained my views to my own teacher he interrupted me, and said as follows: 'Supposing you were in a passionate mood and being of an im-
 presumable age were inclined to form a friendship and suppose you met a handsome youth and admired his looks, and you asked where was he was, and suppose he were the son of a knight or a general, and that his grand parents had been furnishers of a chorus, if then you dubbed him the child of some skipper or policeman, do you suppose that you would thereby be the more likely to captivate his affections, and that you would not rather make yourself odious to him by refusing to call him by his father's name and giving him instead that of some ignoble and ignominious parent? If then you were enamoured of the wisdom which the Indians discovered, would you call it not by the name which its natural parents bore but by the name of its adoptive sire, and so confer upon the Egyptians a greater boon, than if that were to happen over again which their own poets relate, namely if the Nile on reaching its full were found to be with honey blended. It was this which turned my steps to the Indians rather than to yourselves for I reflected that they were more subtle in their understanding, because such men as they live in contact with a purer daylight, and entertain truer opinions of nature and of the gods, because they are near unto the latter, and live on the edge and confines of that thermal essence which quickens all onto life. And when I came among them, their language made the same im-

CHAP
 I
 Includes the
 only allusion
 of the
 Book to the
 Book to the

CAP. II ἀνδρῶν, ὑποῖον λέγονται πρὸς τὴν Αἰσχύλου σο-
 φίαν παθεῖν Ἀθηναῖοι· ποιητὴς μὲν γὰρ οὗτος
 τραγῳδίας ἐγένετο, τὴν τέχνην δὲ ὁρῶν ἡκατά-
 σκευόν τε καὶ μήπω κεκοσμημένην, εἰ μὲν ξυνέστειλε
 τοὺς χοροὺς ὑποτύδην ὄντας, ἢ τὰς τῶν ὑποκριτῶν
 ἀντιλέξεις εὖρε, παραιτησάμενος τὸ τῶν μονωδιῶν
 μήκος, ἢ τὸ ὑπὸ σκηνῆς ἱποθυήσκειν ἐπενόησεν,
 ὥς μὴ ἐν φανερῷ σφάττοι, σοφίας μὲν μηδὲ ταῦτα
 ἀπηλλάχθω, δοκέτω δὲ καὶ ἑτέρῳ παρασχεῖν
 ἔννοιαν ἥττον δεξιῷ τὴν ποιήσιν ὁ δ' ἐνθυμηθεὶς
 μὲν ἑαυτὸν, ὥς ἐπάξιον τοῦ τραγῳδία ποιῶν
 φθέγγοιτο, ἐνθυμηθεὶς δὲ καὶ τὴν τέχνην, ὥς προσ-
 φυᾷ τῷ μογαλείῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ καταβεβλημένῳ
 τε καὶ ὑπὸ πόδα, σκευοποιίας μὲν ἤψατο εἰκασ-
 μένης τοῖς τῶν ἡρώων εἵδεσιν, ὁκρίβαντος δὲ τοὺς
 ὑποκριτὰς ἐνεβίβασεν, ὥς ἴσα ἐκείνοις βαίνοιεν,
 ἐσθήμασί τε πρῶτος ἐκόσμησεν, ἃ πρόσφορον
 ἥρωσί τε καὶ ἡρώεσιν ἦσθῆσθαι· ὅθεν Ἀθηναῖοι
 πατέρα μὲν αὐτὸν τῆς τραγῳδίας ἡγοῦντο, ἐκάλουν
 δὲ καὶ τεθνεῶτα ἐς Διονύσια, τὰ γὰρ τοῦ Αἰσχύλου
 ψηφισαμένων ἀνεδιδάσκετο καὶ ἐνῆκα ἐκ καινῆς·
 καίτοι τραγῳδίας μὲν εὖ κεκοσμημένης ὀλίγη
 χάρις, εὐφραίνει γὰρ ἐν σμικρῷ τῆς ἡμέρας, ὥσπερ
 ἢ τῶν Διονυσίων ὄρα, φιλοσοφίας δὲ ξυγκειμένης

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

person upon me as the talent of Aeschylus is said
 to have made upon the Athenians. For he was
 a poet of tragedy and finding the art to be rude and
 inchoate and as yet not in the least elaborated, he
 went to work, and curtailed the prolixity of the
 chorus,¹ and invented dialogues for the actors,
 discarding the long monodies of the earlier time,
 and he hit upon a plan of killing people behind the
 stage instead of their being slain before the eyes of
 the audience. Well, if we cannot deny his talent in
 making all these improvements, we must nevertheless
 admit that they might have suggested themselves
 equally well to an inferior dramatist. But his talent
 was twofold. On the one hand as a poet he set
 himself to make his diction worthy of tragedy, on
 the other hand as a manager to adapt his stage
 to sublime, rather than to humble and grovelling,
 themes. Accordingly he devised masks which
 represented the forms of the heroes, and he mounted
 his actors on buskins so that their gait might
 correspond to the characters they played, and he
 was the first to devise stage dresses, which might
 convey an adequate impression to the audience of
 the heroes and heroines they saw. For all these
 reasons the Athenians accounted him to be the
 father of tragedy, and even after his death they
 continued to invite him to represent his plays
 at the Dionysiac festival, for in accordance with
 public decree the plays of Aeschylus continued
 to be put upon the stage and win the prize anew.
 And yet the gratification of a well-staged tragedy is
 insignificant, for its pleasures last a brief day as
 brief as is the season of the Dionysiac festival, but

CHAP.

II

Comparing

Our with

Aeschylus

¹ or "reduced in size the sadly large choros."

CAP. ^{ΔΡ}
 XI μέν, ὥς Πυθαγόρας ἐδικαίωσεν, ὑποθιαζούσης δέ,
 ὥς προ Πυθαγόρου Ἴνδοί, οὐκ ἐς βραχὺν χρόνον ἢ
 χάρις, ἀλλ' ἐς ἄπειρόν τε καὶ ἀριθμοῦ πλείω. οὐ
 δὴ ὑπείκός τι παθεῖν μοι δοκῶ φιλοσοφίας ἡττηθεὶς
 εὐ κεκοσμημένης, ἣν ἐς τὰ πρόσφορον Ἴνδοι στεί-
 λαντες ἐφ' ὑψηλῆς τε καὶ θείας μηχανῆς ἐκκυκλοῦ-
 σιν· ὥς δὲ ἐν δίκῃ μὲν ἡγιάσθην αὐτούς, ἐν δίκῃ
 δὲ ἡγοῦμαι σοφούν· τε καὶ μακαρίους, ὧρα μανθά-
 νειν· εἶδον ἄνδρας οἰκοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ οὐκ
 ἐπ' αὐτῆς, καὶ ἁτειχίστως τετειχισμένους, καὶ οὐδὲν
 κεκτημένους ἢ τὰ πάντων. εἰ δ' αἰνιγμάτων ἄπτο-
 μαι, σοφία Πυθαγόρου ξυγχωρεῖ ταῦτα, παρέδωκε
 γὰρ καὶ τὸ αἰνίττειν, διδάσκαλον εὐρύων σιωπῆς λό-
 γον· σοφίας δὲ ταύτης ἐγένεσθε μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ Πυ-
 θαγόρα ξύμβουλοι χρόνον, ὅν τὰ Ἰνδῶν ἐπὶ ηἰνέτε,
 Ἴνδοι τὸ ἀρχαῖον πύλαι ὄντες· ἐπεὶ δ' αἰδοῖ τοῦ
 λόγου, δι' ὃν ἐκ μηνιμάτων τῆς γῆς ἀφίκεσθε δεῦρο,
 ἕτεροι μᾶλλον ἐβούλεσθε δοκεῖν ἢ Λιθίοπες αἱ ἡπὸ
 Ἰνδῶν ἤκοντες, πάντα ὑμῖν ἐς τοῦτο ἐδρᾶτο. ὅθεν
 ἐγυμνώθητε μὲν σκευῆς, ὁπόση ἐκεῖθεν, ὥσπερ ξυ-
 αποδυνόμενοι τὸ Λιθίοπες εἶναι, θεοὺς δὲ θεραπεύειν

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

the gratification of a philosophic system devised to meet the requirements of a Pythagoras, and also breathing the inspiration in which Pythagoras was anticipated by the Indians, lasts not for a brief time, but for an endless and incalculable period. It is then not unreasonable on my part, I think, to have devoted myself to a philosophy so highly cultivated, and to one which to use a metaphor from the stage, the Indians mount, as it deserves to be mounted upon a lofty and divine mechanism, and then wheel it forth upon the stage. And that I was right to admire them, and that I am right in considering them to be wise and blessed, it is now time to convince you. I beheld men dwelling upon the earth and yet not upon it. I beheld them fortified without fortifications, I beheld them possessed of nothing, and yet possessed of all things. You will say that I have taken to riddles, but the wisdom of Pythagoras allows of this, for he taught us to speak in riddles when he discovered that the word is the teacher of silence. And there was a time when you yourselves took counsel with Pythagoras, and were advocates of this same wisdom. That was in the time when you could say nothing too good of the Indian philosophy for to begin with and of old you were Indians. Subsequently because your soul was wrath with you, you came hither, and then ashamed of the reasons owing to which you quitted it, you tried to get men to regard you as anything rather than Ethiopians who had come from India hither, and you took every pains to efface your past. This is why you stripped yourselves of the apparel in which you came thence, as if you were anxious to doff along with it your Ethiopian nationality. This is why you

CHAP.
XI

Demetrius
the
Stoicism
were
the term of
the school
again

349. ^{χι} ἐψηφίσασθε τὸν Αἰγύπτιον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν ὑμέτε-
 ρον τρυπον, ἐς λόγους τε οὐκ ἐπιτηδειους ὑπὲρ
 Ἰνδῶν κατέστητε, ὥσπερ οὐκ αὐτοὶ διαβεβλημένοι
 τῷ ἄφ' οἷων διαβεβλήσθαι ἤκειν καὶ οὐδὲ μετερ-
 ρύθμισθέ πῶ γε τοῦτο, οἳ καὶ τήμερον ἐπίδειξιν
 αὐτοῦ πεποίησθε φιλολαΐδορόν τε καὶ ἱαμβωδῆ,
 χρηστὸν οὐδὲν ἐπιτηδεύειν Ἰνδοὺς φάσκοντες, ἀλλ'
 ἢ ἐκπληξεις καὶ ἰγωγίς, καὶ τὰς μὲν ὀφθαλμῶν,
 τὰς δε ὧτων, σοφίαν δὲ οὐπω ἐμὴν εἰδότες ἱναίσ-
 θηται φαίνεσθε τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῇ δόξης, ἐγὼ δ' ὑπὲρ
 ἑμαυτοῦ μὲν λέξω οὐδέν, εἴην γάρ, ὃ με Ἰνδοὶ
 ἡγοῦνται, Ἰνδῶν δὲ οὐ ξυγχωρῶ ἄπτεσθαι. ἀλλ'
 εἰ μὲν τις ὑγιῶς καὶ ὑμᾶς ἔχει σοφία Ἱμεραίου
 ἀνδρός,¹ ὃς ἄδων ἐς τὴν Ἑλένην ἐναντίον τῷ
 προτέρῳ λόγῳ παλινφδίαν αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσεν, οὐκ
 ἔστιν ἔτυμος ὁ λόγος οὗτος ἤδη καὶ αὐτοὺς ὦρα
 λέγειν, ἀμείνω τῆς νῦν παρεστηκυίας μεταλαβύν-
 τας περὶ αὐτῶν δόξαν. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἄμουσοι πρὸς
 παλινφδίαν ὑμεῖς, ἀλλὰ φείδεσθαι γε χρὴ ἀνδρῶν,
 οὓς ἀξιοῦντες θεοὶ τῶν αὐτοῖς δυντων οὐδὲ ἑαυτοὺς
 ἀπαξιούσω ὧν ἐκεῖνοι πέπανται. διήλθες τινα,
 θεοσπεσίων, καὶ περὶ τῆς Πυθοῦς λόγον ὡς
 ἰπλῶς τε καὶ ἀκατασκεύως χρόσης, καὶ παρὰ-
 δεῖγμα ἐγένετό σοι τοῦ λόγου νεὸς κηροῦ καὶ πτε-

¹ The reference is to Simeonides.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

have resolved to worship the gods in the Egyptian CHAP
XI
rather than in your own fashion and why you have
set yourselves to disseminate unflattering stories of
the Indians, as if in indignation they you did not
foul your own nest. And in this respect you have
not yet altered your tone for the better, for only
to-day you have given here an exhibition of your pro-
pensities for abuse and satire, pretending that the
Indians are no better employed than in startling
people and in pandering to their eyes and ears.
And because as yet you are ignorant of my wisdom,
you show yourself indifferent to the fame which
crowns it. Well, in defence of myself I do not mean
to say anything for I am content to be what the
Indians think me, but I will not allow them to be
attacked. And if you are so sound and sane as to
possess any tincture of the wisdom of the man of
Hiera, who composed in honour of Helen a poem
which contradicted a former one and called it a
palinode, it is high time for you also to use the
words he used and say 'This discourse of mine is
not true,' so changing your opinion and adopting
one better than you at present entertain about
these people. But if you have not the wit to recant,
you must at least spare men to whom the gods
vouchsafe, as worthy of them, their own prerogatives,
and whose possessions they do not disdain for
themselves.

"You have also, Thrasion, made some remarks
about the simplicity and freedom from pomp which
characterises the Pythian oracle, and by way of
example you instanced the temple composed of
wax and feathers, but I do not myself find that

Ref: to the
argument
der. you
from the
Pythian
oracle

1300

Ἰ. ρῶν ξυντεθείς ἰμοὶ δε ἡκατάσκευα μὲν δοκεῖ οὐδὲ
 ταῦτα, τὸ γὰρ

ξυμφέρετε πτερά τ' οἰωνοὶ κηρύν τε μέλιτται
 κατασκευαζομένου ἦν οἶκον καὶ οἶκον σχῆμα, ὁ δ' οἶμαι, μικρὰ ταῦτα ἡγούμενος καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σοφίας ἦν τω, καὶ ἄλλον ἐδεσθη νεώ καὶ ἄλλου καὶ μεγάλων ἤδη καὶ ἑκατομπέδων, ἑνὸς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ χρυσᾶς ἱγῆας ἀνίσφαι λέγεται Σειρήνων τινὰ ἐπεχούσας πειθῶ, ξυνελέξατό τε τὰ εὐδοκιμώτατα τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἐς τὴν Πυθῶ κόσμου ἕνεκα, καὶ οὗτ' ἀγαλματοποιῶν ἀπήλασεν ἀπώγουνσαν αὐτῷ κολοσσούς ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τοὺς μὲν θεῶν, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπων, τοὺς δὲ ἵππων τε καὶ ταύρων καὶ ἐτέρων ζῶων, οὔτε Γλαῦκον μετὰ τοῦ ὑποκρατηριδίου ἦκοντα, οὔτε τὴν ἰλισκομένην Ἰλίου ἀκρόπολιν. ἦν Πολύγνωτος ἐκεῖ γράφει οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὸν χρυσόν γε τὸν Λύδιον καλλώπισμα τῆς Πυθοῦς ἡγεῖτο, ἀλλ' ἐκείνον μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐσηγετο, ἐνδεικνύμενος, οἶμαι, αὐτοῖς τὸν τῶν βαρβάρων πλοῦτον, ἵνα γλῆχαιτο ἐκείνου μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ διαπορθεῖν τὰ ἀλλήλων, τὸν δὲ δὴ Ἑλλήνῃ τε καὶ προσφυᾶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ σοφίᾳ τρόπον κατεσκευάζετο καὶ ἡγλῆζε τούτῳ τὴν Πυθῶ. ἡγούμεναι δὲ αὐτὸν κόσμου ἕνεκα καὶ ἐς μέτρα ἐμβιβάζειν τοὺς χρησμούς. εἰ γὰρ μὴ τοῦτο ἐπεδείκνυτο, τοιόςδε ἂν τὰς

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

even this was devoid of pomp, for we have the
line: was
XI

'Oh birds bring hither your wings, and bear your
wax

Such language betokens a carefully prepared home and the form of house. And the god I believe regarded even this as too humble and below the dignity of his wisdom and th refore desired to have another and yet another temple big ones these and a hundred feet in breadth and from one of them it is said that golden figures of the wyneck were hung up which possessed in a manner the charm of the Sirens and the god collected the most precious of the offerings into the Pythian temple for ornament nor did he reject works of statuary when their authors brought him to his temple cows, figures both of gods and men, and also of horses, oxen and other animals nor did he refuse the gift which Cnæus brought thither of a stand for a goblet nor the picture of the taking of the citadel of Ilium which Polygnotus painted there. For I imagine he did not consider that the gold of Lydia really beautified the Pythian fane but he admitted it on behalf of the Hellenes themselves, by way of pointing out to them, I believe, the immense riches of the barbarians, and inducing them to covet that rather than continue to ravage one another's lands. And he accordingly adopted the Greek fashion of art which suited his peculiar wisdom, and adorned his shrine therewith. And I believe that it was by way of adornment that he also puts his oracles in material form. For if he did not wish to make a show in this matter, he would surely

καὶ
 ΣΙ ὑποκρίσεις ἐποιεῖτο· δρᾶ το δεῖνα ἢ μὴ δρᾶ, καὶ
 ἴθι ἢ μὴ ἴθι, καὶ ποιοῦ ξυμμάχους ἢ μὴ ποιοῦ,
 βραχέα γάρ που ταῦτα, ἢ, ὥς φατε ὑμεῖς, γυμνά,
 ὁ δ' ἵνα μεγαλορρήμων τε φαίνοιο καὶ ἡδίων τοῖς
 ἐρωτῶσι, ποιητικὴν ἡρμόσατο, καὶ οὐκ ἀξιοῖ
 εἶναι, ὃ τι μὴ οἶδεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ψάμμον εἰδέναι·
 φησὶν, ὑπόση, ἰριθμήσας αὐτήν, καὶ τὰ τῆς θαλαίτ-
 της μέτρα ξυνειληφέναι πάντα.

Ἡ καὶ ταῦτα τερατολογία προσγράφεις, ἐπειδὴ
 σοβαρῶς αὐτὰ ὁ Ἀπόλλων καὶ ξὺν φρονήματι
 ὀρθῶ φράζει; εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀχθέσθῃ, ἔθεσπεσίων, τῇ
 λόγῳ, γράας ἀνημμέναι κόσκινα φοιτῶσιν ἐπὶ
 ποιμένας, ὅτε δὲ καὶ βουκόλους, ἰόμεναι τὰ
 νοσοῦντα τῶν θρεμμάτων μαντικῇ, ὥς φασιν,
 ἀξιοῦσι δὲ σοφὰ ὀνομάζεσθαι καὶ σοφώτεραι
 ἢ οἱ ἀτεχνῶς μύντες τοῦτό μοι καὶ ὑμεῖς
 παρὰ τὴν Ἰνδοῖν σοφίαν φαίνεσθε, οἱ μὲν γὰρ
 θεοὶ τέ εἰσι καὶ κεκόσμηνται κατὰ τὴν Πυθίαν,
 ὑμεῖς δέ—ἀλλ' οὐδὲν εἰρήσεται περαιτέρω, εὐφη-
 μία γὰρ φίλη μὲν ἐμοί, φίλη δὲ Ἰνδοῖς, ἣν ἀσπα-
 ξοίμην ὡς ὀπαδὸν ἄμα καὶ ἡγεμόνα τῆς γλώττης,
 τὰ μὲν ἐμαυτῷ δυνατὰ θηρεύων ξὺν ἐπαίνῳ τε
 αὐτῶν καὶ ἔρωτι, ὃ τι δὲ μὴ ἐφικτὸν εἴη μοι, κατα-
 λείπων αὐτὸ ἄχραντον ψόγου. σὺ δὲ (ὁ)μήρου μὲν

¹ The reference is to Herakleitos, Book I, p. 11.

make his responses in such forms as the following: 'Do this, or do not do that', and 'go, or do not go', or 'change alms or do not change them'. For here are short formulas or as you call it naked ones. But in order to display his mastery of the grand style and in order to please those who came to consult him, since he adopted the poetical form, and he does not allow that anything exists which he does not know, but claims to have counted the sands of the sea and to know their number and also to have fathomed the depths of the sea.

"But I suppose you will call it miracle-mongering that Apollo dictates his oracles with such proud dignity and elation of spirit? But if you are not so annoyed. The opinion at what I say, there are certain old women who go about with snakes in their hands to the shrines, sometimes to row herds, pretending to heal their flocks, when they are sick in distraction, as they call it, and they claim to be called wise women, you know, than those who are insignificantly prophets. It seems to me that you are in the same case when I contrast your wisdom with that of the Indians, for they are I say, and have trimmed and adorned their wisdom after the manner of the Pythian oracle, but you, however, I will say no more, for modesty in speech is as dear to me as it is dear to the Indians, and I would be glad to have it at once to attend upon, and to guide my tongue, seeking to examine what is in my power when I am pointing those to whom I am so devoted, but leaving alone what is too high for me to attain unto without boasting it with getting down general. But you no doubt delight in the story which you have read in

ἐν Κυκλωπία ἀκούων, ὥς ἡ γῆ τοὺς ἀγριωτάτους
 καὶ ἀνοματάτους ἄσπαρος καὶ ἀνήροτος ἔστι, ἀ,
 χαίρειν τῷ λόγῳ, κἂν Ἑδωνοὶ τινες ἢ Λυδοὶ βακ-
 χεύωσιν, οὐκ ἀπιστεῖς, ὥς γάλακτος αὐτοῖς καὶ
 οἶνου πηγὰς δώσει καὶ ποτιεῖ ταύτους, τοὺς δὲ
 σοφίας ἀπάσης βάκχους ἀφαιρήσῃ δῶρα αὐτό-
 ματα παρὰ τῆς γῆς ἤκοντα, τρίποδες δὲ αὐτό-
 ματοι καὶ ἐς τὰ ξυμπόσια τῶν θεῶν φοιτῶσι, καὶ
 ὁ Ἄρης ἀμαθὴς περ ὧν καὶ ἐχθρὸς οὐπω τὸν
 Ἥφαιστον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς γέγραπται, οὐδ' ἔστιν, ὥς
 ἤκουσαν ποτε οἱ θεοὶ τοιαύτης γραφῆς· ἀδικεῖς,
 Ἥφαιστε, κοσμῶν τὸ ξυμπόσιον τῶν θεῶν καὶ
 περιστὰς αὐτῷ θαύματα, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς δμωαῖς
 αἰτίαν ποτὲ ἔσχε ταῖς χρυσαῖς, ὥς παραφθείρων
 τας ὕλας, ἐπειδὴ τὸν χρυσὸν ἔμπνουν ἐποίει,
 κόσμον γὰρ ἐπιμελήσεται τέχνη πᾶσα, ὅτι καὶ
 αὐτὸ τὸ εἶναι τέχνας ὑπὲρ κόσμου εὔρηται. ἀνυ-
 ποδησία δὲ καὶ τρίβων καὶ πηραν ἀνῆφθαι κόσμου
 εὔρημα· καὶ γὰρ τὸ γυμνοῦσθαι, καθύπερ ὑμεῖς,
 ἔοικε μὲν ἀκατασκεύῳ τε καὶ λιτῷ σχήματι, ἐπιτε-
 τήδευται δὲ ὑπὲρ κόσμου καὶ οὐδὲ ἄπυστιν αὐταῦ τὸ
 ἐτέρῳ φασὶ τύφῳ. τὰ δὲ Ἑλίου τε καὶ Ἰνδῶν
 πάτρια καὶ ὅπῃ χαίρει θεραπευόμενος ἐχέτω τὸν
 αὐτῶν νόμον, θεοὶ μὲν γὰρ χθόνιοι βόθρους ἀσπιά-
 σονται καὶ τὰ ἐν κοίλῃ τῇ γῇ δριώμενα, Ἑλίου δὲ

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Homer about the Cyclopes, how their land, all unknown CHAP
 and unploughed, nourished the most fearless and 21
 most lawless of beings and if it is some Edom or
 Lydians who are conducting their bacchic revels,
 you are quite ready to believe that the earth will
 supply them with fountains of milk and wine, and
 give them to drink thereof, but you would deny to
 these Indians, lovers of all wisdom as enthusiastic as
 ever bacchantes were the unsought bounties which
 earth offers them. Moreover trixals gifted with wils
 of their own, attend the banquets of the gods also and
 Ares, ignorant and hostile as he was to Hephaestus,
 yet never accused him merely for making them,
 nor is it conceivable that the gods ever listened to
 such an indictment as this 'You commit an injustice,
 () Hephaestus, in adorning the banquet of the gods,
 and crowning it with miracles. Nor was
 Hephaestus ever sued for constructing hand
 maids of gold nor accused of debasing the metals
 because he made the gold to breathe. For every art
 is interested to adorn and the very existence of the
 arts was a discovery made in behalf of ornament.
 Moreover a man who goes without shoes and wears
 a philosopher's cloak and hangs a wallet on his back
 is a creature of ornament, nay more even the
 nakedness which you affect, in spite of its rough and
 plain appearance, has for its object ornament and
 decoration though here too there is not absent a
 certain element of what they call empty pride. We
 must judge by the same standard the religion of the
 Sun and the national rites of the Indians and any
 cult in which that god delights for the subterranean
 gods will always prefer deep trenches and ceremonies
 conducted in the hollows of the earth, but the air is

127
 XI ἄνθρωπος δὲ χημά, καὶ δεῖ τοὺς προσφόρους ἰσομένους
 αὐτὸν ἀπὸ γῆς αἰρεσθαι καὶ ξυμμετεωροποιεῖν
 τῷ θεῷ· τοῦτο δὲ βουλονται μὲν πάντες, δυναταὶ
 δὲ Ἴνδοι μόνου.

XII

128
 I Ἀναπνεῦσαι ὁ Διμς ἑαυτὸν φησιν, ἐπειδὴ
 ταῦτα ἤκουσεν ὑπο γὰρ τῶν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου
 λόγων οὕτω διατεθῆναι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, ὥς τον
 θεσπεσίῳνα μὲν καιτοι μέλανα ὄντα κατιδῆλον
 εἶναι, ὅτι ἐρυθρίῳσι, φαίνεσθαι δὲ τινα καὶ περὶ
 τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐκπληξιν ἐφ' οἷς ἐρρωμένως τε καὶ
 ξυν εὐροῖᾳ διαλεγόμενου ἤκουσαν, τὸν νεώτατον
 δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ὃ ὄνομα ἦν Νεῖλος, καὶ ἵνα
 πηδῇσαί φησιν ὑπο θαύματος, μεταστίντα τε πρὸς
 τὸν Ἀπολλωνιον ξυμβαλεῖν τε αὐτῷ τὴν χεῖρα
 καὶ δεῖσθαι αὐτοῦ τας ξυνουσίας, αἱ ἐγένοντο
 εὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς Ἴνδους, φριζέιν, τον δὲ Ἀπολ-
 λωνιον, "σοὶ μὲν οὐδενος ἄν," φαναι, "βασκηναιμι
 ἐγὼ λόγου, φιληκορ τε, ὡς ὁρῶ, τυγχάνωσι καὶ
 σοφίαν ἀσπαζομένης πᾶσαν," θεσπεσίῳσι δὲ καὶ
 εἰ τις ἕτερος λῆρον τὰ Ἴνδων ηγείται, μηδ' ἐπ' αὐ-
 τῷ τλῆσαι τοὺς ἐκείθεν λόγους ὅθεν ἂ θεσπεσίῳσι,
 "εἰ δὲ ἔμπορος," εἶπεν "ἡ ναυκληρος ἦσθα καὶ
 τινα ἡμῖν ἀπηγες ἐκείθεν φορτον, ἄρα ἂν ἡξιους,
 ἐπειδὴ αὐτ' Ἴνδων οὗτος ἰδοκιμαστον αὐτον διατι-
 θεσθαι καὶ μητε γεύμα παρεχεῖν αὐτοῦ μητε
 δαίγμα," ὑπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλωνιος, "παρε-
 χομην ἄν," εἶπε, "τοῖς γε χρῆζουσιν, εἰ δ' ἤκων τις

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the chariot of the sun, and those who would sing his praise in a fitting manner must rise from the earth and soar aloft with the god, and thus everyone would like to do, but the Indians alone are able to do it."

CHAP
XI

XII

Damn says that he breathed afresh when he heard this address, for that the Egyptians were so impressed by Apollonius' words, that Theophrastus in spite of the blackness of his complexion, visibly blushed, while the rest of them seemed in some way stunned by the vigorous and fluent discourse which they listened to, but the youngest of them, whose name was Nilus, leapt up from the ground, he says, in admiration and passing over to Apollonius shook hands with him, and besought him to tell him about the interviews which he had had with the Indians. And Apollonius, he says, replied "I should not grudge you anything, for you are ready to listen, as I see, and are ready to welcome wisdom of every kind, but I should not care to pour out the teachings I gathered there upon Theophrastus or on anyone else who regards the lore of the Indians as so much nonsense." Whereupon Theophrastus said "But if you were a merchant or a seafarer, and you brought to us some cargo or other from over there would you claim, merely because it came from India, to dispose of it untested and unexamined, refusing us either the liberty of looking at it or tasting it?" But Apollonius replied as follows: "I should furnish it to those who asked for it, but if the moment my ship had reached the harbour, some one came

CHAP
XII
Nilus, the
54th agent of
the Naked
Magus, from
over to
Apollonius

CAP. XII. ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν καταπεπλευκυίας ἄρτι τῆς νεώς, ἐλοιδορεῖτο τῷ φόρτῳ καὶ διέβαλλε μὲν αὐτοῦ ὡς ἤκοντα ἐκ γῆς, ἢ μηδὲν ὑγιὲς φέρει, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐπέπληττεν ὡς οὐχ ὑπὲρ σπουδαίων ἀγωγίμων πλεύσαντι, τοὺς τε ἄλλους ἐπειθεν οὕτω φρονεῖν, ἄρ' ἂν σοι δοκεῖ τις καταπλεύσας ἐς τοιούδε λιμένα βαλέσθαι τινὰ ἄγκυραν ἢ πείσμα, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ἀνασεύσας τὰ ἱστία μετεωρίσαι ἂν τὴν ναῦν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἀνέμοις ἐπιτρέψας τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἡδιόν γε ἢ ἁκρίτοις τε καὶ ἀξένους ἤθεσιν;" "ἀλλ' ἐγώ," ἔφη ὁ Νεῖλος, "λαμβάνομαι τῶν πεισμάτων καὶ ἀντιβολῶ σε, ναύκληρε, κοινωνήσαι μοι τῆς ἐμπορίας, ἣν ἄγεις, καὶ ξυρεμβαίνειν ἂν σοι τὴν ναῦν περίνεός τε καὶ μνήμων τοῦ σοῦ φόρτου."

XIII

CAP. XIII. Διαπαῦσαι δὲ ὁ Θεσπεσίῳν ζητῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα, "χαίρω," ἔφη, "Ἀπολλώνιε, ὅτι ἄχθῃ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἤκουσας· καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἡμῖν ξυγγυγνώσκοις ἀχθομένοις ὑπὲρ ὧν διέβαλες τὴν δεῦρο σοφίαν, οὐδὲ ἐς πείραν πω αὐτῆς ἀφυγμένος." ὁ δ' ἐκπλαγεὶς μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου πρὸς βραχὺ τῷ μῆδ' ἀκηκοέναι πω τὰ περὶ τὸν Θρασύβουλον τε καὶ τὸν Εὐφρατην, ξυμβαλὼν δ', ὥσπερ εἰώθει, τὸ γεγονός, "Ἰνδοὶ δέ," εἶπεν, "ὦ Θεσπεσίῳν, οὐκ ἂν τοῦτο ἔπαθον, οὐδ' ἂν προσεσχον Εὐφρατη καθιεντι ταῦτα, σοφοὶ γὰρ προγγινώσκουσιν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἴδιον μὲν ἑμαυτοῦ πρὸς Εὐφράτην διηνέχθην οὐδεν,

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LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

down to the beach and began to run down my cargo and abuse myself, and say that I came from a country which produces nothing worth having, and if he reproached me for sailing with a cargo of shoddy goods, and tried to persuade the rest to think like himself, do you suppose that one would, after entering such a harbour, cast anchor or make his cables fast, and not rather hoist his sails and put out to sea afresh, entrusting his goods more gladly to the winds than to such undiscerning and inhospitable people?" "Well, I anyhow," said Niles, "may hold on your cables, and entreat you, my skipper, to let me share your goods that you bring hither; and I would gladly embark with you in your ship as a super-cargo and a clerk to check your merchandise."

CHAP.
XII

XIII

THESEASION, however, was anxious to put a stop to such propositions, so he said "I am glad, Apollonius, that you are annoyed at what we said to you, for you can the more readily condone our annoyance at the misrepresentation you made of our local wisdom, long before you had gained any experience of its quality." Apollonius was for a moment astonished at these words, for he had heard nothing as yet of the intrigues of Thrasybulus and Euphrates but as was his wont, he guessed the truth and said "The Indians, O Theseasion, would never have behaved as you have, nor have given ear to these insinuations dropped by Euphrates, for they have a gift of prescience. Now I never had any quarrel of my own with Euphrates, I only tried to wean him of his

CHAP.
XII

Apollonius
refers to the
misrepresentation
of
Euphrates

χρημάτων δε ἀπάγων αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐπαινεῖν
 τὸ ἐξ ἁπαντος κέρδος, οὐτ' ἐπιτήδεια συμβουλευεῖν
 ἔδοξα οὔτε ἐκείνῳ δυνατὴ, καὶ ἔλεγχον δὲ ἡγείται
 ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἠνέησεν αἰεὶ τι κατ' ἐμοῦ ξυντιθείς
 ἐπεὶ δὲ πιθανὸς ὑμῖν ἔδοξε τοῦμὸν διαβιάλλειν
 ἦθος, ἐνθυμεῖσθε, ὥς προτέρους ὑμᾶς ἐμοῦ διέ-
 βαλεν· ἐμοὶ γὰρ κίνδυνοι μὲν καὶ περὶ τὸν δια-
 βεβλησόμενον οὐ σμικροὶ φαίνονται, μισήσεται
 γὰρ πού τις ἀδικῶν οὐδέν, εὐλεύθεροι δὲ κινδυνῶν
 οὐδ' οἱ τῶν διαβολῶν ἀκροασίμενοι δοκοῦσιν,
 εἰ πρῶτον μὲν ἀλώσονται ψευδολογίαν τιμῶν-
 τες καὶ ἀξιοῦντες αὐτὴν ὥνπερ τὴν ἀλήθειαν,
 εἶτα κουφότητα καὶ εὐαγωγίαν — ἡττῆσθαι δὲ
 τούτων καὶ μεираκίῳ αἰσχυρὸν — φθονεροὶ τε
 δοξοῦσι διδύσκαλον ἡκοῆς ἀδικου ποιοῦμενοι τὸν
 φθόρον, αὐτοὶ τε μᾶλλον ἔνοχοι ταῖς διαβολαῖς,
 ὧς ἐφ' ἑτέρων ἀληθεῖς ἡγοῦνται, αἱ γὰρ τῶν
 ἀνθρώπων φύσεις ἐτοιμότεραι δρᾶν, ἢ μὴ ἀπι-
 στοῦσι. μὴ τυραννεύσεις ἀνὴρ ἔτοιμος ταῦτα,
 μηδὲ προσταίη δήμου, τυραννὶς γὰρ καὶ ἡ δημο-
 κρατία ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἔσται, μηδὲ δικάσεις, ὑπὲρ
 μηδενος γὰρ γινώσεται, μηδὲ ναυκληρήσεις, ἡ γὰρ
 ναὺς στασιάζει, μηδὲ ἄρξεις στρατοῦ, τὸ γὰρ ἄν-
 τίξουν εὖ πρῶξει, μηδὲ φιλοσοφήσεις οὕτως ἔχων,
 οὐ γὰρ πρὸς τάληθές δοξασει. ὑμῶς δὲ ἐὺφροίτης

passion for money and cure his propensity to value ^{every} ^{thing} ^{by} ^{what} ^{he} ^{could} ^{make} ^{out} ^{of} ^{it} ^{but} ^I ^{found} ^{that} ^{my} ^{advice} ^{was} ^{not} ^{congenial} ^{to} ^{him}, ^{nor} ⁱⁿ ^{his} ^{case} ^{practicable}, nay he merely takes it as a
 tacit reproach, and never loses any opportunity of
 intriguing against me. But since you have found
 his attacks upon my character so plausible, I may as
 well tell you that it is you rather than myself that
 he has calumniated. For though as a man to me,
 the victim of calumny is no considerable danger,
 since they are I suppose, sure to be dashed without
 having done any wrong yet neither are those who
 incline to listen to the calumnies free from danger
 for in the first place they will be convicted of paying
 respect to lies and giving them as much attention as
 they would to the truth and secondly they are
 convicted of levity and credulity, faults which it is
 disgraceful even for a stranger to fall into. And
 they will be thought criminal because they allow
 envy to teach them to listen to unjust little tattling
 and they expose themselves as the more to calumny
 because they think it true of others. For man is by
 nature inclined to commit a fault which he does not
 discern when he hears it related of others. Heaven
 forbid that a man of these inclinations should become
 a tyrant, or even president of a popular state, for in
 his hands even a democracy would become a tyranny,
 nor let him be made a judge for sure y he will not
 ever discern the truth. Nor let him be captain of a
 ship, for the crew would mutiny nor general of an
 army, for that would bring luck to the adversary
 nor let one of his dispositions attempt philosophy for
 he would not consider the truth in forming his
 opinions. But Euphrates has deprived you of even

CAP. XII ἀφῆρηται καὶ τὸ σοφους εἶναι, οὓς γὰρ ψεύδει ὑπηγύγето, πῶς ἂν οὗτοι σοφίας αὐτοὺς ἀξιωσειαν, ἥς ἀπέστησαν τῷ τὰ μὴ πιθανὰ πείσαντι;” διαπραθύνων δ’ αὐτὸν ὁ Θεσπεσίων, “ἄλως Εὐφράτου,” ἔφη, “καὶ μικροψύχων λόγων, καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ διαλλακταὶ γενοίμεθά σοι τε κἀκείνῳ, σοφὸν ἰγνύμενοι καὶ τὰ διαιτᾶν σοφοῖς. πρὸς δὲ ὑμᾶς,” εἶπε, “τίς διαλλίξει με, χρη γὰρ που καταψευσθέντα ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ ψεύδους” * * * “ἔχέτω οὕτως,” ἦ δ’ οὐ Ἀπολλώνιος, “καὶ σπουδῆς ὑπτωμεθα, τουτὶ γὰρ ἡμᾶς διαλλάξει μᾶλλον.”

XIV

CAP. XIV Ἐρδὼν δὲ ὁ Νεῖλος τῆς ἡκρούσεως τοῦ ἀνδρός, “καὶ μὴν σέ,” ἔφη, “προσέκει ἀρξαι τοῦ σπουδίσαι, διελθόντα ἡμῖν τὴν τε ἀποδημίαν τὴν γενομένην σοι ἐς τὸ Ἰνδῶν ἔθνος τάς τε ἐκεῖ σπουδάς, ἃς ὑπὲρ λαμπρῶν δήπου ἐποιεῖσθε.” “ἔγὼ δέ,” ἔφη ὁ Θεσπεσίων, “καὶ περὶ τῆς Φραώτου σοφίας ἀκοῦσαι ποθῶ, λέγεσθε γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου λόγων ἀγάλματα ἀπὸ Ἰνδῶν ἄγειν” ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀπολλώνιος ἀρχὴν τοῦ λόγου τὰ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ποιησάμενος διήκει πάντα, οἱ δὲ ἄσμενοι ἡκροῶντο ὑποκείμενοι τῷ λόγῳ. μεσημβρία δ’ ὥς ἐγένετο, διέλυσαν τὴν σπουδὴν, τὸν γὰρ καιρὸν τοῦτον καὶ οἱ Γυμναὶ πρὸς ἱεροῖς γίγνονται.

* There seems a lacuna here in the text.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

the quality of wisdom, for how can those on whom he has imposed with his falsehoods claim wisdom for themselves? have they not deserted from it to take sides with one who has persuaded them of improbabilities?" Here Thespesion tried to calm him, and remarked "Enough of Euphrates and of his small-minded affairs, for we are quite ready even to reconcile you with him, since we consider it the proper work of a sage to be umpire in the disputes of other sages." "But," said Apollonius, "who shall reconcile me with you? For the victim of lies must surely be driven into hostility by the falsehood." "Be it so," said Apollonius, "and let us hold a conversation, for that will be the best way of reconciling us."

XIV

AND Nilus, as he was passionately anxious to listen to Apollonius, said "And what is more, it believes you to begin the conversation, and to tell us all about the journey which you made to the people of India, and about the conversations which you held there, I have no doubt on the most brilliant topics." "And I too," said Thespesion, "long to hear about the wisdom of Phraotes, for you are said to have brought from India some examples of his arguments." Apollonius accordingly began by telling them about the events which occurred in Babylon, and told them everything, and they gladly listened to him, spell-bound by his words. But when it was mid-day, they broke off the conversation, for at this time of day the naked sages, like others attend to the ceremonies of religion.

XV

CAP.
XV

Δειπνοῦντι δὲ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ὁ Νεῖλος ἐφίσταται λαχάνοις ἅμα καὶ ἄρτοις καὶ τραγήμασι, τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς φέρων, τὰ δὲ ἕτεροι, καὶ μάλα ἀστείως, "οἱ σοφοί," ἔφη, "ξένια πέμπουσιν ἡμῖν τε καὶ μοι ταῦτα, κἀγὼ γὰρ ξυσσιτήσω ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἄκλητος, ὥς φασιν, ἀλλ' ἑμαυτὸν καλῶν." "ἡδύ," εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπολλωνιος, "ἀπαγεῖς, ὦ νεανία, ξενιον, σεαυτὸν τε καὶ τὸ σεαυτοῦ ἦθος, ὃς ἰδύλως μὲν φιλοσοφοῦντι ἔοικας, ἀσπαζομένῳ δὲ τὰ Ἰνδῶν τε καὶ Ἰνθαγύρου. κατακλινου δὴ ἐνταῦθα καὶ ξυσσίτῃ." "κατίκειμαι," ἔφη, "σιτία δὲ οὐκ ἔσται σοι τουσαῦτα, ὥς ἐμπλήσαι με." "ἔοικας," εἶπεν, "εὖσιτος εἶναι καὶ δεινὸς φαγεῖν." "δεινότατος μὲν οὖν," ἔφη, "ὃς γὰρ τοςαυτην καὶ οὕτω λαμπρὰν διαίτην σου παραθέντος οὐπὼ ἐμπέπλησμαι, διαλιπὼν δὲ ὀλίγον πάλιν ἐπισιτιούμενος ἤκω, τί φήσεις ἄλλ' ἢ ἀκόρεστόν τε εἶναι με καὶ δεινῶς γύστριν;" "ἐμπέπλασο," εἶπεν, "ἄφορμαι δ', ὅπως αἰ λογων, τὰς μὲν αὐτὸς παραδίδου, τὰς δὲ ἐγὼ δώσω."

XVI

CAP.
XVI

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐδείπνησαν, "ἐγὼ," ἢ δ' ὁ Νεῖλος, "τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἐστρατευόμεν ὁμοῦ τοῖς Γυμνοῖς, οἷον ψιλοῖς τιςιν ἢ σφενδονηταῖς ἐκείνοις ἑμαυτὸν

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

XV

APOLLONIUS and his comrades were about to dine, when Nilus presented himself with vegetables and bread and dried fruits, some of which he carried himself, while his friends carried the rest, and very politely he said "The sages send these gifts of hospitality, not only to yourselves but to me; for I mean to share in your repast, not uninvited, as they say, but inviting myself." "It is a delightful gift of hospitality," said Apollonius, "which you bring to us, O youth, in the shape of yourself and of your disposition, for you are evidently a philosopher without guile, and an enthusiastic lover of the doctrines of the Indians and of Pythagoras. So lie down here and eat with us." "I will do so," said the other, "but your dishes will not be ample enough to satisfy me." "It seems to me," said the other, "that you are a gourmand and an appalling eater." "None like me," said the other, "for although you have set before me so ample and so brilliant a repast I am not sated, and after a little time I am come back again to eat afresh. What then can you call me but an insatiable cormorant?" "Eat your fill," said Apollonius, "and as for topics of conversation, some you must yourself supply, and I will give you others."

CHAP
XV

Nilus
defends his
invitation to
Apollonius

XVI

So when they had dined, "I," said Nilus, "until now have been camping together with the naked sages, and joined my forces with them as

CHAP
XVI

CAP. XV. ξυντάττων, νυνὶ δὲ ὀπλιτεύσω καὶ κοσμήσει με ἡ ἄσπις ἢ σή." "ἀλλ' οἶμαί σε," εἶπεν, "Αἰγύπτιε, παρὰ Θεσπεσίῳνί τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔξειν αἰτίαν, ἐφ' οἷς οὐδὲ ἐς ἔλεγχον ἡμῶν καταστάς πλείω, σὺ δ' ἐτοιμότερον ἢ ξυγχωρεῖ βίου αἵρεσις, ἐς τὰ ἡμέτερα ἦθῃ ἀφίσεις." "οἶμαι," ἔφη, "εἰ δ' αἰτία ἐλομένου ἔσται τις, τύχα καὶ μὴ ἐλομένου αἰτία καὶ ἰλῶσονται μᾶλλον ἅπερ ἐγὼ ἐλόμενοι· τὸ γὰρ πρεσβυτέρους ὁμοῦ καὶ σοφωτέρους ὄντας μὴ πάλαι ἤρῃσθαι, ἅπερ ἐγὼ νῦν, δικαίαν αἰτίαν κατ' ἐκείνων ἔχοι ἂν μᾶλλον οὕτω πλεονεκτοῦντας μὴ ἐς τὸ βέλτιον ἐλῆσθαι, ὃ τι χρήσονται." "οὐκ ὠγευνῇ μέν, ὦ νεανίσκε, λόγον εἶρηκα· ὄρα δέ, μὴ αὐτῷ τῷ οὕτω μὲν σοφίας, οὕτω δὲ ἡλικίας ἔχειν ἐκεῖνά γε ὀρθῶς ἤρημένοι φαίνονται· ταῦτά τε ξὺν εἰκότι λόγῳ παραιτούμενοι, σὺ τε θρασυτέρου λόγον δοκῆς ἄπτεσθαι καθιστὰς μᾶλλον αὐτὸς ἢ ἐκείνοις ἐπόμενος." ὑπαστρέψας δὲ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου δόξαν, "ἂ μὲν εἰκὸς ἦν," ἔφη, "πρεσβυτέροις ὁμαρτεῖν νέον, οὐ παρεῖταί μοι, σοφίαν γὰρ ὑπὸτ' ὥμην εἶναι περὶ τοὺς

¹ Kayser reads φαίνονται, yet retains δοκῆς just below

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

with certain light armed troops or slingers. But now I intend to put on my heavy armour, and it is your shield that shall adorn me." "But," said Apollonius, "I think, my good Egyptian, that you will incur the censure of Thespis and his society for two reasons, firstly, that after no further examination and testing of ourselves you have left them, and secondly that you give the preference to our manners and discipline with more precipitancy than is admissible where a man is making choice of how he shall live." "I agree with you," said the young man, "but if I am to blame for making this choice, I might also be to blame if I did not make it, and anyhow they will be most open to rebuke if they make the same choice as myself. For it will be more justly reprehensible in them, as they are both older and wiser than myself, not to have made the choice long ago which I make now, for with all their advantages they will have failed to choose what in practice would so much redound to their advantage." "A very generous sentiment indeed my good youth, is this which you have expressed," said Apollonius "but beware lest the mere fact of their being so wise and aged should give them an appearance, at any rate, of being right in choosing as they have done, and of having good reason for rejecting my doctrine, and lest you should seem to take up a very bold position in setting them to rights rather than in following them." But the Egyptian turned short round upon Apollonius and countering his opinion said "So far as it was right for a young man to agree with his elders, I have been careful to do so. for so long as I thought that these gentlemen were possessed of a

CHAP.
XV.
St. us quite
the naked
pages to join
Apollonius

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XVI ἄνδρας, ἣν οὐκ ἄλλοις τισὶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπάρχειν,
 προσεποιήσα ἐμεινὸν τοῦτοισι, πρόφασιν δέ μοι
 τῆς ὁρμῆς ἧδε ἐγένετο ἔπλευσέ ποτε ὁ πατήρ ἐς
 τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν ἐκάν, ἦρχε δὲ ἄρα τῆς νεως, ἦν
 Αἰγύπτιοι στέλλουσιν ἐς τὸ Ἰνδῶν ἔθνος, ἐπι-
 μίξας δὲ τοῖς ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ Ἰνδοῖς διεκόμισσε
 λόγους περὶ τῶν ἐκείνῃ σοφῶν ἀγχοῦ τούτων, οὕς
 πρὸς ἡμᾶς διῆλθες ἀκούων δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοιοιτοῖ
 τινα λόγον, ὥς σοφώτατοι μὲν ἀνθρώπων Ἰνδοί,
 ἀποικοὶ δὲ Ἰνδῶν Αἰθίοπες, πατρῴζουσι δὲ οὗτοι
 τὴν σοφίαν καὶ πρὸς τὰ οἴκοι βλέπουσι, μεριόκειον
 γεινόμενος τὰ μὲν πατρῶα τοῖς βουλευμένοις ἀφήκα,
 γυμνὸς δὲ Ἰνμοῖς ἐπεφοίτησα τοῦτοισι, ὥς μαθη-
 σόμενος τὰ Ἰνδῶν ἢ ἀδελφί γε ἐκείνων, καὶ μοι
 ἐφαίνοντο σοφοὶ μὲν, οὐ μὴν ἐκείνα, ἐμοῦ δ'
 αὐτοὺς ἐρομένον, τοῦ χάριν οὐ τὰ Ἰνδῶν φιλοσα-
 φοῦσιν, ἐκείνων μὲν ἐς διαβολὰς κατέστησαν
 παραπλησιῶς ταῖς πρὸς σὲ εἰρημέναις τήμερον,
 ἐμὲ δὲ νέον ἔτι, ὥς ὁρᾷς, ὄντα κατέλεξαν ἐς τὸ
 αὐτῶν κοινόν, δέισαντες, οἶμαι, μὴ ἀπυπηδησας
 αὐτῶν πλεύσαιμι ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν, ὥσπερ ποτὲ ὁ
 πατήρ, ὃ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἂν παρήκα' προήλθον
 γὰρ ἂν καὶ μέχρ' τοῦ ὄχθον τῶν σοφῶν, εἰ μὴ σέ
 τις ἐνταῦθα θεῶν ἔστειλεν ἐμοὶ ἀρωγόν, ὥς μήτε

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

wisdom which belonged to no other set of men, I attached myself to them, and the motive which actuated me to do so was the following. My father once made a voyage on his own initiative to the Red Sea for he was, I may tell you, captain of the ship which the Egyptians send to the India. And after he had had intercourse with the Indians of the seaboard he brought home stories of the wise men of that region, closely similar to those which you have told us. And his account which I heard was somewhat as follows, namely that the Indians are the wisest of mankind, but that the Ethiopians are colonists sent from India, who follow their forefathers in matters of wisdom and fix their eyes on the institutions of their home. Well I having reached my teens, surrendered my patrimony to those who wanted it more than myself and frequented the society of these naked sages, naked myself as they in the hope of picking up the teaching of the Indians, or at any rate teaching added to theirs. And they certainly appeared to me to be wise, though not after the manner of India: but when I asked them point blank why they did not teach the philosophy of India they plunged into abuse of the natives of that country very much as you have heard them do in their speeches this very day. Now I was still young as you see so they made me a member of their society because I imagine they were afraid I might hastily quit them and undertake a voyage to the Red Sea, as my father did before me. And I should certainly have done so yes by Heaven I would have pushed on until I reached the hut of the sages, unless some one of the gods had sent you hither to help me and enabled me without either

CHAP
XVI

CAP. XVI τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν πλεύσας μήτε πρὸς τοὺς Κολπίτας παραβαλόμενος σοφίας Ἰνδικῆς γευσάμεν, οὐ τήμερον βίου ποιησόμενος αἴρεσιν, ἀλλὰ πάλαι μὲν ἤρημένος, ἃ δὲ ᾤμην ἔχειν, οὐκ ἔχων. τί γὰρ δεινόν, εἰ ἀτουδὴ ἀμαρτῶν τις ἐπάνεισιν ἐφ' ὃ ἐθήρουν, εἰ δὲ κακείνους ἐς τοῦτ' ἐμεταβιβάζοιμι καὶ γιγνοίμεν αὐτοῖς ξύμβουλος ὥν ἐμαυτὸν πέπεικα, τί ἄν, εἰπέ μοι, θρασὺ πράττοιμι; οὔτε γὰρ ἡ νεότης ἀπελατρία τοῦ τι καὶ αὐτὴ βέλτιον ἐνθυμηθῆναι ἂν τοῦ γήρως, σοφίας τε ὅστις ἐτέρῳ γίγνεται ξύμβουλος, ἣν αὐτὸς ἤρηται, διαφεύγει δήπου τὸ μὴ οὐχ ἃ πέπεισται πείθειν, τοῖς τε ἤκουσιν ἐγκαθοῖς παρὰ τῆς τύχης ὅστις ἀπολαβὼν αὐτὰ χρήται μόνος, ἀδικεῖ τίνεσθαι, ἀφαιρεῖται γὰρ αὐτῶν τὸ πλείον ἡδὺ φαίνεσθαι."

XVII

CAP. XVII Τοιαῦτα εἶρανος τοῦ Νείλου καὶ οὕτω νεανικὰ ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ὕπὲρ μισθοῦ δέ," εἶπεν, "οὐ διαλέξῃ μοι πρότερον σοφίας γε ἐρῶν τῆς ἐμῆς," "διαλεγώμεθα," ἢ δ' ὁ Νεῖλος, "καὶ ὃ τι βούλει, αἶτει." "αἰτῶ σε," εἶπεν, "ἃ μὲν αὐτὸς εἶλον, ἤρησθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἑνυμνοὺς μὴ ἐνοχλεῖν ξυμβουλευόντα ἢ μὴ πείσεις." "πέσομαι," ἔφη,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

making any voyage over the Red Sea or adventuring to the inhabitants of the Gulf, to taste the wisdom of India. It is not to-day therefore for the first time that I shall make my choice, but I made it long ago, though I did not obtain what I hoped to obtain. For what is there to wonder at if a man who has missed what he was looking for, returns to the search? And if I should convert my friends yonder to this point of view, and persuade them to adopt the convictions which I have adopted myself, should I, tell me, be guilty of any harshness? For you must not reject the claim that youth makes that in some way it assimilates an idea more easily than old age, and anyone who counsels another to adopt the wisdom and teaching which he himself has chosen, anyhow escapes the imputation of trying to persuade others of things he does not believe himself. And anyone who takes the blessings bestowed upon him by fortune into a corner and there enjoys them by himself, violates their character as blessings for he prevents their sweetness from being enjoyed by as many as possible.'

CHAP.
XVI

XVII

When Nilus had finished these arguments, and juvenile enough they were, Apollonius took him up and said "If you are in love with my wisdom, had you not better, before I begin, discuss with me the question of my reward?" "Let us discuss it," answered Nilus, "and do you ask whatever you like." "I ask you," he said "to be content with the choice you have made, and not to annoy the naked sages by giving them advice which they

CHAP.
XVII
Apollonius proposes to visit the men in the Nile

CAP. XVII "καὶ ὁμολογείσθω ὁ μισθός." ταῦτα μὲν δὴ
 οὕτως ἐσπούδασαν, ἐρομένου δ' αὐτὸν μετὰ ταῦτα
 τοῦ Νείλου, πόσου χρόνου διατρίψαι περὶ τοὺς
 Γυμνοὺς, "ὅπόσου," ἔφη, "χρόνου ἀξία ἢ τῶνδε
 σοφία τῷ ξυνεσομένῳ σφίσιν, εἴτα ἐπὶ Καταδού-
 πων τὴν ὁδὸν ποιησόμεθα τῶν πηγῶν ἕνεκα,
 χάριν γὰρ τὸ μὴ μόνον ἰδεῖν τὰς τοῦ Νείλου
 ἀρχάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ κελαδοῦντος αὐτοῦ ἀκοῦσαι."

XVIII

CAP. XVIII Ὡς διαλεχθέντες καὶ τινων Ἰνδικῶν μνημονεύ-
 σαντες ἐκίβευδον ἐν τῇ πόλει. ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ
 προσευξάμενοι τὰ εἰωθότα εἶπαντο τῷ Νείλῳ
 παρὰ τὸν θιεσπεσίωνα αὐτοὺς ἄγοντι· προσευ-
 πόντες οὖν ἀλλήλους καὶ ξυνιζήσαντες ἐν τῷ
 ἄλσει διαλέξεως ἤπτοντο, ἤρχε δ' αὐτῆς ὁ Ἀπολ-
 λώνιος· "ὥς μὲν γὰρ πολλοῦ," ἔφη, "ἄξιον τὸ
 μὴ κρύπτειν σοφίαν, δηλοῦσιν αἱ χθρὲς λόγοι·
 διδασκόμενων γὰρ με Ἰνδῶν, ὅποσα τῆς ἐκείνων
 σοφίας ῥῆμιν προσήκειν ἐμοί, μέμνημαί τε τῶν
 ἐμαντοῦ διδασκάλων καὶ περίεμι διδάσκων, ἃ
 ἐκείνων ἤκουσα, καὶ ὑμῖν δ' ἂν ἐν κέρδει γενοί-
 μην, εἴ με καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν σοφίαν εἰδύτα
 πέμπετε, οὐ γὰρ ἂν παυσάιμην." Ἐλλησί τε διῶν
 τὰ ὑμέτερα καὶ Ἰνδοῖς γράφων."

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

will not take." "I consent," he said, "and let this be agreed upon as your reward." This then was the substance of their conversation, and when Nilus at its close asked him how long a time he would stay among the naked sages he replied. "So long as the quality of their wisdom justifies anyone in remaining in their company, and after that I shall take my way to the cataracts, in order to see the springs of the Nile, for it will be delightful not only to behold the sources of the Nile, but also to listen to the roar of its waterfalls."

CHAP
XVII

XVIII

After they had held this discussion and listened to some recollections of India, they lay down to sleep upon the grass, but at daybreak, having offered their accustomed prayers, they followed Nilus, who led them into the presence of Thespision. They accordingly greeted one another, and sitting down together in the grove they began a conversation in which Apollonius led as follows. "How important it is," said he, "not to conceal wisdom, is proved by our conversation of yesterday for because the Indians taught me as much of their wisdom as I thought it proper for me to know, I not only remember my teachers, but I go about instilling into others what I heard from them. And you too will be richly rewarded by me, if you send me away with a knowledge of your wisdom as well, for I shall not cease to go about and repeat your teachings to the Greeks, while to the Indians I shall write them."

CHAP
XVIII

But first
discuss
with the
naked sages
the animal
soul of
Egypt.

CAP. XIX "Ἐρώτα," ἔφασαν, "ἔπεται γάρ που ἐρωτήσῃ λόγος," καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "περὶ θεῶν," εἶπεν, "ὕμᾱς ἐρήσομαι πρῶτον, τί μαθόντες ἄτοπα καὶ γελοῖα θεῶν εἶδη παραδεδώκατε τοῖς δεῦρο ἰσθρῶποις πλὴν ὀλίγων· ὀλίγων γάρ; πάνν μέντοι ὀλίγων, ἃ σοφῶς καὶ θεοειδῶς ἴδρυται, τὰ λοιπὰ δ' ὑμῶν ἱερὰ ζώων ἰλόγων καὶ αἰδέων τιμὰ μᾶλλον ἢ θεῶν φαίνονται." δυσχερίνας δὲ ὁ Θεσπεσίων, "τὰ δὲ παρ' ὑμῖν," εἶπεν, "ἀγάλματα πῶς ἰδρῦσθαι φήσεις;" "ὅς γε," ἔφη, "κάλλιστόν τε καὶ θεοφιλέστατον δημιουργεῖν θεοῦς." "τὸν Δία που λέγεις," εἶπε, "τὸν ἐν τῇ Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἔδος καὶ τὸ τῆς Κνιδίας τε καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀργείας καὶ ὅποσα αἶδε καλὰ καὶ μεστὰ ὦρας." "οὐ μόνον," ἔφη, "ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθάπαξ τὴν μὲν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαλματοποιίαν ἄπτεσθαί φημι τοῦ προσήκοντος, ὑμᾶς δὲ καταγελᾶν τοῦ θείου μᾶλλον ἢ νομίζειν αὐτό." "οἱ Φειδίαι δέ," εἶπε, "καὶ οἱ Πραξιτέλεις μὲν ἀνελθόντες ἐς οὐρανὸν καὶ ἀπομαξάμενοι τὰ τῶν θεῶν εἶδη τέχνην αὐτὰ ἐποιοῦντο, ἢ ἕτερόν τι ἦν, ὃ ἐφίστη αἰντοὺς τῷ πλάττειν;" "ἕτερον," ἔφη,

XIX

"Ass," they said, "for you know question comes first and argument follows on it. And Apollonius said "It is about the gods that I would like to ask you a question first, namely what induced you to impart, as your tradition, to the people of this country forms of the gods that are absurd and grotesque in almost a few cases? In a few cases, do I say? I would rather say that in very few are the gods images fashioned in a wise and god-like manner, for the mass of your shrines seem to have been erected in honour rather of irrational and ignoble animals than of gods. Theophrastus, resenting these remarks, said "And your own images in Greece, how are they fashioned? "In the way," he replied, "in which it is best and most reverent to construct images of the gods. "I suppose you allude," said the other, "to the statue of Zeus in Olympia and to the image of Athena and to that of the Cnidian goddess and to that of the Argive goddess and to other images equally beautiful and full of charm." "Not only to these," replied Apollonius, "but without exception I maintain, that whereas in other lands statuary has scrupulously observed decency and fitness, you rather make ridicule of the gods than really believe in them. "Your artists then like Phidias," said the other, "and like Praxiteles, went up, I suppose to heaven and took a copy of the forms of the gods, and then reproduced these by their art, or was there any other influence which presided over and guided their moulding? "There was," said Apollonius, "and

CHAP
XIX
Apollonius
asks the
question
of the gods

"καὶ μεστόν γε σοφίας πρᾶγμα." "ποῦν," εἶπεν,
 "οὐ γὰρ ἂν τι παρὰ τὴν μίμησιν εἴποις." "φαντα-
 σία," ἔφη, "ταῦτα εἰργάσατο, σοφωτέρα μμησεως
 δημιουργός· μίμησις μὲν γὰρ δημιουργήσῃ, ὃ εἶδεν,
 φαντασία δὲ καὶ ὃ μὴ εἶδεν, ὑποθίσσεται γὰρ αὐτὸ
 πρὸς τὴν ἀναφορὰν τοῦ ὄντος, καὶ μίμησις μὲν
 πολλάκις ἐκκρούει ἐκπληξίς, φαντασίαν δὲ οὐδέν,
 χωρεῖ γὰρ ἀνέκπληκτος πρὸς ὃ αὐτὴ ὑπέθετο. δεῖ
 δὲ που Διὸς μὲν ἐνθυμηθέντα εἶδος ὕμνῳ αὐτὸν ξὺν
 οὐρανῷ καὶ ὥραις καὶ ἄστροις, ὥσπερ ὁ Ψευδίας
 τότε ἔρμησεν, Ἀθηνῶν δὲ δημιουργήσῃν μέλλοντα
 στρατοπεδα ἔννοεῖν καὶ μῆτιν καὶ τέχνας καὶ ὡς
 Διὸς αὐτοῦ ἀνέθορεν. εἰ δὲ ἱέρακα ἢ γλαῦκα ἢ
 λύκον ἢ κύνα ἐργασάμενος ἔς τὰ ἱερὰ φέροις ἂντι
 Ἑρμοῦ τε καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἀπύλλωνος, τὰ μὲν
 θηρία καὶ τὰ ὄρνεα ζηλωτὰ δύξει τῶν εἰκόνων, οἱ
 δὲ θεοὶ παραπολὺ τῆς αὐτῶν δοξῆς ἰστυξουσιν."
 "ἔοικας," εἶπεν, "ἀβασανίστως ἐξεταζειν τὰ
 ἡμέτερα· σοφὸν γάρ, εἴπερ τι Αἰγυπτίων, καὶ τὸ
 μὴ θρασύνεσθαι ἐς τὰ τῶν θεῶν εἶδη, συμβολικὰ
 δὲ αὐτὰ ποιῆσθαι καὶ ὑπονοούμενα, καὶ γὰρ ἂν
 καὶ σεμνότερα οὕτω φαινοιτο." γελῶσας οὖν ὁ
 Ἀπολλωνίος, "ὦ ἄνθρωποι," ἔφη, "μεγάλαι ὑμῖν
 ἀπολλόμεναι τῆς Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ Αἰθιοπῶν
 σοφίας, εἰ σεμνότερον ὑμῶν καὶ θεοειδέστατον
 κύων δόξει καὶ ἵβις καὶ τράγος, ταῦτα γὰρ θεοσκε-
 σίμωνος ἀκούω τοῦ σοφοῦ. σεμνὸν δὲ δὴ ἡ ἔμφρονον

an influence pregnant with wisdom and genius. CHAP

What was that? said the other, "for I do not think you can adduce any exception." "Imagination," said Apollonius, "brought these works, a wiser and subtler artist by far than imitation for imitation can only create as its handwork what it has seen, but imagination equals what it has not seen, for it will conceive of its ideal with reference to the reality and imitation is often baffled by terror but imagination by nothing, for it marches undismayed to the goal which it has itself laid down. When you entertain a notion of *Zeus* you must, I suppose envisage him, shag with heaven and seasons and stars, as Pindar in his day endeavoured to do, and if you would fashion an image of *Athena* you must image in your mind arms and a cunning and lovely craft and how she came out of *Zeus* himself. But if you make a hawk or an owl or a wolf or a dog, and put it in your temples instead of *Hermes* or *Athena* or *Apollo*, your animals and your birds may be esteemed and of much price as likenesses but the gods will be very much lowered in their dignity."

"I think," said the other, "that you criticise our religion very superficially for if the Egyptians have any wisdom they show it by their deep respect and reverence in the representation of the gods and by the circumstance that they fashion their forms as symbols of a profound inner meaning so as to enhance their solemnity and august character." Apollonius thereon merely laughed and said, "My good friends, you have indeed greatly profited by the wisdom of Egypt and Ethiopia if your dog and your ibis and your goat seem particularly august and godlike, for this is what I learn from Thespemon the sage

CAP.
XIX

τί ἐν ταύτοις, τοὺς γὰρ ἐπιόρκους καὶ τοὺς ἱεροσύν-
λους καὶ τὰ βωμολόχα ἔθνη καταφρονεῖν τῶν ται-
ούτων ἱερῶν εἰκὸς μᾶλλον ἢ δεδιέναι αὐτά, εἰ δὲ
σεμνότερα ταῦτα ὑπονοούμενα, πολλῶς σεμνότερον
ἂν ἔπραττον οἱ θεοὶ κατ' Αἴγυπτον, εἰ μὴ ἴδρυτό τι
αὐτῶν ἄγαλμα, ἀλλ' ἕτερον τρόπον σοφώτερόν τε
καὶ ἀπορρητότερον τῇ θεολογίᾳ ἐχρῆσθε ἦν γαίρ
που νεῶς μὲν αὐτοῖς δξαικοδομήσαι καὶ βωμους
ὀρίζειν καὶ ἅ χρὴ θύειν καὶ ἅ μὴ χρὴ καὶ ὑπηνίκα
καὶ ἐφ' ὅσον καὶ ὅ τι λέγοντας ἢ δρῶντας, ἄγαλμα
δὲ μὴ ἐσφέρειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ εἶδη τῶν θεῶν καταλείπειν
τοῖς τὰ ἱερὰ ἐσφοιτῶσιν, ἀναγράφει γάρ τι ἡ
γνώμη καὶ ἀνατυπῶνται δημιουργίας κρεῖττον,
ὕμεις δὲ ἀφήρησθε τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὸ ὀρᾶσθαι
καλῶς καὶ τὸ ὑπονοεῖσθαι." πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ θεοσπε-
σίων, "ἐγένετό τις," ἔφη, "Σωκράτης Ἀθηναῖος
ἀνόητος, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς, γέρων, ὅς τὸν κύνα καὶ τὸν
χῆνα καὶ τὴν πλάτανον θεοὺς τε ἠγείτο καὶ ὤμνυ."
"οὐκ ἀνόητος," εἶπεν, "ἀλλὰ θεῖος καὶ ἀτεχνῶς
σοφός, ὤμνυ γὰρ ταῦτα οὐχ ὡς θεοὺς, ἀλλ' ἵνα
μὴ θεοὺς ὁμνῶσι."

XX

CAP.
XX

Μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ θεοσπεσίων ὥσπερ μεθιστάμενος
τουτοῦ τοῦ λόγου, ἤρετο τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον περὶ
80

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

But what is there that is august or awe-inspiring in these images? Is it not likely that perjurers and temple thieves and all the rabble of low jesters will despise such holy objects rather than dread them, and if they are to be held august for the hidden meanings which they convey, surely the gods in Egypt would have met with much greater reverence, if no images of them had ever been set up at all, and if you had planned your theology along other lines wiser and more mysterious. For I imagine you might have built temples for them, and have fixed the altars and laid down rules about what to sacrifice and what not, and when and on what scale and with what liturgies and rites without introducing any image at all, but leaving it to those who frequented the temples to imagine the images of the gods for the mind can more or less delineate and figure them to itself better than can any artist, but you have denied to the gods the privilege of beauty both of the outer eye and of inner suggestion. Theopiston replied and said: "There was a certain Athenian called Socrates, a foolish old man like ourselves, who thought that the dog and the goose and the plane tree were gods and used to swear by them. "He was not for us, said Apollonius, "but a divine and unfeignedly wise man, for he did not swear by these objects on the understanding that they were gods, but to save himself from swearing by the gods."

XX

THEOPISTON Theopiston as if anxious to drop this subject, put some questions to Apollonius, about the

CHAP.
IX

¹ ^{Λ'}
^{XX} τῆς Λακωνικῆς μαστιγῆς καὶ εἰ δημοσίῃ οἱ Λακε-
δαιμόνιοι παύονται· "τὰς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γε," εἶπεν,
"ὧ θεσπεσίῳν, αὐτοὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἐλευθέριοι τε
καὶ εὐδόκιμοι." "τοὺς δὲ οἰκέτας ἰδικοῦντας τί,"
ἔφη, "ἐργάζονται;" "οὐκέτ' ἀποκτείνουσιν," εἶπεν,
"ὥς ξυνεχωρεῖ ποτὲ ὁ Λυκούργος, ἀλλ' ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ
ἐπ' ἐκείνους μίστιξ." "ἡ δὲ Ἑλλὰς πῶς," ἔφη,
"περὶ αὐτῶν γιγνώσκει," "ξυνίασιν," εἶπεν,
"ὥσπερ ἐς τὰ Ῥακινθία καὶ τὰν Ἰνμινοπαιδείας,
θεασόμενοι ξὺν ἡδονῇ τε ὕμῃ, πίσῃ." "εἴτ' οὐκ
αἰσχυρόνται," ἔφη, "οἱ χρηστοὶ Ἑλλήνων ἢ τοὺς
αὐτῶν ποτε ἄρξαντας ὁρῶντες μαστιγουμένους ἐν
τῷ κοινῷ. ἡ ἀρχθέντες ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων, οἱ μαστι-
γοῦνται δημοσίῃ, σὺ δὲ πῶς οὐ διωρθώσω ταῦτα;
φασὶ γὰρ σε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπιμεληθῆναι."
"ἂ γε," εἶπε, "δυνατὸν διορθοῦσθαι ξυμβού-
λευσιν μὲν ἐγώ, προθύμως δ' ἐκεῖνοι ἐπραττον,
ἐλευθεριωτάτοι· μὲν γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰσὶ,
μόνου δ' ὑπήκοοι τοῦ εὐξυμβουλεύοντος. τὸ δὲ τῶν
μαστίγων ἔθος τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ ἀπὸ Σκυθῶν δρᾶται,
χρησμῶν, φασιν, ἐξηγουμένων ταῦτα θεοῖς δ'
ἀντινομεῖν μακρὰ, οἶμαι." "οὐ σοφούς, Ἀπολ-
λωνιε," ἔφη, "τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων θεοὺς εἰρηκας,
εἰ μαστίγων ἐγύγοντο ξύμβουλοι τοῖν τὴν ἐλευ-
θερίαν ἀσκοῦσιν." "οὐ μαστίγων," εἶπεν, "ἀλλὰ
τοῦ αἵματι ἀνθρώπων τὸν βωμὸν ραίνειν, ἐπειδὴ

* I coniecture μένου ἰσὺ μένου.

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scourging in Sparta, and asked if the Lacedæmonians were smitten with rods in public. "Yes," answered the other, "no harder (O I scapion), as men can smite them, and it is especially men of noble and distinguished birth among them that are so treated." "Then what do they do to menials," he asked, "when they do wrong?" "They do not kill them nowadays," said Apollonius, "as Lycurgus formerly allowed, but the same whip is used to them too." "And what judgment does Hellas pass upon the matter?" "They look," he answered, "to see the spectacle with pleasure and almost enthusiasm, as if to the festival of Hyacinthos, or to that of the naked boys." "Then these ancient Hellenes are not ashamed either to behold those publicly whipped who erewhile governed them or to reflect that they were governed by men who are whipped before the eyes of all?" And how is it that you did not reform this abuse? For they say that you interested yourself in the affairs of the Lacedæmonians as of other people. "So far as anything could be reformed I gave them my advice and they readily adopted it, for they are the truest of the Hellenes; but at the same time they will only listen to one who gives them good advice. Now the custom of scourging is a custom in honour of the Scythian Artemis so they say, and was prescribed by oracles, and to oppose the regulations of the gods is in my opinion utter madness." "Is a poor wisdom, Apollonius," he replied, "which you attribute to the gods of the Hellenes, if they countenance scourging as a part of the discipline of freedom." "It is not the scourging," he said, "but the sprinkling of the altar with human blood that is important, for the Scythians too held

MAP
 17
 The Lacedæmonians
 were smitten with rods
 in public.

καὶ παρὰ Σκύθαις τούτων ἡξιούτο, συφισάμενοι
 δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸ ἀπαραίτητον τῆς θυσίας
 ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς καρτερίας ἡγῶνα ἤκουσιν, ἀφ' ἧς ἐστὶ
 μήτε ἀποθνήσκειν καὶ ὑπάρχεισθαι τῇ θεῷ τοῦ
 σφῶν αἵματος." "διὰ τί οὖν," ἔφη, "τοὺς ξένους
 οὐ καταθύνουσι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, καθάπερ ἐδικαίουν
 ποτὲ οἱ Σκύθαι;" "ὅτι," εἶπεν, "οὐδενὶ Ἑλλήνων
 πρὸς τρύπου βιρβαρα ἐξαπκεῖν ἦθι." "καὶ μὴν καὶ
 φιλανθρωπότεροι ἐδύκουν ἂν εἶνα που καὶ δύο
 θύοντες ἢ ξενηλασίᾳ χρώμενοι ἐς πάντας."

"Μὴ καταπτώμεθα," εἶπεν, "ὦ ἡεσπεσίῳ, τοῦ
 Δουκούργου, χρὴ γὰρ ξυνιέναι τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ ὅτι τὸ
 μὴ ἐνδιατρίβειν εἰς τοὺς ξένους οὐκ ἡμιξίας αὐτῷ
 νοῦν εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ὑγιαίνειν τὰς ἐπιτηδεύσεις
 μὴ ἐνομιλούντων τῇ Σπάρτῃ τῶν ἄλλων." "ἐγὼ
 δὲ ἄνδρας," ἔφη, "Σπαρτιάτας ἡγούμην ἂν, οἷοι
 δοκεῖν ἀξιοῦσιν, εἰ συνδιαιτώμενοι τοῖς ξένοις μὴ
 μεθίσταντο τῶν οἴκοι, οὐ γὰρ τῷ ἀπόντων, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ τῷ παρόντων ὁμοίον ἐρᾶσθαι ἔδει, οἶμαι, τὰς
 ἀρετὰς κτᾶσθαι. οἱ δὲ καίτοι ξενηλασίαις χρώ-
 μενοι, διεφθάρησαν τὰς ἐπιτηδεύσεις, καὶ οἷς μάλ-
 ιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑπήχθησαν, ταύτοις ὁμοια
 πράττειν ἔδοξαν. τὰ γοῦν περὶ τὴν θάλατταν καὶ

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the altar to be worthy thereof but the Lacedæ-^{CHAR}
monians modified the ceremony of sacrifice because ^{XI}
of its implacable cruelty and turned it into a contest
of endurance, undergone without any loss of life, and
yet securing to the goddess as first fruits an offering of
their own blood. "Why then," said the other, "do
they not sacrifice strangers right out to Artemis, as
the Scythians formerly considered it right to do?"
"Because," he answered, "it is not congenial to any
of the Greeks to adopt in their full rigour the
manners and customs of barbarians." "And yet,"
said the other "it seems to me that it would be
more humane to sacrifice one or two of them than to
enforce as they do a policy of exclusion against all
foreigners."

"Let us not assail," said the other, "O Thea-
petion, the law giver Lycurgus, but we must under-
stand him, and then we shall see that his prohibition
to strangers to settle in Sparta and live there was
not inspired on his part by mere boorish exclusive-
ness but by a desire to keep the institutions of
Sparta in their original purity by preventing out-
siders from mingling in her life." "Well," said
the other, "I should allow the men of Sparta
to be what they claim to be, if they had ever lived
with strangers, and yet had faithfully adhered
to their home principles, for it was not by keeping
true to themselves in the absence of strangers,
but by doing so in spite of their presence, that
they needed to show their superiority. But they,
although they enforced this policy of excluding
strangers, corrupted their institutions, and were
found doing exactly the same as did those of the
Greeks whom they most detested. Anyhow, their

αἱ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιτάξεις τῶν φόρων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν
 αὐτοῖς ἐβουλεύθη, καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν πολεμητέα πρὸς
 Ἀθηναίους ᾔσονται αὐτοῖς εἶναι, ταῦτ' ἐς τὸ καὶ
 αὐτοὶ δρᾶν κατεστησαν, τὰ μὲν πολέμα τοὺς
 Ἀθηναίους νικῶντες, ὧν δὲ ἐκείνοις ἐπιτηδεύειν
 ἔδοξεν ἡττώμενοι. καὶ αὐτὸ τὴν ἐκ Ταύρων τε
 καὶ Σκυθῶν ἐσώγεσθαι δαίμονα, ξένα ἦν νομι-
 ζόντων. εἰ δὲ χρησμῶν ταῦτα, τί ἔδει μίστυρος,
 τί δὲ καρτερίαν ἀνδραποδῶδη πλείττεσθαι; λακω-
 νικώτερον πρὸς θανάτου ῥώμην ἐκείνο ἦν, οἶμαι,
 Σπαρτιάτην ἐφηβὸν ἔκοντα ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ θύεσ-
 θαι. τουτὶ γὰρ ἂν τὴν μὲν Σπάρτην εὐψυχότε-
 ρους ἐδείκνυε, τὴν δὲ Ἑλλάδα ἀπῆγε τοῦ μὴ ἐς
 ἀντίπαλα αὐτοῖς ἀντικαθίστασθαι. εἰ δὲ ἐς τὰ
 πολέμια φείδεσθαι τῶν νέων εἰκὸς ἦν, ἄλλ' ὅ γε
 νόμος ὁ παρὰ Σκύθαις ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐξηκοντούταις
 καίμενος οἰκειότερος ἦν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπιτηδεύειν
 ἢ Σκύθαις, εἰ τὸν θάνατον ἀτεχνῶς, ἄλλα μὴ
 κόμπου ἕνεκα ἀπαινοῦσι. ταῦτα οὐ πρὸς Λακε-
 δαιμονίους εἰρηταί μοι, πρὸς δὲ σέ, Ἀπολλώνιε· εἰ
 γὰρ τὰ παλαιὰ νόμιμα καὶ πολυώτερα ἢ γιννώ-
 σκειν αὐτὰ πικρῶς ἐξετάζοιμεν ἐς ἄλεγχον καθ-
 ιστάμενοι τοῦ θεοῦ, διότι αὐτοῖς χαίρουσι, πολλοὶ
 καὶ ἄτοποι λόγοι τῆς τοιαύτης φιλοσοφίας ἀναφύ-

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subsequent naval programme and policy of imposing tribute was modeled entirely upon that of Athens and they themselves coiled in committing acts which they had themselves regarded as a just *casus belli* against the Athenians, whom they had no sooner beaten in the field than they humbly adopted as if they were the beaten party their pet institution. And the very fact that the goddess was introduced from Taurus and Scythia was the action of men who embraced alien customs. But if an oracle prescribed this, what want was there of a scourge? What need to feign an endurance only fit for slaves? Had they wanted to prove the disdain that Lacedaemonians felt for death they had I think done better to sacrifice a youth of Sparta with his own consent upon the altar. For this would have been a real proof of the supreme courage of the Spartans, and would have discomfited Helias from raising her self in the opposite camp to them. But you will say that they had to save their young men for the battlefield, well in that case the law which forbids among the Scythians and sentences all men of sixty years of age to death would have been more suitably introduced and followed among the Lacedaemonians than among the Scythians, supposing that they embrace death in its grim reality and not as a mere parade. These remarks of mine are directed not so much against the Lacedaemonians, as against yourself (1) *Ausonius*. For if ancient institutions whose history ages deface our understanding of their origins are to be examined in an unprejudiced spirit and the reasons why they are pursued be heavenly suggested to cool criticism such a line of speculation will produce a crop of odd conclusions.

CAP. XX. σονται, καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ τῆς Ἐλευσῖνι τελετῆς ἐπι-
 λαβοίμεθα, διότι τό, ἀλλὰ μὴ τό, καὶ ὦν Σαμό-
 θρακες τελοῦσιν, ἐπεὶ μὴ τὸ δεῖνα, τὸ δεῖνα δὲ αὐτοῖς
 δρᾶται, καὶ Διονυσίων καὶ φαλλοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἐν
 Κυλλήνῃ εἶδους, καὶ οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιμεν συκοφαν-
 τοῦντες πάντα. ἴωμεν οὖν ἐφ' ὃ τι βούλει ἕτερον,
 τιμῶντες καὶ τὸν Πυθαγόρου λόγον ἡμεδαπὸν
 ὄντα· καλὸν γάρ, εἰ καὶ μὴ περὶ πάντων, ἀλλ'
 ὑπὲρ γε τῶν τοιούτων σιωπᾶν." ὑπολαβὼν δ' ὁ
 Ἀπολλώνιος, "εἰ σπουδαῖσαι," εἶπεν, "ὦ Θεσ-
 πεσίων, ἐβούλου τὸν λόγον, πολλὰ ἂν σοι καὶ
 γενναῖα ἔδοξεν ἢ Λακεδαίμων λέγειν ὑπὲρ ὧν ὑγιᾶς
 τε καὶ παρὰ πάντας ἐπιτηδεύει τοὺς Ἕλληνας,
 ἐπεὶ δὲ οὕτως ὑποσπουδαζεις αὐτόν, ὥς μὴδὲ ὅσιον
 ἡγεῖσθαι τὸ ὑπὲρ τοιούτων λέγειν, ἴωμεν ἐφ'
 ἕτερον λόγον πολλοῦ ἄξιον, ὥς ἐμάντων παύθω·
 περὶ δικαιοσύνης γάρ τι ἐρήσομαι."

XXI

CAP. XXI. "Ἀπτόμεθα," ὁ Θεσπεσίων ἔφη, "τοῦ λόγου,
 προσήκων γὰρ σοφοῖς τε καὶ μὴ σοφοῖς. ἀλλ' ἵνα
 μὴ τὰς Ἰνδῶν δόξας ἐνείρουντες ξυγχέωμεν αὐτόν
 καὶ ἀπέλθωμεν ἄπρακτοι τοῦ λόγου, πρῶτον εἰπὲ
 τὰ περὶ δικαιοσύνης Ἰνδοῖς δοξαντα, εἰκὸς γὰρ
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for we could attack the mystery rite of Eleusis in the same way and ask, why it is this and not that ; and the same with the rites of the Samothracians, for in their ritual they avoid one thing and insist on another , and the same with the Dionysiac ceremonies and the phallic symbol, and the figure erected in Cyllene, and before we know where we are we shall be picking holes in everything. Let us choose, therefore, any other topic you like, but respect the sentiment of Pythagoras, which is also our own , for it is better, if we can't hold our tongues about everything, at any rate to preserve silence about such matters as these." Apollonius replied and said, " If, O Thespesion, you had wished to discuss the topic seriously, you would have found that the Lacedæmonians have many excellent arguments to advance in favour of their institutions, proving that they are sound and superior to those of other Hellenes , but since you are so averse to continue the discussion, and even regard it as impious to talk about such things, let us proceed to another subject, of great importance, as I am convinced, for it is about justice that I shall now put a question."

XXI

"LET us," said Thespesion, "tackle the subject, for it is one very suitable to men, whether they are wise or not wise. But lest we should drag in the opinions of Indians, and so confuse our discussion, and go off without having formed any conclusions, do you first impart to us the views held by the Indians concerning justice, for you probably examined

CHAP.
XX

CHAP.
XXI
And the problem of the nature of justice in general

ΟΛΥ
 ΣΧΙ
 βεβασανίσθαι σοι ἐκεῖ ταῦτα, κἂν μὲν ἡ δόξα
 ὀρθῶς ἔχῃ, ξυνθησόμεθα, εἰ δ' αὐτοί τι σοφώτερον
 εἴποιμεν, ξυντίθεσθε, δικαιοσύνης γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο."
 "Ἄριστα," εἶπεν, "ὦ Θεσπεσίων, καὶ ὥς ἐμοὶ
 ἤδιστα εἴρηκας· ἄκουε δὴ τῶν ἐκεῖ σπουδασθέν-
 των. διήκειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐγώ, κυβερνήτης ὥς
 γενοίμην μεγάλης νεως, ὅπύθ' ἡ ψυχὴ σώματος
 ἑτέρου ἐπεμέλετο, καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἡγοίμην ἐμαυ-
 τόν, ἐπειδὴ λησται μὲν ἐμισθοῦντό με προδοῦναι
 τὴν ναὺν καθορμισμένον οἱ λοχήσειν αὐτὴν ἐμελ-
 λον, δι' ἃ ἦγεν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπαγγεिलाίμην μὲν ταῦτα,
 ὥς μὴ ἐπίθοιντο ἡμῖν, παραπλεύσαιμι δ' αὐτοὺς
 καὶ ὑπερίραμι τοῦ χωρίου." "ξυνέθεντο δ'," ἢ
 δ' ὁ Θεσπεσίων, "δικαιοσύνην εἶναι Ἰνδοὶ
 ταῦτα;" "κατεγέλασαν μὲν οὖν," εἶπε, "μὴ γὰρ
 εἶναι δικαιοσύνην τὸ μὴ ἰδικεῖν." "ὑγιῶς," ἔφη.
 "ἠπέδοξε τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς, οὔτε γὰρ φρόνησις τὸ μὴ
 ἀνοήτως τι ἐνθυμεῖσθαι, οὔτε ἀνδρεία τὸ μὴ
 λείπειν τὴν τάξιν, οὔτε σωφροσύνη τὸ μὴ ἐς τὰ
 τῶν μοιχῶν ἐκπιπτειν, οὔτε ἀξίον ἐπαίνου τὸ μὴ
 κακὸν φαίνεσθαι· πᾶν γάρ, ὃ τιμῆς τε καὶ
 τιμωρίας ἴσον ἀφάσθηκεν, οὐπω ἰρετή." "πῶς
 οὖν, ὦ Θεσπεσίων," εἶπε, "στεφανώσομεν τὸν
 δίκαιον, ἢ τί πρίττοντα;" "ἀνελλιπεστέρον,"
 ἔφη, "καὶ προσφορώτερον ἂν ὑπὲρ δικαιοσύνης
 ἐσπουδίασατε, ἢ ὅποτε βασιλεὺς τοσῆσδέ τε καὶ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

their views on the spot; and if their opinion is proved to be correct we will adopt it, but if we have something wiser to put in its place, you must adopt our view, for that too is plain justice." Said Apollonius "Your plan is excellent and most satisfactory to me so do you listen to the conversation which I held there. For I related to them how I had once been the captain of a large ship in the period when my soul was in command of another body, and how I thought myself extremely just because when robbers offered me a reward, if I would betray my ship by running it into roads where they were going to lie in wait for it, in order to seize the cargo, I agreed and made the promise, just to save them from attacking us, but intending to slip by them and get beyond the place agreed upon. "And, said Theophrastus, "did the Indians agree that this was justice?" "No, they laughed at the idea," he replied, "for they said that justice was something more than not being unjust." "It was very sensible," said the other, "of the Indians to reject such a view, for good sense is something more than not entertaining nonsense just as courage is something more than not running away from the ranks, and to temperance is something more than the avoidance of adultery, and no one reserves his praise for a man who has simply shown himself to be not bad. For because a thing, no matter what, is equi-distant between praise and punishment, it is not on that account to be reckoned off-hand to be virtue." "How then, O Theophrastus," said Apollonius, "are we to crown the just man and for what actions?" "Could you have discussed justice more completely and more opportunely," said the other, "than when

CHAP
XXI

οὕτως εὐδαίμονος χώρας ἄρχων ἐπέστη φιλοσοφῶσιν ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλεύειν, δικαιοτάτου κτήματος," "εἰ ὁ Φραώτης," εἶπεν, "ὁ ἀφικόμενος ἦν, ὀρθῶς ἂν ἐμέμφου τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ δικαιοσύνης ἐπ' αὐτοῦ σπουδάσαι, ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδες τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν οἷς χθὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ διήρει μεθύοντα καὶ ἀχθόμενον φιλοσοφίᾳ πάσῃ, τί εἴδει παρέχειν ὄχλον; τί δ' αὐτοῖς ἔχειν φιλοτιμουμένους ἐπ' ἀνθρώπου σύβαριν ἡγουμένου πάντα; ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ σοφοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὥσπερ ἡμῖν, ἰχθυυτέα ἢ δικαιοσύνη μᾶλλον ἢ βασιλευσί τε καὶ στρατηγού, ἴωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀτεχνῶς δίκαιον. ὃ γὰρ ἑμαυτὸν τε ἡγούμεν, ὅποτε ἢ ναῦς, ἐτέρους τε, οἳ μὴ ἀδίκων ἀπύονται, οὕτω δίκαιους φασί, οὐδ' ἀξίους τιμᾶσθαι." "καὶ αἰκότως," εἶπεν, "οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν Ἀθηναίοις ποτὲ ἢ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐγγράφη γνώμη τὸν δεῖνα στεφανοῦν, ἐπεὶ μὴ τῶν ἡταιρηκότων ἐστίν, ἢ τὸν δεῖνα ποιῆσθαι πολίτην, ἐπεὶ μὴ τὰ ἱερὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συλᾶται. τις οὖν ὁ δίκαιος καὶ ὁ τί πράττων; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνῃ τινὰ στεφανωθείτα οἶδα, οὐδὲ γνώμην ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ δίκαιῳ γραφεῖσαν, ὥς τὸν δεῖνα χρή στεφανοῦν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ δεῖνα πρίττων δίκαιος φαίνεται, τὰ μὲν γὰρ Παλαμηδους ἐνθυμηθέντι τὰ ἐν Τροίᾳ καὶ τὰ Σωκράτους τὰ Ἀθήνησιν οὐδ' εὐτυχεῖν ἢ δικαιοσύνη δοξεῖ παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἰδικοῦτατα

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

the sovereign of so large and so flourishing a country CHAP
XXI
 intervened in your philosophic discussion of the art of
 kingship, a thing intimately connected with justice?"
 "If it had been Phæotes, said Apollonius, "who
 turned up on that occasion, you might rightly blame
 me for not gravely discussing the subject of justice
 in his presence. But you know from the account
 which I gave of him yesterday that the man is a
 drunkard and an enemy of all philosophy. What need
 therefore was there to inflict on him the trouble?
 Why should we try to win credit for ourselves in the
 presence of a sybarite who thinks of nothing but his
 own pleasures? But inasmuch as it is incumbent
 upon wise men like ourselves to explore and trace
 out justice, more so than on kings and generals, let
 us proceed to examine the absolutely just man.
 For though I thought myself just in the affair of
 the ship, and thought others just too, because they
 do not practise injustice, you deny that this in
 itself constitutes them just or worthy of honour."
 "And rightly so, said the other, "for whoever
 heard of a decree being drafted by Athenians or
 Lacedæmonians in favour of crowning so and so,
 because he is not a libertine, or of granting the
 freedom of the city to so and so, because the temples
 have not been robbed by him? Who then is the
 just man and what are his actions? For neither
 did I ever hear of anyone being crowned merely for
 his justice, nor of a decree being proposed over a
 just man to the effect that so and so shall be
 crowned, because such and such actions of his show
 him to be just. For anyone who considers the fate
 of Palamedes in Troy or of Socrates in Athens, will
 discover that even justice is not sure of success

γὰρ δὴ οἶδε ἔπαθον, δικαιοτάτοι ὄντες. πλὴν ἄλλ' οὔτοι μὲν ἐπὶ δοξῇ ἰδικοιμμάτων ἀπώλυντο, ψήφου παρὰ τὸ εὐθὺ ἐνεχθείσης, Ἀριστείδην δὲ τὸν Λυσισμάχου καὶ αὐτὴ ποτε ἡ δικαιοσύνη ἀπώλλυ, καὶ ἀνὴρ τοιόσδε ἐπὶ τοιαῦδε ἀρετῇ φεύγων ὄχρετο. καὶ ὡς μὲν γελοία ἡ δικαιοσύνη δόξει, γιγνώσκω, τεταγμένη γὰρ ὑπὸ Διὸς τε καὶ Μοιρῶν ἐς τὸ μὴ ἰδικεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οὐδαμοῦ ἑαυτὴν ἐς τὸ μὴ αὐτὴ ἰδικεῖσθαι τίπτει.

Ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀποχρη τὰ τοῦ Ἀριστείδου ἐν τὸ δηλῶσαι, τίς μὲν ὁ μὴ ἄδικος, τίς δὲ ὁ δίκαιος· εἰπά γάρ μοι, οὐχ οὗτος, Ἀριστείδης ἐκεῖνος, ὃν φατε ὑμεῖς οἱ ἀπὸ Ἑλλήνων ἤκουτες πλεῦστατα ἐς τὰς νήσους ὑπὲρ τῶν φύρων, ξυμμέτρους τε αὐτοὺς ταῖς καὶ ξὺν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐπαινεθεῖν τρίβωνι," "οὗτος," εἶπα, "δεῖ ὃν καὶ πενίαν ἔρως ποτὲ ἡνθήσεν." "εἰ οὖν," ἔφη, "δύο Ἀθήνησι δημαγωγοὶ γενολίσθην ἐπαινοῦντας τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἄρτι ἐκ τῆς ξυμμαχίδος ἤκουτα, καὶ ὁ μὲν γράφοι στεφανοῦν αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ πλουτῶν ἀφίκταιι μηδὲ βίον ἑαυτῷ ξυνειλοχῶς μηδένα, ἀλλὰ πενέστατος μὲν Ἀθηναίων, πενέστερος δὲ ἑαυτοῦ, ὁ δ' αὖ τοιοῦτονί τι γράφοι ψήφισμα· ἐπειδὴ Ἀριστείδης οὐχ ὑπὲρ τὸ δυνατὸν τῶν ξυμμάχων τάξας

among men, for assuredly these men suffered most
 unjustly being themselves most just. Still they
 at least were put to death on the score of acts of
 injustice imputed to them, and the verdict was a
 distortion of the truth, whereas in the case of
 Aristides the son of Lyimachus, it was very justice
 that was the undoing of him, for he in spite of his
 integrity was banished merely because of his
 reputation for this very virtue. And I am sure that
 justice will appear in a very ridiculous light, for
 having been appointed by Zeus and by the Fates
 to prevent men being unjust to one another, she
 has never been able to defend herself against
 injustice.

LEAP.
 XXI
 The fate of
 Aristides

And the history of Aristides is sufficient to me to
 show the difference between one who is not unjust
 and one who is really just. For, tell me is not this
 the same Aristides of whom your Hellenic com-
 patriots when they come here tell us that he
 undertook a voyage to the islands to fix the tribute
 of the allies, and after settling it on a fair basis,
 returned again to his country still wearing the same
 cloak in which he left it? "It is he," answered
 Apollonius, "who made the love of poverty once to
 flourish." "Now," said the other, "let us suppose
 that there were at Athens two public orators passing
 an encomium upon Aristides, just after he had re-
 turned from the allies: one of them proposes that he
 shall be crowned because he has come back again
 without enriching himself or amassing any fortune,
 but the poorest of the Athenians, poorer than he
 was before, and the other orator, we will suppose,
 drafts his motion somewhat as follows: 'Whereas
 Aristides has fixed the tribute of the allies according

τοὺς φόρους, ἀλλ' ὥς ἕκαστοι γῆς ἔχουσι, τῆς τε ὁμονοίας αὐτῶν ἐπεμελήθη τῇ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοῦ μὴ ἰχθυομένους δοκεῖν φέρειν ταῦτα, δεδόχθω στεφανοῦν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, ἅρ' οὐκ ἂν σοι δοκεῖ τῇ μὲν προτέρᾳ γνώμῃ κἂν ἀντειπεῖν αὐτός, ὥς οὐκ ἀξία τῶν ἑαυτῷ βεβιωμένων, εἰ ἐφ' οἷς οὐκ ἀδικεῖ τιμῆτο, τὴν δ' ἴσως ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπαινεῖσαι, στοχαζομένην ὧν διανοήθη, βλέψας γάρ που ἐς τὸ Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων συμφέρον ἐπεμελήθη τῆς ξυμμετρίας τῶν φόρων, καὶ τοῦτα μετὰ τὸν Ἀριστείδην εἰδείχθη μᾶλλον· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ παραβάντες Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς ἐκεῖνυ δόξαντας, βαρυτέρους ἐπέγραψαν ταῖς νήσοις, διεσπύσθη μὲν αὐτοῖς ἡ ναυτικὴ δύναμις, ᾧ μάλιστα φοβεροὶ ἦσαν, παρήλθε δὲ ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐς τὴν θάλατταν, ξυνέμεινε δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἅπαν τὸ ὑπήκοον ἐς νεώταρα ὥρμησε καὶ ἀποστροφῆς ἤψατο. δίκαιος οὖν, ὃ Ἀπολλώνιος, κατὰ τὸν εὐθὺν λόγον οὐχ ὁ μὴ ἄδικος, ἀλλ' ὁ δίκαια μὲν αὐτὸς πρῶττων, καθιστὰς δὲ καὶ ἑτέρους ἐς τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν, καὶ φουσονται τῆς τριαύτης δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἄλλαι μὲν ἄρεταί, μάλιστα δὲ ἡ δικαστικὴ τε καὶ ἡ νομοθετικὴ. δικύσει μὲν γὰρ τοιόσδε πολλῷ δικαιότερον ἢ οἱ κατὰ τῶν τομίων ὁμνῦντες, νομοθετήσῃ δέ, ὥσπερ

to their ability to pay, and not an excess of the resources of their respective countries, and where, as he has endeavoured to keep them loyal to the Athenians, and to see that they shall feel it no grievance to pay upon this scale, it is hereby resolved to crown him for justice. Do you not suppose that Aristides would himself have opposed the first of these resolutions, as an indignity to his entire life, seeing that it only honoured him for not doing injustice, whereas, he might perhaps have supported the other resolution as a fair attempt to express his intentions and policy? For I imagine it was with an eye to the interest of Athenians and subject states alike, that he took care to fix the tribute on a fair and moderate basis, and in fact his wisdom in this matter was conclusively proved after his death. For when the Athenians exceeded his valuations and imposed heavier tributes upon the islands, their naval supremacy at once went to pieces, though it more than anything else had made them formidable: on the other hand the prowess of the Lacedæmonians passed on to the sea itself, and nothing was left of Athenian supremacy, for the whole of the subject states rushed into revolution and made good their escape. It follows then, O Apollonius, that rightly judged, it is not the man who abstains from injustice that is just, but the man who himself does what is just, and also influences others not to be unjust, and from such justice as his there will spring up a crop of other virtues, especially those of the law-court and of the legislative chamber. For such a man as he will make a much fairer judge than people who take their oaths upon the dissected parts of victims, and his

οἱ Σόλωνές τε καὶ οἱ Λυκοῦργοι, καὶ γὰρ διη κακέ-
νοις τοῦ γράψαι νόμους δικαιοσύνη ἤρξεν.”

XXII

Τοσαῦτα ὁ Δάμις διαλεχθῆναί φησιν αὐτοὺς
ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς δικαίου, καὶ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ξυμφῆ-
σαι τῷ λόγῳ, τοῖς γὰρ ἰσχυρῶς λεγομένοις ξυμβά-
ναι. φιλοσοφήσαντες δὲ καὶ περὶ ψυχῆς, ὡς
ἀθάνατος εἴη, καὶ περὶ φύσεως παμπλήσια ταῖς
Πλάτωνος ἐν Τιμαίῳ δόξαις, περὶ τε τῶν παρ’
Ἑλλήσι νόμων πλείω διαλεχθέντες, “ἐμοί,” εἶπεν
ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ἡ δεῦρο ὁδὸς ὑμῶν τε ἔνεκα καὶ
τῶν τοῦ Νείλου πηγῶν ἐγένετο, ἵς μέχρι μὲν
Αἰγύπτου προσελθόντι ξυγγνωμὴ ἀγνοῆσαι, προ-
χωρήσαντι δὲ ἐπ’ Αἰθιοπίαν, οὐ ἐγὼ τρόπον, κὰν
δυεῖδος φέροι τὸ παρελθεῖν αὐτὰς καὶ μὴ ἰρύ-
σασθαι τινὰς αὐτῶν λογους.” “ἴθι χαίρων,” ἔφη,
“καὶ ὃ τι σοι φίλον, εὖχου ταῖς πηγαῖς, θεῖαι γάρ.
ἡγεμόνα δὲ οἶμαι ποιήσῃ τὸν πάλας Ναυκρατίτην,
νῦν δὲ Μεμφίτην, Τιμασίωνα, τῶν τε γὰρ πηγῶν
ἐθὰς οὗτος καὶ οὕτω τι καθαρὸς, ὡς μὴ δεῖσθαι
τοῦ ραίνεσθαι. σοὶ δέ, ὦ Νεῖλε, βουλόμεθα ἐφ’
ἑαυτῶν διαλεχθῆναί τι.” ὁ μὲν δὴ νοῦς τῶν λόγων
οὐκ ἀφανὴς ἦν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ, ξυνίει γὰρ αὐτῶν
δυσχερῶς διακειμένων, ἐπειδὴ ἦρα αὐτοῦ ὁ Νεῖλος,
98

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

legislation will be similar to that of Solon and of Lycurgus: for assuredly these great legislators were inspired by justice to undertake their work.

XXII

SEVEN, according to Darius, was the discussion held by them with regard to the just man and Apollonius, as he says, assented to their argument for he always agreed with what was reasonably put. They also had a philosophical talk about the soul, proving its immortality and its nature, along much the same lines as Plato follows in his *Lysis*, and after some further remarks and discussions of the laws of the Hellenes Apollonius said: "For myself I have come all this way to see yourselves and visit the springs of the Nile, for a person who only comes as far as Egypt may be excused if he ignores the latter, but if he advances as far as Ethiopia, as I have done, he will be rightly reproached if he neglects to visit them, and to draw as it were from their well some arguments of his own." Farewell then said the other, and pray to the springs for what ever you desire for they are divine. But I imagine you will take as your guide Tamasius, who formerly lived at Naucratis, but is now of Memphis, for he is well acquainted with the springs of the Nile and he is not so unprudent as to stand in need of further instructions. But as for you, O Niles, we would like to have a talk to you by ourselves. The meaning of this sally was clear enough to Apollonius, for he well understood their annoyance at Niles' preference for himself, but to give them an

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XXII ἔξιςτάμενος δὲ αὐτοῖς τῆς διαλέξεως ἀνῆκει συ-
σκευασίμενος, ὥς ἐξελῶν ἅμα τῇ ἔῳ, μετ' οὐ πολὺν
δὲ ἤκων ο Νεῖλος, ἀπήγγειλε μὲν οὐδέν ὧν
ἤκουσεν, ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ δὲ θαμὰ ἐγάλα· ἥρωτα δ'
οὐδεὶς ὑπὲρ τοῦ γέλωτος, ἀλλ' ἐφείδοντο τοῦ
ἀπορρήτου.

XXIII

CAP.
XXIII Τότε μὲν δὴ δειπνήσαντες καὶ διαλεχθέντες οὐχ
ὑπὲρ μεγάλων αὐτοῦ ἐκοιμήθησαν, ἅμα δὲ τῇ
ἡμέρᾳ τοὺς Γυμνοὺς προσαιπύοντες ἀπαρεύοντο τὴν
ἐς τὰ ὄρη τείνουσαν ἀριστεροὶ τοῦ Νεῖλου, τάδε
ὁρῶντες λόγον ἄξια· οἱ Κατιάδουποι γεώδη ὄρη
καὶ παραπλήσια τῷ Λυδῶν Τμῶλῳ, κατάρρους δὲ
ἀπ' αὐτῶν φέρεται Νεῖλος, ἣν ἐπισπᾶται γῆν
ποιῶν Αἴγυπτον. ἡ δὲ ἡχώ τοῦ ρεύματος καταρ-
ρηγνυμένου τῶν ὀρῶν καὶ ψόφῳ ἅμα ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον
ἐκπίπτοντος χαλεπὴ δοκεῖ καί' οὐκ ἀνεκτὴ ἀκοῦσαι,
καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν πρόσω τοῦ μετρίου προσελθόντες
ἀνέξευξαν ἀποβαλόντες τὸ ἀκοῦειν.

XXIV

CAP.
XXIV Προϊόντι δὲ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἁμφ' αὐτὸν
μαστοὶ ὀρῶν ἐφαίνοντο παρεχόμενοι δένδρα, ὧν
Αἰθίοπες τὰ φύλλα καὶ τὸν φλοιὸν καὶ τὸ δά-

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

opportunity of speaking to him apart, he left them to prepare and pack up for his journey, for he meant to start at daybreak. And after a little time Nilsa returned, but did not tell them anything of what they had said to him, though he laughed a good deal to himself. And no one asked him what he was laughing about, but they respected his secret.

CHAP.
XXII

XXIII

They then took their supper and after a discussion of certain trifles they laid them down to sleep where they were; but at daybreak they said goodbye to the naked sages, and started off along the road which leads to the mountains, keeping the Nile on their right hand, and they saw the following spectacles deserving of notice. The Catadupi are mountains formed of good soil, about the same size as the hill of the Lydians called Timolus, and from them the Nile flows rapidly down, washing with it the soil of which it creates Egypt, but the roar of the stream, as it breaks down in a cataract from the mountains and hurls itself noisily into the Nile is terrible and intolerable to the ears, and many of those who have approached it too close have returned with the loss of their hearing.

CHAP.
XXIII
Description
of the
cataracts
of the Nile

XXIV

Apollonius, however, and his party pushed on till they saw some round-shaped hills covered with trees, the leaves and bark and gum of which the Ethiopians

CHAP.
XXIV

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXIV. κρυον καρπὸν ἡγοῦνται, ἐώρων δὲ καὶ λέοντας
 ἀγχοῦ τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ παρδάλεις καὶ τοιαῦτα θηρία
 ἕτερα, καὶ ἐπῆρει οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἀπεπηδα
 σφῶν, ὥσπερ ἐκπεπληγμένα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους,
 ἔλαφοι δὲ καὶ δορκάδες καὶ στρουθοὶ καὶ ὄνοι,
 πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ταῦτα ἐωράτο, πλείστα δὲ οἱ
 βόαυροί τε καὶ οἱ βούτραγοι· ξίγκεται δὲ τὰ
 θηρία ταῦτα τὸ μὲν ἐλάφοι τε καὶ ταύρου, τὸ δὲ
 ἀφ' ὧν περ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔρηκε καὶ ὁστοῖς δὲ
 τούτων ἐνετίγχανον καὶ ἡμιβρώτοις σώμασιν, οἱ
 γὰρ λέοντες, ἐπειδὴν θερμῆς τῆς θήρας ἐμφο-
 ρηθῶσιν, ἀτιμάζουσιν αὐτῆς τὰ περιττὰ, πιστεύ-
 οντες, οἶμαι, τῷ καὶ αὐτῷ θηριόσειν.

XXV

CAP. XXV. Ἐνταῦθα νομίδες οἰκοῦσιν λίθιοι περὶ
 πεπολισμένοι καὶ πλησίον τούτων οἱ τοὺς ἐλέ-
 φαντας θηρῶντες, κατακύπτουτες δὲ αὐτοὺς
 ποιοῦνται ἰσχυρίν, ὅθεν ἐπωνυμίᾳ εἰσι τῆς τῶν
 ἐλεφάντων πράξεως. Νασαμῶνες δὲ καὶ Ἀνδρο-
 φαῖγοι καὶ Πυγμαῖοι καὶ Σκιάποδες ἔθνη μὲν
 λίθιοι καὶ οἶδε, καθήκουσι δὲ ἐς τὸν λίθιοι
 Ὀκεανόν, ὃν μόνον ἐσπλέουσιν οἱ ἀπενεχθέντες
 ἄκοντες.

XXVI

CAP. XXVI. Διαλεγόμενους δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν θηρίων τοὺς ἄνδρας
 καὶ φιλοσοφούντας ὑπὲρ τῆς φύσεως ἄλλο ἄλλως

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

regard as of great value, and they also saw lions ORAP.
XXV close to the path, and leopards and other such wild animals, but they were not attacked by any of them, for they fled from them in haste as if they were scared at the sight of men. And they also saw stags and gazelles, and ostriches and asses, the latter in great numbers, and also many wild bulls and ox-goats, so-called, the former of these two animals being a mixture of the stag and the ox, that latter of the creatures from which its name is taken. They found moreover on the road the bones and half-eaten carcasses of these, for the lions, when they have gorged themselves with fresh prey, care little for what is left over of it, because, I think, they feel sure of catching fresh quarry whenever they want it.

XXV

It is here that the nomad Ethiopians live in a ORAP.
XXV sort of colony upon waggons, and not far from them the elephant-hunters, who cut up these animals and sell the flesh, and are accordingly called by a name Nomad
hunters of
Ethiopia which signifies the selling of elephants. And the Nasamonen and the man-eaters and the pigmies and the shadow-footed people are also tribes of Ethiopia, and they extend as far as the Ethiopian ocean, which no mariners ever enter except castaways who do so against their will.

XXVI

As our company were discussing these animals ORAP.
XXVI and talking learnedly about the food which nature

ΙΑΡ
ΣΧΥΙ

βοσκούσης, ἥχῃ προσέβαλεν οἶον βροντῆς οὕτω
 σκληρὰ, ἀλλὰ κούλη ἐτι καὶ ἐν τῇ νεφεί. καὶ ὁ
 Τιμασίω. "ἐγγίς," ἔφη, "ὁ καταρράκτης. ὡ
 ἄνδρες, ὁ κατιόντων μὲν ὑστατος, ανιόντων δὲ
 πρῶτος." καὶ στάδια δέκα ἴσως προελθόντες
 ἰδεῖν φασὶ ποταμὸν ἐκδιδομένον τοῦ ὄρους μίω
 οὐδὲν ἢ ἐν πρώταις ξυμβολαῖς ὁ Μαρσύας καὶ ὁ
 Μαιανδρος, προσευξόμενοι δὲ τῇ Νεῖλῳ χωρεῖν
 πρὸς καὶ θηρία μὲν οὐκέτι ὄρων, ψοφοδεῇ γὰρ
 φύσει ὄντα προσοικεῖν τοῖς γαληντοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ
 τοῖς βραγδαίοις τε καὶ ἐνηχίαις, ἑτέρου δὲ καταρ-
 ρακτοῦ ἀκοῦσαι μετὰ πεντεκαίδεκα που ἐτάδια
 χαλαποῦ ἤδη καὶ οὐκ ἀνεκτοῦ αἰσθῆσθαι, διπλασίω
 μὲν γὰρ εἶναι αὐτὸν τοῦ προτέρου, ὄρων δὲ ὑψη-
 λοτέρων ἐκπιπτειν ἑαυτοῦ μὲν οὖν καὶ τινος τῶν
 ἑταίρων οὕτω τι κτυπηθῆναι τὰ ὦτα ὁ Δαμιε
 φησιν, ὥς αὐτὸς τε ἀναξενεῖν τοῦ τε Ἀπολλωνίου
 δεῖσθαι μὴ χωρεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν, τὸν δὲ ἐρρωμένως ξύν
 τε τῇ Τιμασίῳ καὶ τῇ Νεῖλῳ τοῦ τρίτου καταρ-
 ρακτοῦ ἔχεισθαι, περὶ οὗ ταδε ἀπαγγεῖλαι ἤκοντα
 ἐπικρέμασθαι μὲν τῇ Νεῖλῳ κορυφᾷ ἐκεῖ σταδίων
 μαλιστα ὅκτω ὕψος, τὴν δὲ ὄχθην τὴν ἀντικει-
 μένην τοῖς ὄρεσιν οὐρανὸν εἶναι λιθοτομίας ἰρρήτου,
 τὰς δὲ πηγὰς ἰσοκρεμαννόμενας τῶν ὄρων ὑπερ-
 πίπτειν ἐς τὴν πετρῶδη ὄχθην, ἀναχεῖσθαι δὲ
 ἐκείθεν ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον κυμαινοῦσαι τε καὶ λευκαῖς
 τὰς ὡς πηθῇ τα περὶ αὐτὰς ξυμβαινόντα πολλὰ
 πλάσιαι ἢ αἱ προτεραι οὖσαι καὶ τὴν πηδῶσαν ἐκ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

supplies in their different cases, they heard a sound as of thunder—not a crashing sound, but of thunder as it is when it is still hollow and concealed in the cloud. And Timasion said: “A cataract is at hand, gentlemen, the last for those who are descending the river, but the first to meet you on your way up.” And after they had advanced about ten stades, he says that they saw a river discharging itself from the hill side quite as big as the Marousa and the Macander at their first confluence: and he says that after they had put up a prayer to the Nile they went on till they no longer saw any animals at all, for the latter are nature’s afraid of noise and therefore go by calm waters rather than by those which rush headlong with a noise. And after fifteen stades they heard another cataract which this time was horrible and unbearable to the senses for it was twice as loud as the first one and it fell from much higher mountains. And Damis relates that his own ears and those of one of his companions were so stunned by the noise that he himself turned back and he sought Apollo to bid him not to go any further, however he, along with Timasion and Nicias, boldly pressed on to the third cataract of which he makes the following report on their return: Peaks were overhanging the Nile at the most right stades in height, but the eminence faces the mountain, namely a beetling brow of rocks mysteriously cut away as if in a quarry, and the fountains of the Nile cling to the edge of the mountain till they overbalance and fall on to the rocky eminence from which they pour into the Nile as an expanse of whitening billows. But the effect produced upon the senses by this cataract, which is many times greater than the earlier ones,

CHAP.
LVI
The
Cataracts

CAP.
XXVI

τούτων ἡχῶ ἐς τὰ ὄρη, δυσήκοον ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν ἱστορίαν τοῦ ρεύματος. τὴν δὲ πρόσω ὁδὸν τὴν ἐπὶ τὰς πρώτας πηγὰς ἄγουσαν ἄπορον μὲν εἰσεῖν φασιν, ἄπορον δὲ ἐνθυμηθῆναι, πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ περὶ δαιμονῶν ἄδουσιν, οἷα καὶ Πινδάρῳ κατὰ σοφίαν ὑμνηται περὶ τοῦ δαίμονος, ὃν ταῖς πηγαῖς ταύταις ἐφίστησιν ὑπὲρ ξυμμετρίας τοῦ Νεῖλου.

XXVII

CAP.
XXVII

Καταλύσαντες δὲ μετὰ τοὺς καταρράκτας ἐν κώμῃ τῆς Λιθιοπίας οὐ μεγάλη ἐδείπνουσιν μὲν περὶ ἐσπέραν, ἐγκαταμυγνύντες σπουδὴν παιδιᾷ, βοῆς δὲ ὁθρόας τῶν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ γυναικῶν ἤκουσαν ἐπικελευομένων ἀλλήλαις εἰσεῖν, καὶ διῶξαι, παρεκάλουν δὲ καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν ἀνδρας ἐς κοινωνίαν τοῦ ἔργου, οἱ δ' ἄρπασάμενοι ξύλα καὶ λίθους καὶ ὃ τι ἐς χεῖρας ἕκαστῳ ἔλθοι, ξυνεκάλουν ὥσπερ ἀδικούμενοι τοὺς γάμους. ἐπεφοίτα δὲ ἄρα τῇ κώμῃ δέκατον ἤδη μῆνα σατύροι φίσμα λυττῶν ἐπὶ τὰ γυναῖκα, καὶ δύο ἀπεκτονέσθαι σφῶν ἐλέγετο, ὃν μάλιστα ἐδόκει ἐρᾶν. ἐκπλαγέντων οὖν τῶν ἐταίρων, “μὴ δέδωκε,” εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ὕβριζει γάρ τις ἐνταῦθα σάτυρος.” “νὴ Δί,” ἔφη ὁ Νεῖλος,

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and the echo which leaps up therefrom against the mountains render it impossible to hear what your companion tells you about the river! But the further road which leads up to the first springs of the river was impracticable, they tell us, and impossible to think of, for they tell many stories of the demons which haunt it, stories similar to those which Pindar in his wisdom puts into verse about the demon whom he sets over these springs to preserve the due proportions of the Nile.

CHAP.
XXVI

XXVII

AFTER passing the cataracts they halted in a village of the Ethiopians of no great size, and they were dining, towards the evening, musing in their conversation the grave with the gay, when all on a sudden they heard the women of the village screaming and calling to one another to join in the pursuit and catch the thing, and they also summoned their husbands to help them in the matter. And the latter caught up sticks and stones and anything which came handy, and called upon one another to avenge the insult to their wives. And it appears that for ten months the ghost of a satyr had been haunting the village, who was mad after the women and was said to have killed two of them to whom he was supposed to be specially attached. The companions, then, of Apollonius were frightened out of their wits till Apollonius said, "You need not be afraid, for it's only a satyr that is

CHAP.
XXVII
Story of
the satyr
to whom
Apollonius
gave wine

Or "render investigation of the stream a trial to the ears."

"ὅν γε ἡμεῖς οἱ Γυμνοὶ χρόνον ἤδη ὑβρίζοντα
 μήπω μετεστήσαμεν τοῦ σκιρτᾶν." "ἄλλ' ἔστιν,"
 εἶπεν, "ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑβριστὰς τούτους φάρμακον, ᾧ
 λέγεται Μίδας ποτὲ χρήσασθαι· μετεῖχε μὲν γὰρ
 τοῦ τῶν σατύρων γένους ὁ Μίδας οὗτος, ὡς ἐδήλου
 τὰ ὦτα, σάτυρος δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὸν εἰς κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς
 ἐκώμαζε τὰ τοῦ Μίδου διαβάλλων ὦτα, καὶ οὐ
 μόνον ᾄδων, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐλῶν τούτω, ὃ δ', οἶμαι,
 τῆς μητρὸς ἀκηκως, ὅτι σάτυρος οἶνον θηρευθεὶς,
 ἐπειδὴν ἐς ὕπνον καταπέσῃ, σωφρονεῖ καὶ διαλ-
 λάττεται, κρήνην τὴν οὔσαν αὐτῷ περὶ τὰ βασίλεια
 κεράσας οἶνον ἐπαφήκεν αὐτῇ τὸν σάτυρον, ὃ δὲ
 ἔπινε καὶ ἦλαι. καὶ ὅτι μὴ ψεύδεται ὁ λόγος,
 ἴωμεν παρὰ τὸν κωμάρχην, καὶ ἣν ἔχουσιν οἱ
 κωμήται οἶνον, κερύσωμεν αὐτὸν τῷ σατύρῳ, καὶ
 ταῦτα τῷ Μίδου πείσεται." ἔδοξε ταῦτα καὶ
 ἀμφορέας Αἰγυπτίους τέτταρας οἰνοχοήσας ἐν
 ληνον, ἀφ' ἧς ἔπινε τὰ ἐν τῇ κωμῇ πρύβατα, ἐκύλει
 τὸν σατύρον ἀφανῶς τι ἐπιπλήττων, ὃ δὲ οὔπω
 μὲν ἐωρᾶτο, ὑπεδίδου δὲ ὁ οἶνος, ὥσπερ πινόμενος·
 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξεπόθη, "σπείσώμεθα, ἔφη, "τῷ σατύρῳ,
 καθεύδει γάρ." καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἡγεῖτο τοῖς
 κωμήταις ἐς Νυμφῶν ἄντρον, πλέθρον οὔπω ἀπέχον
 τῆς κώμης, ἐν ᾧ καθεύδοντα δείξας αὐτὸν ἀπέχεσθαι
 εἶπε τοῦ πάλιν ἢ λοιδορεῖσθαι οἱ, "πέπανται γὰρ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

running amuck here. "Yes, by Zeus," said Nidus, HAP.
1111
"it's the one that we wicked ages have found insulting us for a long time past and we could never stop his jumps and leaps." But, said Apollonius, "I have a remedy against these hell hounds which Midas is said once to have employed, for Midas himself had some of the blood of satyrs in his veins, as was clear from the shape of his ears, and a satyr once, trespassing on his kinship with Midas made merry at the expense of his ears, not only singing about them, but jiving about them. Well, Midas I understood had heard from his mother that when satyr is overcome by wine he falls asleep, and at such times comes to his senses and will make friends with you, so he mixed wine which he had in his palace in a fountain and let the satyr get at it, and the latter drank it up and was overcome. And to show that the story is true let us go to the head man of the village, and if the villagers have any wine we will mix it with water for the satyr and he will share the fate of Midas satyr. They thought it a good plan, so he poured four Egyptian jars of wine into the trough out of which the village cattle drank, and then called the satyr by means of some secret rebuke or threat, and though as yet the latter was not visible, the wine sensibly diminished as if it was being drunk up. And when it was quite finished, Apollonius said, "Let us drink the satyr's health for he is fast asleep." And with these words he led the villagers to the cave of the nymphs, which was not quite a furlong away from the village, and he showed them the satyr lying fast asleep in it, but told them not to hit him or rouse him," For, he said, "his nonsense is stopped for ever." Such was

CAP. XXVII τῶν ἀνοήτων.” τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτοι Ἀπολλωνίου, μὰ Δῖ, οὐχὶ ὁδοῦ πάρεργον, ἀλλὰ παρόδου ἔργον. κἂν ἐντύχη τις ἐπιστολῇ τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἦν πρὸς μεϊράκιον ὑβρίζον γραφῶν καὶ σάτυρον δαίμονα σωφρονίσαι φησὶν ἐν Λίθιοπιά, μεμνήσθαι χρή τοῦ λόγου τούτου. σατύρους δὲ εἶναί τε καὶ ἐρωτικῶν ἄπτεσθαι μὴ ἀπιστῶμεν· οἶδα γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Λήμνον τῶν ἑμαυτοῦ τινα ἰσηλίκων, οὗ τῇ μητρὶ ἐλέγετο τις ἐπιφοιτᾶν σάτυρος, ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ ταύτῃ. νεβρίδα γὰρ ξυμφυᾶ ἔφκει ἐνημμένῳ κατὰ τὸν νῶτον, ἧς οἱ ποδεῶνες οἱ πρῶτοι ξυνειληφότες τὴν δέριον περὶ το στερνῶν αὐτῷ ἀφίπτοντο. ἀλλὰ μὴ πλυνῶ ὑπὲρ τούτων, οὔτε γὰρ ἡ πεῖρα ἀπιστητέα οὔτε ἐγώ.

XXVIII

CAP. XXVIII Καταβάντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐξ Λίθιοπίας ἡ μὲν πρὸς τὸν Εὐφράτην διαφορά τυτε μάλιστα ἐπέδωκε ἐκ τῶν ὁσημέραι διαλέξεων, ἐπέτραπε δὲ αὐτὰς Μενίπῳ τε καὶ Νείλῳ, σμικρὰ ἐπιτιμῶν αὐτὰς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ, τοῦ δὲ Νείλου σφύδρα ἐπεμελεῖτο.

XXIX

CAP. XXIX Ἐπεὶ δὲ Τίτος ῥήκει τὰ Σόλυμα καὶ νεκρῶν πλέα ἦν πάντα, τὰ ὁμορὰ τε ἔθνη ἐστεφάνουν αὐτὸν, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἠξίου ἑαυτὸν τούτου, μὴ γὰρ αὐτὸς

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this exploit of Apollonius, and, by heavens, we may call it not an incidental work in passing, but a master-work of his passing by¹; and if you read the sage's epistle, in which he wrote to an insolent young man that he had sobered even a satyr demon in Ethiopia, you will perforce call to mind the above story. But we must not disbelieve that satyrs both exist and are susceptible to the passion of love, for I knew a youth of my own age in Lemnos whose mother was said to be visited by a satyr, as he well might to judge by this story; for he was represented as wearing on his back a fawn-skin that exactly fitted him, the front paws of which were drawn around his neck and fastened over his chest. But I must not go further into this subject, but, anyhow, credit as due as much to experience of facts as it is to myself.

CHAP.
XXVII

XXVIII

When he had come down from Ethiopia the breach with Euphrates grew wider and wider, especially on account of daily disputes and discussions; though he left them to Merippus and Nilus to conduct, and seldom himself attacked Euphrates, being much too busy with the training of Nilus.

CHAP.
XXVIII
Israel with
Euphrates

XXIX

AFTER Titus had taken Jerusalem, and when the country all round was filled with corpses, the neighbouring races offered him a crown, but he disclaimed any such honour to himself, saying that it

CHAP.
XXIX
Correspondence with
Titus

¹ I try to render the pun of the original.

CAP
XXIX

ταῦτα εἰργάσθαι, θεῶ δὲ ὀργὴν φήναντι ἐπιδεδω-
κέναι τὰς ἑαυτοῦ χεῖρας, ἐπῆναι ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος
ταῦτα, γνώμη τε γὰρ περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐφαίνετο καὶ
ξύσεις ἀνθρωπείων τε καὶ θεῶν, καὶ σωφροσύνης
μαστὸν τὸ μὴ στεφανοῦσθαι ἐφ' αἵματι. ξυντάττει
δὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολήν, ἥς διέκονον ποιεῖται
τὸν Δάμν, καὶ ἐπιστέλλει ὥδε·

“ Ἀπολλώνιος Τίτῳ στρατηγῷ Ῥωμαίων χαίρειν.

Μὴ βουληθάντι σοι ἐπ' αἰχμῇ κηρύττεσθαι, μηδ'
ἐπὶ δηρῷ αἵματι, δίδωμι ἐγὼ τὸν σωφροσύνης στέ-
φανον, ἐπειδὴ ἐφ' οἷς δεῖ στεφανοῦσθαι, γυγνώσκεις.
ἔρρωσο.”

Ἐπερησθεὶς δὲ ὁ Τίτος τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, “ καὶ ὑπὲρ
ἔμαντοῦ,” ἔφη, “ χερὶν οἶδά σοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ
πατρός, καὶ μεμνήσομαι τούτων, ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ
Σύλλυμα ἤρηκα, συ δὲ ἐμέ.”

XXX

CAP
XXX

Ἀναρρηθεὶς δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ
ἀριστείων ἀξιώθεὶς τούτων, ἀπῆει μὲν ἰσομοιρήσων
τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ πατρί, τὸν δὲ Ἀπολλώνιον ἐνθυμη-
θεὶς, ὡς πολλοῦ ἀξίος αὐτῷ ἔσται κὰν πρὸς βραχὺ
ἐγγενέμενος, ἐδεῖτο αὐτοῦ ἐς Ταρσοὺς ἦκειν, καὶ
περιβαλὼν ἐλθόντα, “ πάντα μοι ὁ πατήρ,” ἔφη,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

was not he himself that had accomplished this exploit, but that he had mere y lent his arms to God, who had so manifested his wrath; and Apollonius praised his action, for therein he displayed a great deal of judgment and understanding of things human and divine, and it showed great moderation on his part that he refused to be crowned because he had shed blood. Accordingly Apollonius indited to him a letter which he sent by the hand of Darius and of which the text was as follows:

CHAP
XXX

"Apollonius sends greetings to Titus the Roman General. Whereas you have refused to be proclaimed for success in war and for shedding the blood of your enemies, I myself assign to you the crown of temperance and moderation, because you thoroughly understand what deeds really merit a crown. Farewell."

Now Titus was overjoyed with this epistle, and replied, "In my own behalf I thank you, no less than in behalf of my father, and I will not forget your kindness, for although I have captured Jerusalem, you have captured me."

XXX

And after Titus had been proclaimed autocrat in Rome and rewarded with the meed of his valour, he went away to become the colleague in Empire of his father, but he did not forget Apollonius, and thinking that even a short interview with him would be precious to himself, he besought him to come to Tarsus, and when he arrived he embraced him, saying "My father has told me by letter every-

CHAP
XXX
Visits Titus
at Antioch

CAP.
XXX

“ἐπέστειλεν, ὃν ξύμβουλον ἐποιεῖτό σε, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἢ ἐπιστολή, ὡς εὐεργέτης τε αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ γέγραψαι καὶ πᾶν ὃ τι ἐσμέν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἔτη μὲν τριακοντα ταυτὶ γέγονα, ἄξιούμενος δὲ ὢν ὁ πατήρ ἐξηκοντούτης ὢν, καὶ καλούμενος ἐς τὸ ἄρχειν πρὶν οὐκ οἶδ’ εἰ ἀρχθῆναι εἰδέναι, δέδια μὴ μειζόνων, ἢ ἐμὲ χρεῖ, ἅπτωμαι.” ἐπιψηλαφήσας δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν αὐχένα ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἔρρωτο αὐτὸν ἴσα τοῖς ἡσκούσι τὸ σῶμα, “καὶ τίς,” εἶπε, “βιωσεται ταῦρον αὐχένα οὕτω κρατερὸν ὑποσχεῖν ξυγῶ;” “ὁ ἐκ νέου,” ἔφη, “μοσχεύσας με,” τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λήγων ὁ Τίτος καὶ τὸ ὑπ’ ἐκείνου ἂν μόνου ἀρχθῆναι, ὃς ἐκ παιδὸς αὐτὸν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἀκροΐσει ξυνείθιζε. “χαίρω,” εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “πρῶτον μὲν παρεσκευασμένον σε ὁρῶν ἔπεσθαι τῷ πατρί, ὑφ’ οὗ χαίρουσιν ἀρχόμενοι καὶ οἱ μὴ φύσει παῖδες, θεραπεύσονται τε τὰς ἐκείνου θύρας, ᾧ ξυνθεραπευθήσῃ νεότητος δὲ γῆρας ἅμα ἐς τὸ ἄρχειν ἰούσης τίς μὲν λύρα, τίς δὲ αὐλὸς ἡδεῖαν ὧδε ἁρμονίαν καὶ ξυγκεκραμένην ῥεσται; πρεσβύτερα γὰρ ξυμβήσεται νέοις, ἐξ ὧν καὶ γῆρας ἰσχυσεὶ καὶ νεότης οὐκ ὑτακτῆσαι.”

XXXI

CAP.
XXXI

“Ἐμοὶ δέ,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Τυανεῦ, περὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ βασιλείας τί ὑποθήσῃ,” “ἂ γε,” ἔφη, “σεαυτὸν

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

thing in respect of which he consulted you and CHAP
XXX
 to here is his letter, in wh. he you are described as
 his benefactor and the one to whom we owe all
 that we are. Now though I am only just thirty years
 of age I am held worthy of the same privileges to
 which my father only attained at the age of sixty. I
 am called to the throne and to rule, perhaps before I
 have learnt myself to obey, and I therefore dread
 lest I am undertaking a task beyond my powers.
 Thereupon Apollonius after striking his neck said
 for he had as stout a neck as any athlete in training
 "And who wilt force so sturdy a bull-neck as yours
 under the yoke?" "He that from my youth up
 reared me as a calf," answered Titus, meaning his
 own father and implying that he could not be
 controlled by the latter who had accustomed him
 from childhood to obey himself. "I am delighted
 then," said Apollonius, "in the first place to see you
 prepared to subordinate yourself to your father,
 whom without being his natural children so many are
 delighted to obey, and next to see you rendering to
 his court a homage in which others will associate
 yourself. When youth and age are joined in
 authority, is there any lyre or any flute that will
 produce so sweet a harmony and so nicely blended?
 For the qualities of old age will be associated with
 those of youth, with the result that old age will
 gain in strength and youth in discipline.

XXXI

"And for myself, O man of Tyana," answered CHAP
XXXI
 Titus, "can you give me any precepts as to how

CAI
 XXXI πέπεικας, ὑποκειμενος γὰρ τῷ πατρὶ δῆλα πον-
 ῶν ὁμοιώσῃ αὐτῷ· καὶ τὸν Ἀρχύτου δ' ἂν εἴποιμι
 νυνὶ λόγῳ, γεννητὸς γὰρ καὶ μαθεῖν ἄξιος· ἐγένετο
 ὁ Ἀρχύτας ἀνὴρ Ταραντῖνος τὰ Πυθαγόρου στροφάς·
 οὗτος ὑπὲρ παίδων ἀγωγῆς γράφων, "ἔστω," φησίν,
 "ὁ πατήρ παρύδευγμα ἁρετῆς τοῖς παισίν, ὡς καὶ
 τῶν πατέρων ξυντονώτερον βαδιουμένων ἐπὶ τὰς
 ἁρετάς, ἦν ὑμοιωνταί σφισιν οἱ παῖδες" ἐγὼ δὲ
 σοι καὶ Δημήτριον ξυστήσω τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἐταῖρον,
 ὃς ξυνέσται σοι ὅποσα βούλει διδάσκων, τί δὲ
 πράττειν τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἄρχοντα." "τίς δέ," ἔφη,
 "'Απολλώνιος, ἡ σοφία τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου,"
 "παρρησία," εἶπε, "καὶ τὸ εἰληθεύειν ἐκπληττεσ-
 θαί τε ὑπὸ μηδενός, ἐστὶ γὰρ τοῦ Κυνικοῦ κράτους."
 δυσχερῶς δὲ τοῦ Τίτου τὸν κύνα ἀκούσαντος,
 "'Ομήρῳ μέντοι," ἔφη, "νέος ὦν ὁ Τηλέμαχος καὶ
 δυοῖν εἰδόκει κυνῶν δεῖσθαι, καὶ ξυμπέμπει αὐτοὺς
 ὁπαδοὺς τῷ μεираκίῳ ἐς τὴν τῶν Ἰθακησίων
 ἀγορὰν καιτοὶ ἀλόγους ὄντας, σοὶ δὲ ξυνέσται
 κύων, ὃς ὑπὲρ σοῦ τε πρὸς ἑτέρους καὶ πρὸς αὐτόν
 σε, εἴ τι ἁμαρτάνοις, σοφῶς ἅμα καὶ οὐδὲ ἀλόγως
 ὑλακτῆσει." "δίδου," εἶπε, "τὸν ὁπαδὸν κύνα,
 ξυγχωρῶ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ δακεῖν, εἴ τί με ἀδικεῖντα

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to rule and exercise the authority of a sovereign? "Only such rules, required the other, as you have laid upon yourself, for in so submitting yourself to your father's will it is, I think certain that you will grow like him. And I would like to repeat to you on this occasion a saying of Archytas which is a noble one and worth committing to memory. Archytas was a man of Tarentum who was learned in the love of Pythagoras, and he wrote a treatise on the education of children in which he says: 'Let the father be an example of virtue to his children, for fathers also will the more resolutely walk in the path of virtue because their children are coming to resemble them. But for myself I propose to associate with you my own companion Demetrius, who will attend you as much as you like and instruct you in the whole duty of a good ruler.' "And what sort of wisdom, O Apollonius, does this person possess?" "Courage," he replied, "to speak the truth unabashed by anyone, for he possesses the constancy and strength of character of a cynic. And as I too did not seem very pleased to hear the name of dog, he continued: "And yet in Homer, Telemachus, when he was young, required, it appears, two dogs and the poet sends these to accompany the youth to the market place of Ithaca, in spite of their being irrational animals, but you will have a dog to accompany you who will bark in your behalf not only at other people, but at yourself in case you go wrong and he will bark withal wisely, and never irrationally." "Well," said the other, "give me your dog to accompany me and I will even let him bite me, in case he

CHAP
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continued to
be
the
rule

¹ A cynic means literally a canine philosopher.

CAP. XXXI αἰσθοίτο." "γεγράφεται," ἔφη, "πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολή, φιλοσοφεῖ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης" "γεγράφθω," εἶπεν, "ἐβουλόμην δ' ἂν καὶ πρὸς σέ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ τινα γράψαι, ὥς ἅμα τῆς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὁδοῦ κοινωνὸς ἡμῖν γένοιο." "ἀφίξομαι," ἔφη, "ὅποτε ἀμφοῖν λῶον."

XXXII

CAP. XXXI Μεταστησάμενος δὲ ὁ Τίτος τοὺς παρόντας, "αὐτοί," εἶπεν, "ὦ Τυανεύ, γεγύναμεν, ξυγχαρεῖς γάρ που ἐρωτᾷν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμοὶ σπουδαιωτάτων;" "ἐρωτά," ἔφη, "καὶ τοσούτῳ προθυμότερον ὕστερ ὑπὲρ μειζονων." "περὶ ψυχῆς," εἶπε, "τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ, καὶ οὗς μάλιστα φυλαττοίμην ἂν, ἔσται μοι ἡ ἐρώτησις, εἰ μὴ δόξω δειλὸς δεδιὼς ἤδη ταῦτα." "ἀσφαλὴς μὲν οὖν," ἔφη, "καὶ ἐφεστηκώς, προορᾷν γὰρ τούτου χρὴ μάλιστα." καὶ ἐς τὸν ἥλιον ἀναβλέψας ὤμνυ αὐτόν, ἥ μὲν αὐτὸς μέλλειν ὑπὲρ τούτων πρὸς αὐτὸν λέξειν μηδὲ ἐρωτῶντα, τοὺς γὰρ θεοὺς φῆναί οἱ προειπεῖν αὐτῷ ζῶντος μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς δεδιέναι τοὺς ἐκείνῳ πολεμικότητας, ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοὺς ἑαυτῷ οἰκειοτάτους. "ἀποθανοῦμαι δέ," εἶπε, "τίνα τρόπον;" "ὅν, γε," ἔφη, "Ὀδυσσεὺς λέγεται, φασὶ γὰρ κακείνῳ

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feels I am committing injustice." "I will write to him a letter, for he teaches philosophy in Rome." "Pray do so," said Titus, "and I wish I could get some one to write to you in my behalf, and induce you to share with me my journey to Rome." "I will come there," said the other, "whenever it is best for both of us."

CHAP.
XXXI

XXXII

THEN Titus dismissed the company, and said "Now that we are alone, O man of Tyana, you will allow me perhaps to ask you a question upon matters of grave importance to myself." "Pray do so," said the other, "and do so all the more readily because the matter is so important." "It is about my own life," said the other, "and I would fain know whom I ought most to be on my guard against. That is my question, and I hope you will not think me cowardly for already being anxious about it." "Nay, you are only cautious," said the other, "and circumspect, for a man ought to be more careful about this than about anything else." And glancing at the Sun he swore by that god that he had himself intended to address Titus about this matter even if he had not asked him. "For," he said, "the gods have told me to warn you, so long as your father is alive, to be on your guard against his bitterest enemies, but after his death against your own kith and kin." "And," said Titus, "in what way am I to die?" "In the same way," said the other, "as Odysseus is said to have died, for

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XXXII
Foreboding to
Titus the
nearer of
his death

ΟΛΑΡ.
ΣΧΧΙΙ

τὸν θάνατον ἐκ θαλάττης ἐλθεῖν." ταῦτα ὁ Δάμις ᾤδε ἐρμηνεύει· φυλάττεσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν τὴν αἰχμὴν τῆς τρυγόνος, ἣ τὸν Ὀδυσσεα βεβλήσθαι φασί, δυοῖν δὲ ἐτοῖν μετὰ τοῦ πατέρα τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχόντα ὑπο τοῦ θαλαπτίου λαγῶ ἀποθανεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἰχθὺν τοῦτον παρέχεσθαι χυμοὺς ἀπορρήτους ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ γῇ ἀνδροφόνα, καὶ Νέρωνα μὲν ἐσποιῆσαι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ὄψοις τὸν λαγῶν τοῦτον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμιωτάτους, Δομετιανὸν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Τίτον, οὐ τὸ ξὺν ἀδελφῷ ἀρχεῖν δεινὸν ἡγούμενον, ἀλλὰ τὸ ξὺν πρῶτῳ τε καὶ χρηστῷ. τοιαῦτα διαλεχθέντες ἰδίᾳ περιέβαλον ἀλλήλους ἐν φανερώ, ἀπικύοντα δὲ προσειπών, "νῆκα, ὦ βασιλεῦ," ἔφη, "τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους ὅπλοις, τὸν δὲ πατέρα ἀρεταῖς."

XXΧΙΙΙ

ΟΛΑΡ.
ΧΧΧΙΙΙ

Ἡ δὲ πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον ἐπιστολὴ ᾧδε εἶχεν·

Ἀπολλώνιος φιλόσοφος Δημητρίῳ κινὴ χαίρειν.

Δίδωμί σε βασιλεῖ Τίτῳ διδάσκαλον τοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ἥθους, σὺ δ' ἀληθεῦσαι τέ μοι πρὸς αὐτὸν δίδου καὶ γίγνου αὐτῷ, πλὴν ὀργῆς, πάντα, ἔρρωσο.

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they say that he too met with his death by the sea." Damis interprets the above utterance as follows. Namely, that he was to be on his guard against the cusp of the fish called the trygon, with which they say Odysseus was wounded. Anyhow, after he had occupied the throne for two years, in succession to his father, he died through eating the fish called the sea-hare, and this fish, according to Damis, causes secret humours in the body worse and more fatal than anything else either in the sea or on land. And Nero, he says, introduced this sea-hare in his dishes to poison his worst enemies, and so did Domitian in order to remove his brother Titus, not because he objected to sharing his throne with his brother, but to sharing it with one who was both gentle and good. Such was their conversation in private, after which they embraced one another in public, and as Titus departed Apollonius greeted him with these last words "Pray you, my King, overcome your enemies by your arms, but your father by your virtues."

CHAP.
XXXII

XXXIII

BUT the letter to Demetrius ran as follows "Apollonius, the Philosopher, sends greetings to Demetrius the cynic."

CHAP.
XXXIII.
Letter to
Demetrius

"I have made a present of you to the Emperor Titus, that you may instruct him how to behave as a sovereign, and take care that you confirm the truth of my words to him, and make yourself, anger apart, everything to him. Farewell."

Οἱ δὲ τοὺς Ταρσοὺς οἰκοῦντες τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἤχθοντο τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ διὰ τε τὰς ἐπιπλήξεις, ἐπειδὴ ξυντόνους αὐτὰς ἐποιεῖτο, διὰ τε τὸ ἀνειμένοι καὶ τρυφῶντες μηδὲ τὴν τοῦ λόγου ἀνέχεσθαι ῥώμην, τότε δ' αὐτῷ τι ἡττηθησαν τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὡς οἰκιστὴν τε αὐτὸν ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ στήριγμα τοῦ ἄσματος. ἔθυσεν γὰρ δημοσίᾳ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ξυνελθούσα δὲ ἡ πόλις ἱκέτευεν ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων, ὁ δὲ μεμνήσεσθαι τούτων πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἔφη καὶ πρεσβεύσειν αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ ὧν δέονται· παρελθὼν δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "εἰ δὲ ἐνίους," ἔφη, "τούτων ἐλέγξαιμι σοὶ μὲν καὶ πατρὶ τῇ σὺ πολαμίους, πεπρεσβευμένους δὲ ὑπὲρ νεωτέρων ἐς τὰ Σόλυμα, ξυμμάχους δ' ἀφανεῖς τῶν σοι φανερωτίτων ἐχθρῶν, τί πείσονται," "τί δὲ ἄλλο γε," εἶπεν, "ἢ ἀπολοῦνται," "εἴτα οὐκ αἰσχρόν," ἔφη, "τὰς μὲν τιμωρίας αὐτίκα ἀπαιτεῖν, τὰς δὲ εὐεργεσίας ὀψὲ διδόναι, καὶ τὰς μὲν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ποιεῖσθαι, τὰς δὲ ἐς κοινωνίαν γνώμης ἀνατίθεσθαι;" ὑπερησθεὶς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς, "δίδωμι τὰς δωρεάς," εἶπεν, "οὐ γάρ μοι ἄχθέσεται ὁ πατὴρ ἀληθείας ἡττωμένῳ καὶ σοῦ."

XXXIV

Now the inhabitants of Tarso had previously detested Apollonius, because of the violent reproaches which he addressed to them owing to the fact that through their languid indifference and sensual indolence they could not put up with the vigour of his remarks. But on this occasion they became such devoted admirers of our hero as to regard him as their second founder and the mainstay of their city. For on one occasion the Emperor was offering a sacrifice in public when the whole body of citizens met and presented a petition to him asking for certain great favours and he replied that he would mention the matter to his father and he himself then ambassador to procure them what they wanted. Whereupon Apollonius stepped forward and said "Supposing I convicted some who are standing here of being your own and your father's enemies, and of having sent legates to Jerusalem to excite a rebellion and of being the secret allies of your most open enemies, what would happen to them?" "Why what else," said the Emperor, "than instant death." "Then is it not disgraceful," rejoined Apollonius, "that you should be instant in demanding their punishment, and yet dilatory in conferring a boon, and be ready yourself to undertake the punishment, but reserve the benefaction until you can see and consult your father?" But the king over-weighed with this remark and said "I grant the favours they ask for for my father will not be annoyed at my yielding to truth and to yourself."

CHAP
XXXIV
What
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ΛΑΡ
XIIIV

Τοσαῦτα ἔθνη φασὶν ἐπελθεῖν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον σπουδαζοντά τε καὶ σπουδαζόμενον. αἱ δὲ ἐφεξῆς ὑποδημαὶ πολλαὶ μὲν ἐγένοντο τῷ ἀνδρὶ, οὐ μὴν τοσαῦταί γε ἔτι, οὐδὲ ἐς ἕτερα ἔθνη πλὴν ἃ ἔγωγε, περὶ τε γὰρ τὴν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ Αἰγυπτὸν καταβάντι αὐτῷ ἐξ Λιβυπίας διατριβὴ πλεον ἐγένετο, περὶ τε Φοινίκας καὶ Κίλικας Ἰωνίης τε καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Ἰταλοὺς πάλιν, οὐδαμοῦ ἐλλείποντι τὸ μὴ οὐχ ὁμοίῳ φαινεσθαι. χαλεποῦ γὰρ τοῦ γινῶναι ἑαυτοῦ δοκοῦντος, χαλεπώτερον ἔγωγε ἡγοῦμαι τὸ μείναι τὸν σοφὸν ἑαυτῷ ὅμοιον, οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς πονηρῶς φύντας ἐς τὸ λῶον μεταστήσει, μὴ πρότερον ἐξασκήσας τὸ μὴ αὐτὰς μεθίστασθαι. ὑπὲρ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἐν ἑτέροις λόγοις ἱκανῶς εἴρηκα, διδάσκων τοὺς μὴ μαλακῶς αὐτοῖς ὁμιλοῦντας, ὅτι τὸν ἀτεχνῶς ἄνδρα μήτε μεταστήσει τι μήτε βουλώσεται. ὥς δὲ μήτε ἐς λόγων ἵοιμεν μῆκος, ἀκριβῶς ἀναδιδάσκοντες τὰ παρ' ἑκάστοις αὐτῷ φιλοσοφηθέντα, μὴτ' αὖ διαπηδῶντες φαινοίμεθα λόγον, ὃν οὐκ ἀπόνως παραδίδωμεν τοῖς ἀπείροις τοῦ ἀνδρός, δοκεῖ μοι τὰ σπουδαιότερα ἐπελθεῖν τούτων καὶ ἐπόσα μνημης ἰξίωσεται. ἡγώμεθα δὲ αὐτὰ παραπλήσια ταῖς τῶν Ἀσκληπιαδῶν ἐπιδημίαις.

XXXV

So many were the races which they say Apollonius had visited until then eager and anxious for others as they for him. But his subsequent journeys abroad though they were numerous, were yet not so many as before nor did he go to less districts which he was not already acquainted with, for when he came down from Ethiopia he made a long stay on the sea-board of Egypt, and then he returned to Phoenicia and Cilicia and to Ionia and Achaëa, and Italy, never failing anywhere to shew himself the same as ever. For hard as it is to know oneself I myself consider it still harder for the sage to remain always himself for he cannot ever reform evil natures and improve them, unless he has first trained himself never to alter in his own person. Now about these matters I have discoursed at length in other treatises and shewn those of my readers who were careful and hard students, that a man who is really a man will never alter his nature nor become a slave. But lest I should unduly prolong this work by giving a minute account of the several teachings which he addressed to individuals, and lest on the other hand I should skip over any important chapter of a life which I am taking so much pains to transmit to those who never knew Apollonius, I think it time to record more important incidents and matters which will repay the remembering, for we must consider that such episodes are comparable to the visits to mankind paid by the sons of Aesclepius.

CHAP
XXXV
Further
part of
Apollonius

ΠΑΡ.
XXXVI

Μειράκιον ἑαυτοῦ μὲν ἀπαιδεύτως εἶχε, τοὺς δὲ ὄρνις ἐπαίδευε, καὶ ξυνοίκους ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ ἐποιεῖτο· ἔδιδασκε δὲ αὐτοὺς λαλεῖν τε ὅσα οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ τερετίζειν ὅσα αὐτοί. τούτῳ περιτυχών, "τί," ἔφη, "ἐπιτηδεύεις;" ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰς τε ἀηδύνας αὐτῷ διῆρει καὶ τοὺς κοψίχους καὶ ὅποσα εὐγλωττίζει τοῖς χαραδρίους, τὴν φωνὴν δὲ ἀπαίδευτον ἔφαινετο, "δοκεῖς μοι," ἔφη, "διαφθεῖρειν τοὺς ὄρνις, πρῶτον μὲν τῷ μὴ ξυγχωρεῖν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἑαυτῶν φθέγμα, οὕτως ἡδὺ ὂν, ὡς μὴδ' ἂν τὰ μουσικὰ τῶν ὀργάνων ἐς μῆμῃσιν αὐτοῦ καταστήναι, εἶτα καὶ τῷ κίκιστα Ἑλλήνων αὐτὸς διαλεγόμενος, μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι ἀφωνίας. ἐπιτρίβεις δ', ὦ μειράκιον, καὶ τὸν σῆαυτοῦ οἶκον· βλέψαντι γὰρ ἐς τοὺς ἀκολουθοὺς καὶ ὡς κατεσκευάσαι, τῶν ἀβρῶν ἔμοιγε καὶ οὐκ ἀπλούτων φαίνῃ, τοὺς δὲ τοιούτους ὑποβλίστουσιν οἱ σικοφάνται, κέντρα ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἡρμένοι τὴν γλώτταν. καὶ τί χρῆσθαι τῇ φιλορνηθίᾳ τότε; οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰ πασῶν ἀηδύνων μέλη ξυμφέρων ἀποσοβήσεις αὐτοὺς ἐγκειμένους τε καὶ ἐρεῖδοντας, ἀλλ' ἐπαντλεῖν χρὴ τῶν ὀντων, καὶ προβάλλειν αὐτοῖς τὸ χρυσίον, ὥσπερ τὰ μελίγματα τοῖς

XXXVI

THERE was a youth who, without having any CHAP. II XVI
 education of his own, undertook to educate birds, Many of the
 which he kept in his home to make them clever, young birds
 and he taught them to talk like human beings and to uneducated
 whistle tunes like flute players. Apollonius met him birds to
 and asked, "How are you occupying yourself?"
 And when he replied, and told him all about his
 nightingales and his blackbirds, and how he trained
 the tongues of stone curlews— as he had himself
 a very uneducated accent— Apollonius said, "I
 think you are speaking the accents of the birds, in
 the first place because you don't let them utter their
 own notes which are so sweet that not even the
 best musical instruments could rival or imitate
 them, and in the second place because you your-
 self talk the vilest Greek dialects and are only
 teaching them to stutter like yourself. And what
 is more, my good youth, you are also wasting your
 own substance, for when I look at all your
 hangers-on, and at your get-up, I should say that
 you were a delicately bred and somewhat wealthy
 man, but sycophants squeeze people like yourself,
 at the same time that they shut out their tongues
 at them like so many glands. And what will be
 the use to you of all this bird-fancying when the
 time comes? For if you collected all the song-
 birds in the world, it would not help you to
 shake off these parasites that cling to you and
 oppress you, nay you are forced to shower your
 wealth upon them and cast your gold before them,
 as you scatter bit-bits before dogs, and to stop their

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XXV

κυσί, κἄν ὑλακτῶσιν, αὐθις δίδοναι καὶ αὐθις, εἴτα αὐτὸν πεινῆν ὕστερον καὶ ἵπορεῖν.

Δεῖ δέ σοι ἐκτροπῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ μεταβολῆς ἤδη τινὲς τῶν τρόπων, ὥς μὴ λάθῃς πτερορρυήσας τὸν πλοῦτον, καὶ ἀξίως πράττων τοῦ θρηνεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ὑπ' ὀρνίθων ἢ ἄδεσθαι. τὸ δὲ φάρμακον τῆς μεταβολῆς σὺ μέγα, ἐστὶ γάρ τι ἂν ἀπάσαις πόλεσιν ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων, ὃ σὺ οὐπω μὲν γινώσκεις, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὸ διδασκάλους· τοῦτοις ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας μικρὰ δοὺς ἀσφαλῶς κεκτήσῃ τὰ πλείω, ῥητορικὴν γάρ σε παιδεύσουσι τὴν τῶν ἀγοραίων, ῥαδίᾳ δ' ἡ τέχνη. εἰ μὲν γὰρ παῖδιά σε ἑώρων ἔτι, ξυμβοούλευον ἂν φοιτᾶν ἐπὶ φιλοσοφῶν τε καὶ σοφιστῶν θύρας, καὶ σοφίᾳ πύσῃ τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν σεαυτοῦ φράττειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄξωρος τούτων τυγχάνεις ὦν, τὸ γοῦν ὑπὲρ σεαυτοῦ λέγειν ἔκμαθε, νομίσας, εἰ μὲν τὰ τελεώτερα ἔμαθες, κἂν ὁμοίος ἀνδρὶ ὀπλιτεύουσί τε καὶ φοβερῷ δόξαι, ταυτὶ δ' ἔκμαθὼν τὴν τῶν ψιλῶν τε καὶ σφενδονητῶν σκευὴν ἄξεις· βάλλοις γὰρ ἂν τοὺς συκοφάντας, ὥσπερ τοὺς κύνας." ξυνήκε τὸ μειράκιον τούτων, καὶ τὰς τῶν ὀρνίθων διατριβὰς ἐκλιπὼν εἰς διδασκάλων ἐβάδισεν, ὑφ' ὧν καὶ ἡ γνώμη αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ γλῶττα ἰσχυσεν.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

harking you must give again and again until at last ^{that} you will find yourself reduced to hunger and to ¹²¹⁷ poverty.

"What you want is some splendid diversion which will instantly make some alteration in your character, otherwise you will wake up one day and find that you have been plucked of your wealth as if it were plumage, and that you are a fitter subject to excite the birds to lament than to sing. The remedy you need to effect such a change is not a very great one, for there is in all cities a class of men, whose acquaintance you have never made, but who are called schoolmasters. You give them a little of your substance with the certainty of getting it back with interest, for they will teach you the rhetoric of the forum and it is not a difficult art to acquire. I may add that, if I had known you as a child and come across you then, I should have advised you assiduously to attend at the doors of the philosophers and sophists, so as to be able to hedge round your habitations with a wider learning; but since it is too late for you to manage that, at any rate learn to plead for yourself: for remember if you had acquired a more *comely* training and education you would have resembled a man who is heavily armed and therefore formidable; yet, if you thoroughly learn this branch you will at any rate be equipped like a light-armed soldier or a singer: for you will be able to fling words at your opponents, as you would stones at dogs. The young man took to heart this advice, and he gave up wasting his time over birds and betook himself to school: much to the improvement both of his judgment and of his tongue.

XXXVII

ΕΛ.
XXXVII

Διοῖν δὲ λόγοις ἐν Σάρδεσι λεγομένοις, τοῦ μέν, ὡς ὁ Πιακτωλὸς ποτε τῷ Κροίσῳ ψῆγμα χρυσοῦ ἄγοι, τοῦ δέ, ὡς πρεσβύτερα τῆς γῆς εἴη τὰ δένδρα, τον μὲν πιθανῶς ἔφη πεπιστεῦσθαι, χρυσία γὰρ εἶναι ποτε τῷ Ἰμῳλῳ ψαμμωδῇ καὶ τους δμβρους αὐτὰ φερεῖν ἐς τὸν Πιακτωλὸν κατασύροντας, χρόνῳ δε, ὅπερ φιλεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἐπιλεπεῖν αὐτὰ ἀπυκλυσθέντα. τοῦ δ' ἑτέρου λόγου καταγεγλιόσας, " ὑμεῖς μὲν," ἔφη, " προγενέστερα τῆς γῆς φατε εἶναι τὰ δένδρα, ἐγὼ δὲ πολὺν οὕτω χρόνον φιλοσοφήσας οὐπὼ ἔγνω οὐρανοῦ προγενεστέρους ἀστέρας." διδίσκων ὅτι μηδ' ἂν γένοιτο τι τοῦ ἐν ᾧ φύεται μὴ ὕψους.

XXXVIII

ΕΛ.
XXXVIII

Στασιάζοντος δὲ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν τοῦ τῆς Συρίας ἄρχοντος καὶ καθιέντος ἐς αὐτοὺς ὑποψίας, ὑφ' ᾧν διειστήκεισαν ἐκκλησιαζομένη πόλις, σεισμοῦ δε γενηαίου προσπεσοντος, ἔπτηξαν καὶ ὅπερ ἐν διωσημίαις εἶωθεν, ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων ἠϋξάντο. παρελθὼν οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, " ὁ μὲν θεός," ἔφη, " διαλλακτῆς ὑμῶν σαφῆς γέγονεν, ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐδ' ἂν αὐθις στασιάζαιτε, τὰ αὐτὰ φοβούμενοι." καὶ κατέστησεν αὐτοὺς ἐς ἔννοιαν ᾧν πείσονται, καὶ ὡς ταῦτὰ τοῖς ἑτέροις φοβήσονται.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

XXXVII

Two stories are told in Sardis, one that the River Pactonius used to bring down gold-dust to Croesus, and the other that trees are older than earth. The former story Apollonius said he accepted because it was probable, for that there had once been a sand of gold on mount Tmolus, and that the showers of rain had swept it down into the river Pactonius, although subsequently, as is generally the case in such matters, it had given out, being all washed away. But the second story he ridiculed and said "You pretend that trees were created before the earth, well, I have been studying philosophy all this time, yet never heard of the stars being created before the heaven." The inference he wished to convey was that nothing could be created as long as that in which it grows does not exist.

CHAP
XXX 1
Gold-dust
of the
Pactonius

XXXVIII

The ruler of Syria had plunged Antioch into a feud, by disseminating among the citizens suspicions such that when they met in assembly they all quarrelled with one another. But a violent earthquake happening to occur, they were all cowering, and as is usual in the case of heavenly portents, praying for one another. Apollonius accordingly stepped forward and remarked "It is God who is clearly anxious to reconcile you to one another, and you will not revive these feuds since you cherish the same fears." And so he implanted in them a sense of what was to happen to them, and made each faction entertain the same fears as the other.

CHAP
XXXVIII
Humily
on the
earthquake
of Antioch

XXXIX

CAP.
XXXIX

Ἄξιον δὲ καὶ τούτου ἐπιμνησθῆναι ἔθνέ τις ὑπὲρ θησαυροῦ τῇ Γῇ καὶ οὐδὲ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ προσεύχεσθαι ὑπὲρ τούτου ὥκει, ὁ δὲ ἐνθυμηθεὶς, οἷον ἐρῶ, "δεινὸν γε," ἔφη, "χρηματιστὴν ἀρῶ." "κακοδαίμονα μὲν οὖν," εἶπεν, "ὧγέ ἐστιν οὐδὲν πλὴν ὀλίγων, ἃ μὴ ἀπύχρη βόσκειν τὸν οἶκον." "ἔοικας," ἔφη, "πολλοὺς τρέφειν καὶ ἀργυρὸς οἰκέτας, οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὸς γε τῶν ἰσόφων φαίνη." ὁ δὲ ἡρεμα ἐπιδακρύσας, "θυγάτριά μοι," εἶπεν, "ἐστὶ τέτταρα καὶ φερνῶν δεῖ τεττάρων. ἐμοὶ δὲ εἰσι δισμύριαί που δραχμαὶ νῦν, ἐπειδὴν δὲ ταῖς θυγατράσι κατανεμηθῶσω, ἐκεῖναί τε σμικρὰ εἰληφέναι δόξουσιν, ἐγὼ τε ὑπολοῦμαι ἔχων οὐδέν." παθὼν οὖν τι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ἐπιμελησόμεθά σου," ἔφη, "κῶγα καὶ ἡ Γῆ, φασὶ γὰρ σε θύειν αὐτῇ." καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα προηγεῖ τὰ προύστεια, ὥσπερ οἱ τοὺς καρπούς ἀνούμεναι, ἰδὼν δὲ τι χωρίον ἐλαῶν πλήρες καὶ ἡσθεὶς τοῖς δένδροισιν, ὥς εὐφυᾶ τε ἦν καὶ μεγάλα, καὶ τινος κηπίου ἐν αὐτῷ ὄντος, ἐν ᾧ σμήνη τε καὶ ἄνθη ἰωράτο, παρῆλθεν ἐς τὸ κηπίου ὥς τι ἐπισκεψόμενος μεῖζον, καὶ προσευξάμενος τῇ Πανδώρα ἐχώρει ἐς τὸ αἶστυ. βαδίσας δὲ παρὰ τὸν τοῦ ἡγροῦ

XXXIX

Here is another incident worth recording. A certain man was migrating to another Earth in hope of finding a treasure, and he did not hesitate to offer a prayer to Apollonius with that intent. He, perceiving what he was after, said, "I see that you are terribly fond of filthy lucre." "Nay, I am a poor devil," remarked the other, "that have nothing except a few pence and not enough to feed my family." "You seem," said the other, "to keep a large household of old servants, and you yourself appear to be wanting in wife." But the man shed a quiet tear and answered, "I have four daughters, who want four dowries, and when my daughters have had their dowries assigned to them my capital, which is now only 2000 drachmas, will have vanished, and they will think that they have got as little while I shall perish because I shall have nothing at all." Therefore Apollonius took compassion on him and said, "We will provide for you myself and another Earth, for I hear that you are sacrificing to her." With these words he conducted the man into the suburbs, as if he were going to buy some fruit, and there he saw an estate planted with olive trees, and being delighted with the trees, for they were very good ones and well grown, and there was also a little garden in the place in which he saw bee-hives and flowers, he went on into the garden as if he had some important business to examine it to, and then, having put up a prayer to Pandora, he returned to the city. Then he proceeded to the owner of the field, who had

CHAP.
XXXIX
story of the
man who
offered a
prayer to
Apollonius
for a wife
and a
treasure.

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XXXIX

δεσπότην, ὃ πλοῦτος ἐκ τῶν παρανομωτάτων πεπόριστο, τὰς Φοινίκων οὐσίας ἐνδεικνύντι, "χωρίον," ἔφη, "τὸ δεῖνα πόσου ἐπρίω καὶ τί πεπόνηται σοι ἐς αὐτό," τοῦ δὲ πέρυσι μὲν ἐωνῆσθαι τὸν ἀγρόν, πεντακισχιλίων δὲ καὶ μυρίων φήσαντος, οὕτω δ' ἐκπεπονηκέναι τι, πείθει τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀποδόσθαι οἱ δισμυρίων αὐτόν, εὖρημα ποιησάμενον τὰς πεντακισχιλίας. ὁ μὲν δὴ τοῦ θησαυροῦ ἐρών οὕτω ξυνέει τοῦ δώρου, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ᾔετο ἴσα ἔχειν, τοσαύτη δὲ ἐλάττω, ὅση τὰς μὲν δισμυρίας ἐν ταῖν χερσίν οὕσας ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ εἶναι ἄν, τὸν δ' ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἀγρον ἐπὶ πάχυναις κείσεσθαι καὶ χαλίζαις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἃ τοὺς καρποὺς φθείρει ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀμφορέα μὲν τρισχιλίων δαρεικῶν αὐτίκα εὔρε περὶ αὐτὸ μάλιστα τὸ ἐν τῷ κηπίῳ σμῆνος, εὐφόρου δὲ τοῦ τῆς ἐλαίας καρποῦ ἔτυχει, οὐκ εὐφορούσης τότε τῆς ἄλλης γῆς, ἔμνοι αὐτῷ ἐς τὸν ἄνδρα ἤδοντο καὶ μνηστήρων θεραπευνντων αὐτὸν πλέα ἦν πάντα.

XL

CAP.
XI,

Κακεῖνα ἀξιωμακόμενευτα εὔρον τοῦ ἀνδρός· ἐρᾶν τις ἐδάκει τοῦ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἔδους ὃ ἐν Κνίδι γυμνὸν ἔδρυται, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀνετίθει, τὰ δ'

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

amassed a fortune in the most unrighteous manner, CHAP XXXIX
 by informing against the estates of Phœnicians, and said "For how much did you purchase such and such an estate, and how much labour have you spent upon it?" The other replied that he had bought the estate a year before for the sum of 15,000 drachmas, but that as yet he had spent no labour upon it, whereupon Apollonius persuaded him to sell it to him for 20,000 drachmas, which he did, esteeming the 5,000 to be a great windfall. Now the man who wanted to find the treasure did not in the least understand the gift that was made him, indeed he hardly considered it a fair bargain for himself, and all the worse a bargain, because, whereas he might have kept the 20,000 drachmas that he had in hand, he now reflected that the estate which he purchased for the sum might suffer from frost and hail-storms and from other influences ruinous to the crops. But when he found a jar almost at once in the field containing 3,000 daries, close by the bee-hive in the little garden, and when he got a very large yield from the olive-trees, when everywhere else the crops had failed, he began to hymn the praises of the sage, and his house was crowded with suitors for the hands of his daughters urging their suits upon him.

XL

HERE is another story which I came upon about Apollonius, and which deserves to be put upon record. There was a man who was in love with a nude statue of Aparodite which is erected in the

CAP.
XL

ἀναθήσειν ἔφασκεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ γάμου, Ἀπολλωνίῳ
 δὲ καὶ ἄλλως μὲν ἄτοπα ἐδόκει ταῦτα, ἐπεὶ δὲ μὴ
 παρηγεῖτο ἡ Κνίδος, ἀλλ' ἐναργεστέραν ἔφασαν
 τὴν θεὸν δόξειν, εἰ ἐρῶτο, ἔδοξε τῷ ἀνδρὶ καθῆραι
 τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς ἀνοίας ταύτης, καὶ ἐρομένων τῶν
 Κνιδίων αὐτόν, εἴ τι βούλοιο τῶν θυτικῶν ἢ
 εὐκτικῶν διορθοῦσθαι, “ὀφθαλμούς,” ἔφη, “διορθώ-
 σομαι, τὰ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πάτρια ἐχέτω, ὡς ἔχει.”
 καλέσας οὖν τὸν θρυπτόμενον ἤρετο αὐτόν, εἰ
 θεοὺς νενόμκε, τοῦ δ' οὕτω νομίζειν θεοὺς φήσαν-
 τος, ὡς καὶ ἐρᾶν αὐτῶν, καὶ τῶν γάμων μνημονεύ-
 σαντος, οὓς θύσειν ἡγείτο, “σὲ μὲν ποιηταί,” ἔφη,
 “ἐπαίρουσι τοὺς Ἀγχίσις τε καὶ τοὺς Πηλέας
 θεαῖς ξυζυγῆναι εἰκόντες, ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ἐρᾶν καὶ
 ἐρᾶσθαι τόδε γυνώσκω· θεοὶ θεῶν, ἄνθρωποι
 ἀνθρώπων, θηρία θηρίων, καὶ καθάπαξ ὅμοια
 ὁμοίων ἐρᾶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἔτυμα καὶ ξυγγενῇ τίκτειν, τὸ
 δὲ ἑτερογενὲς τῷ μὴ ὁμοίῳ ξυνελθὼν οὔτε ζυγὰς
 οὔτε ἔρας. εἰ δὲ ἐνεθυμοῦ τὰ Ἰξίοπος, οὐδ' ἂν ἐς
 ἔννοιαν καθίστασθαι τοῦ μὴ ὁμοίων ἐρᾶν. ἀλλ'
 ἐκεῖνος μὲν τροχῶ εἰκασμένος δι' οὐρανοῦ κνάμπ-
 τεται, σὺ δ', εἰ μὴ ἄπει τοῦ ἱεροῦ, ἀπολεῖ ἐν
 ἀπάσῃ τῇ γῇ, οὐδ' ἀντειπεῖν ἔχων τὸ μὴ οὐ δίκαια
 τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπὶ σοὶ γνῶναι.” ὣς ἡ παροιμία

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

island of Cnidus and he was making offerings to it, and said that he would make yet others with a view to marrying the statue. But Apollonius thought on other grounds he thought his conduct absurd yet as the islanders were not averse to the idea but said that the fame of the goddess would be greatly enhanced if she had a lover determined to purge the temple of all this nonsense and when the Cnians asked him if he would reform their system of sacrifices or their litaniae in any way, he replied: "I will reform your eyes but let the ancestral service of your temple continue as it is." Accordingly he called to him the wailing lover and asked him if he believed in the existence of gods and when he replied that he believed in their existence he said that he was actually in love with them and mentioned a marriage with one of them which he hoped to celebrate shortly. Apollonius replied: "The poets have turned your poor head by their talk of unions of Anchises and Pallas and other heroes with goddesses but I know this much about loving and being loved: gods fall in love with gods and human beings with human beings and animals with animals and in a word like with like and they have true sons of their own kind but when two beings of different kinds contract a union there is no true marriage or love. And if you only would bear in mind the fate of Ixion you would never have dreamed of falling in love with beings so much above you. For he you remember is bent and stretched across the heaven like a wheel and you cannot get out of this shrine will perish whenever you are upon earth nor will you be able to say that the gods have been unjust in their sentences upon

char
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FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XI. ἑσβέσθη, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ὁ φάσκων ἑρᾶν, ὑπὲρ
 ξυγγνώμης θύσας.

XL I

CAP. XII. Σεισμῶν δὲ κατασχόντων ποτὲ τὰς ἐν τῷ ἡρι
 στερφῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ πόλεις, Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν καὶ
 Χαλδαῖοι περὶ αὐτὰς ἡγείροντο ὑπὲρ ξυλλογῆς
 χρημάτων, ὥς δεκαταλάντους θυσίας ἢ καὶ
 Ἰλοσειδῶνι θύσαντες, ξυνέφερον δ' αἱ πόλεις τα
 μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκων, ὑποκεί
 μενοι τῷ φόβῳ, οἱ δὲ, εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ τραπεζῶν ἐκτεθείη
 τὸ ἀργύριον, οὐκ ἂν ἔφασαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν θύσας
 δοκεῖ δη τῷ ἀνδρὶ μὴ περιδεῖν τοὺς Ἑλλησ
 ποντίους. καὶ παρελθὼν ἐς τὰς πόλεις τοὺς μὲν
 ἀπῆλασεν ὥς θησαυρὸν πεποιημένους τὰ ἑτέρων
 κακία, τὰς δὲ αἰτίας τῷ μηνιματῶν ξυλλαβὴν καὶ
 ὥς ἐκάστη πρόσφορον θύσας, ἀπεύξατο τὴν προσ
 βολὴν δαπάνη σμικρᾷ, καὶ ἡ γῆ ἔστη.

XLII

CAP. XIII. Δομετιανοῦ δὲ βασιλείᾳς ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον
 εὐνοῦχος τε μὴ ποιεῖν νομοθετησάντος, ἀμπέλους
 τε μὴ φυτεῖν ἔτι καὶ τὰς πεφυτευμένας δὲ αὐτῶν
 138

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you." Thus he put a stop to this mad freak, and the man went away who said he was in love, after sacrificing in order to gain forgiveness, CHAP
XL

XLI

At one time the cities on the left side of the Hellespont were visited by earthquakes, and Egyptians and Chaldeans went begging about through them to collect money, pretending that they wanted ten talents with which to offer sacrifices to earth and to Poseidon. And the cities began to contribute under the stress of fear, partly out of their common funds and partly out of private. But the impostors refused to offer the sacrifices in behalf of their dupes unless the money was deposited in the banks. Now the sage determined not to allow the peoples of the Hellespont to be imposed upon, so he visited their cities, and drove out the quacks who were making money out of the misfortunes of others, and then he divined the causes of the supernatural wrath, and by making such offerings as suited each case averted the visitation at small cost, and the land was at rest. CHAP
XLI
Egyptians
and
Chaldeans
quacks
substituted

XLII

The Emperor Domitian about the same time passed a law against making men eunuchs, and against planting fresh vineyards, and also in favour of cutting down vineyards already planted, whereon CHAP
XLII

CAP.
XIIII ἐκκόπτειν, παρελθὼν ἐς τοὺς Ἴωνας ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "τὰ μὲν προστάγματα οὐ πρὸς ἐμέ," ἔφη, "ταῦτα, μόνος γὰρ ἴσως ἀνθρώπων οὔτε αἰδοίων δέομαι οὔτε οἴνον, λέληθε δὲ ὁ θαυμασιώτατος τῶν μὲν ἀνθρώπων φειδόμενος, τὴν δὲ γῆν εὐνουχίζων." ὅθεν ἐς θύρσος ἡ Ἰωνία ἦλθε πρεσβεύσασθαι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ὑπὲρ ἱμπέλων καὶ παραιτήσασθαι νόμον, ὃς ἐκέλευε καὶ δηοῦσθαι τὴν γῆν καὶ μὴ φυτεύεσθαι.

XIIII

CAP.
XIIII Κἀκεῖνα ἐν Ταρσοῖς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἄδουσι· κύων ἐνεπεπτώκει ἐφήβῳ λυττῶν, καὶ ἀπῆγε τὸν ἔφηβον τὸ δῆγμα ἐς τὰ τῶν κυνῶν πάντα, ὑλάκει τε γὰρ καὶ ὠρύετο καὶ τετριπὸν ἔβρι τῷ χεῖρι ὑπέχων τῇ δρόμῳ. νοσοῦντι δ' αὐτῷ τριακοστὴν ἡμέραν ἐφίσταται μὲν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ἄρτι ἐς τοὺς Ταρσοὺς ἤκων, κελεύει δὲ ἀνιχνευθῆναί οἱ τὸν κύνα, ὃς ταῦτα εἰργάσατο, οἱ δ' οὔτε ἐντετυχηκέναι τῷ κυνὶ ἔφασαν, ἔξω γὰρ τείχους εἰλήφθαι αὐτον τοῦ ἐφήβου πρὸς ἀκοντίοις ὄντος, οὐτ' ἂν τοῦ νοσοῦντος μαθεῖν, ἥτις ἡ ἰδέα τοῦ κυνός, ἐπεὶ μηδε αὐτον ἔτι οἶδεν. ἐπισχῶν οὖν, "ὦ Δάμι," ἔφη, "λευκὸς ὁ κύων λάσιος προβατευτικός Ἀμφιλοχικῷ ἴσος, προσέστηκε δὲ τῇ δεῖνι κρήνῃ τρέμων, τὸ γὰρ ὕδωρ καὶ ποθεῖ καὶ δέδοικεν ἄγε μοι τοῦτον ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄχθην, ἐφ' ἧς

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

Apollonius, who was visiting the Ionians, remarked
 "These rescripts do not concern me, for I, alone
 perhaps of mankind, require neither to beget my
 kind nor to drink wine, but our egregious sovereign
 seems not aware that he is sparing mankind, while
 he eunuchises the earth." This witticism em-
 boldened the Ionians to send a deputation to the
 emperor in behalf of their vines, and ask for a repeal
 of the law which ordered the earth to be laid waste
 and not planted.

CHAP.
 XLII
 Apollonius's
 comment
 against
 eunuchs
 and vine-
 yards

XLIII

HIER too is a story which they tell of him in
 Tarsus. A mad dog had attacked a lad, and as a
 result of the bite the lad behaved exactly like a dog,
 for he barked and howled and went on all four feet
 using his hands as such, and ran about in that
 manner. And he had been ill in this way for
 thirty days, when Apollonius, who had recently
 come to Tarsus, met him and ordered him to look
 for the dog which had done the harm. But they
 said that the dog had not been found, because the
 youth had been attacked outside the wall when he
 was practising with javelins, nor could they learn
 from the patient what the dog was like, for he did
 not even know himself any more. Then Apollonius
 reflected a moment and said. "O Darnis, the dog is
 a white shaggy sheep-dog, as big as an Amphilocheian
 hound, and he is standing at a certain fountain
 trembling all over, for he is longing to drink the
 water, but at the same time is afraid of it. Bring
 him to me to the bank of the river, where there are

CHAP.
 XLIII
 Apollonius
 heals a
 youth bitten
 by a mad
 dog

αἱ παλαῖστραι, μόνον εἶπαι, ὅτι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καλοῖτο." CAP. XI-111
 ἐλχθεῖς δ' ὁ κύων ὑπὸ τοῦ Δάμιδος, ὑπεκλίθη τοῖς
 τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου πασί, ὥσπερ οἱ βώμιοι τῶν
 ἱκετῶν κλαίων, ὁ δ' ἡμέρου τε αὐτὸν ἔτι μᾶλλον
 καὶ τῇ χειρὶ ἐπράυνε, τὸν ἔφηβόν τε ἱσθη ἐγγὺς
 ξυνέχων αὐτός, ὥς δὲ μὴ λάθοι τοὺς πολλοὺς μέγα
 ὑπορρητον, "μεθέστηκε μέν," ἔφη, "ἐς τὸν παῖδα
 τοῦτον ἢ Τηλέφου ψυχὴ τοῦ Μυσοῦ, Μοῖραι δ'
 ἐπ' αὐτῷ ταῦτά βούλονται," καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα
 ἐκέλευσε τὸν κύνα περιλιχμῆσθαι τὸ δῖγμα, ὥς
 ἱατρὸς αὐτῷ πάλιν ὁ τρωσας γένοίτο. ἐπεστριαφῇ
 τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἐς τὸν πατέρα ὁ παῖς καὶ ξυνῆκε τῆς
 μητρός, προσεῖπέ τε τοῖς ἡλικας καὶ ἔπινε τοῦ
 Κυδνου, περιωφθὴ δὲ οὐδὲ ὁ κύων, ἀλλὰ κάκεινον
 εὐξάμενος τῇ ποταμῷ δι' αὐτοῦ ἦκεν. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ
 διέβη τὸν Κύδνον, ἐπιστάς τῇ ὀχθῇ φωνήν τε
 ἀφῆκεν, ὅπερ ἦμιστα περὶ τοὺς λυττῶντας τῶν
 κυνῶν συμβαίνει, καὶ τὰ ὦτα ἀνακλίσας ἔσεισε
 τὴν οὐράν, ξυνεῖς τοῦ ἐρρῶσθαι, φαρμακοποσία
 γὰρ λύττης ἰδωρ, ἦν θαρσύνῃ αὐτὸ ὁ λυττῶν.

Τοιαῦτα τοῦ ἀνδρός τὰ ὑπὲρ ἱερῶν τε καὶ
 πόλεων καὶ τὰ πρὸς δῆμους καὶ ὑπὲρ δῆμων, καὶ
 τὰ ὑπὲρ τεθνεώτων ἢ νοσούντων, καὶ τὰ πρὸς
 σοφοὺς τε καὶ μὴ σοφοὺς καὶ τὰ πρὸς βασιλέας,
 οἱ ξύμβουλον αὐτὸν ἀρετῆς ἐποιοῦντο.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

the wrestling grounds merely telling him that it is I ^{CHAR}
 who call him. So Demus dragged the dog along, ²⁴¹¹
 and it crouched at the feet of Apollonius, crying out
 as a suppliant might do before an altar. But he quite
 tamed it by stroking it with his hand and then he
 stood the lad close by, holding him with his hand;
 and in order that the multitude might be cognizant
 of so great a mystery he said: 'The soul of
 Telephus of Myra has been transferred into this boy,
 and the Fates impose the same things upon him as
 upon Telephus. And with these words he bade
 the dog lick the wound all round where he had
 bitten the boy, so that the agent of the wound
 might in turn be its physician and healer. After
 that the boy returned to his father and recognised
 his mother, and saluted his comrades as before,
 and drank of the waters of the Cydnus. Nor did
 the sage neglect the dog either, but after offering a
 prayer to the river he sent the dog across it, and
 when the dog had crossed the river, he took his
 stand on the opposite bank, and began to bark, a
 thing which mad dogs rarely do, and he folded back
 his ears and wagged his tail, because he knew that
 he was all right again, for a draught of water cures
 a mad dog, if he has only the courage to take it.

Such were the exploits of our sage in behalf of
 both temples and cities, such were the discourses
 he delivered to the public or in behalf of different
 communities, and in behalf of those who were dead
 or who were sick, and such were the harangues he
 delivered to wise and unwise alike, and to the
 sovereigns who consulted him about moral virtue.



BOOK VII

Η'

I

CAP. I Οἶδα καὶ τὰς τυραννίδας, ὥς ἔστιν ἀρίστη βάνος ἀνδρῶν φιλοσοφούντων, καὶ ξυγχωρῶ σκοπεῖν, ὃ τι ἑκαστὸς ἐτέρου ἤπτυν ἢ μᾶλλον ἀνὴρ ἔδοξεν, ὁ λόγος δέ μοι ξυντείνει ἐς τύδε· κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, οὓς Δαμετιανὸς ἐτυράννευσεν, περιέστησαν τὸν ἄνδρα κατηγορίαι καὶ γραφαί, ὅπως μὲν ἀρξίμεναι καὶ οὐτόθεν καὶ ὃ τι ἐκάστη ὄνομα, δηλώσω αὐτίκα, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνάγκη λέξαι, τί μὲν εἶπων, τίς δὲ εἶναι δόξας ἀπῆλθε τῆς κρίσεως, ἔλῶν μᾶλλον τὸν τύραννον ἢ ἰλοῦς αὐτοῦ, δοκεῖ μοι διελθεῖν πρὸ τούτων, ὅπόσα εὖροι ἀφηγήσεως ἄξια σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν πρὸς τυράννους ἔργα, παραδεικνύειν τε αὐτὰ τοῖς Ἀπολλωνίου χρὴ γάρ ποι τάληθές οὕτω μαστεύειν.

II

CAP. II Ζήνων μὲν τοίνυν ὁ Ἐλεείτης, διαλεκτικῆς δὲ οὗτος δοκεῖ ἄρχει, τὴν Νεάρχου τοῦ Μυσοῦ καταλύων τυραννίδα ἦλω, καὶ στρεβλωθεὶς τοὺς μὲν
 .46

BOOK VII

I

I AM aware that the conduct of philosophers under CHAP. I
despotism is the truest touchstone of their character, and am in favour of inquiring in what way one man displays more courage than another. And my argument also urges me to consider the point, for during the reign of Domitian Apollonius was beset by accusations and writs of information, the several origins, sources and counts of which I shall presently enlarge upon, and as I shall be under the necessity of specifying the language which he used and the rôle which he assumed, when he left the court after convicting the tyrant rather than being himself convicted, so I must first of all enumerate all the feats of wise men in the presence of tyrants which I have found worthy of commemoration, and contrast them with the conduct of Apollonius. For this I think is the best way of finding out the truth

Superiority
of
Apollonius
to other
champions
of liberty

II

ZENO then of Elea, who was the father of dialectic, CHAP. II
was convicted of an attempt to overthrow the tyranny of Nearchus the Mysian, and being put to the rack he refused to divulge the names of his accomplices, Zeno the Eleatic

11 ἑαυτοῦ ξυνωμύτας ἀπεσιώπησεν, ὥ δ' ἦσαν τῷ
 τυραννὴ Βεβαίοι, διαβαλὼν τοὺτους ὥς οὐ Βε-
 βαίους, οἱ μὲν ὥς ἐπ' ἀληθεσι ταῖς αἰτίαις ἀπέ-
 θανον, ὁ δ' ἐλευθέρα τὰ Μουσῶν ἔργα τὴν
 τυραννίδα περὶ ἑαυτῇ σφίλλας. Πλάτων δὲ ὑπὲρ
 τῆς Σικελιωτῶν ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνά φησιν ἄρασθαι,
 συλλαβὸν τῆς διανοίας ταύτης Δίῳ. Φύτων
 δὲ Ἰργίου ἐκπεσὼν κατέφυγε μὲν ἐπὶ Διονύσιον
 τὸν Σικελίας τύραννον, μειζύων δὲ ἀξιωθείς ἢ τὸν
 φεύγοντα εἰκός, ξυνῆκε μὲν τοῦ τυράννου καὶ ὅτι
 τοῦ Ἰργίου ἐρῆς, Ἰργίνοις δ' ἐπιστέλλων ταῦτα
 ἦλθον, καὶ ὁ μὲν τύραννος ἐνδὲς τῶν μηχανημάτων
 ἀνάψαι αὐτὸν ζῶντα προσήγαγε τοῖς τεύχεσιν, ὥς
 μὴ βάλοιεν οἱ Ἰργίνοι τὸ μηχανημα φειδοῖ τοῦ
 Φύτωνος, ὁ δὲ ἐβόα βᾶλλειν, σκοπος γὰρ αὐτοῖς
 ἐλευθερίας εἶναι. Ἡρακλείδης δὲ καὶ Πύθων οἱ
 Κοτυν ἀποκτείναντες τὸν Θρᾶκα νεανία μὲν ἦσθη
 ἄμφω, τὰς δὲ Ἀκαδημίδους διατριβάς ἐπαινοῦντες
 σοφῶ τε ἐγενέσθησαν καὶ οὕτως ἐλευθέρω τὰ δὲ
 Καλλισθένους τοῦ Ὀλυμβίου τίς οὐκ οἶδεν; ὅς
 ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἐπαινέσας τε καὶ διαβαλὼν
 Μακεδόνας, ὅτε μέγιστοι δυνάμει ἦσαν, ἀπέθανον
 ἀηδὴς δόξας. Διογενὴς δὲ ὁ Σινωπεὺς καὶ Κράτης
 ὁ Θηβαῖος, ὁ μὲν εὖθις Χαιρωνείας ἦκων ἐπέπληξεν
 ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων Φιλίππῳ περὶ ὧν, Ἡρακλείδης
 εἶναι φησκων, ἀπώλλυ ὅπλοις τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS BOOK VII

though he accused of disloyalty those who were close to the tyrant with the result that whereas they were put to death on the assumption that his intentions were true he effected the liberation of the Massians by tripping deception up over itself. And Phylonius demands that he look up the cause of the liberation of the people of Sicily and associated himself in this enterprise with them. And it was when he was banished from Rhigium and to Thurium the tyrant of Sicily but being treated with more honour than an exile might expect he realised that the tyrant had designs also upon Rhigium and he informed the people there of this in secret. But he was caught being so by the tyrant who forthwith fastened on to one of his winged horses and then pushed it forward against he was imagining that the inhabitants of Rhigium would not stand at the machine in order to spare Phylonius. He had once cried out to them to shoot for and he was the target of their shots. And Hieronides and Polion who saw that the Thurians were both of them young men and they entered the theatre and one of the horses and made the man shoot and a tree man. And Hieronides and Polion the story of a sister of the tyrant. He on one and the same day declared himself a parricide and of an attack upon the Massians just at the time when they were at the height of their power and then sent him to death for exciting his measures. Then there were Thucydides of Sicily and others of Thelae and along the lower coast direct to Thurium and reached Phylonius by the treaty of the Athenians on the general trial though asserting himself to be a descendant of Hieronides he yet was destroying

CAP.
II ὅπλα ἡρμένους, ὁ δ' ἀνοικκίειν Θήβας Ἀλεξάνδρου δι' αὐτὸν φήσαντος οὐκ ἂν ἔφη δεσθῆναι πατρίδος, ἣν κατασκάψει τις ὅπλοις ἰσχύσας. καὶ λέγοντο μὲν αἱ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα, ὁ λόγος δὲ οὐ ξυγχωρεῖ μῆκος, τῷ γε ἀνάγκην ἔχοντι καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντειπεῖν, οὐχ ὥς οὐ καλὰ ἢ οὐκ ἐν λόγῳ πᾶσι, ἀλλ' ὥς ἦττοι τῶν Ἀπολλωνίου, κἂν ἄριστα ἐτέρων φαίνεται.

III

CAP.
III Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦ Ἐλεάτου ἔργον καὶ οἱ τὸν Κότυν ἀπεκτονότες οὐπω ἀξιόλογα, Θράκας γὰρ καὶ Γέτας δουλοῦσθαι μὲν ῥῥῆδιον, ἐλευθεροῦν δὲ εὐήθες, οὐδὲ γὰρ τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ χαίρουσιν, ἄτε, οἶμαι, οὐκ αἰσχροῦν ἡγούμενοι τὸ δουλεύειν. Πλάτων δὲ ὥς μὲν οὐ σοφόν τι ἔπαθε τὰ ἐν Σικελίᾳ διαρθούμενος μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ Ἀθήνησιν, ἢ ὥς εἰκότως ἐπράθη σφαλεῖς τε καὶ σφήλας, οὐ λέγω διὰ τοὺς δυσχερῶς ἀκροωμένους. τὰ δὲ τοῦ Ῥηγίνου πρὸς Διονύσιον μὲν ἐτυλμᾶτο τυραννύοντα οὐ βεβαίως Σικελίας, ὁ δ' ὑπ' ἐκείνου πάντως ἀποθανὼν ἂν, εἰ καὶ μὴ ὑπὸ Ῥηγίνων ἐβλήθη, θαυμαστόν, οἶμαι, οὐδὲν ἔπραττε, τὸν
150

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by force of arms those who had taken up arms in defence of the descendants of Hercules. The other Crates, when Alexander had declared that he would rebuild Thebes for his sake, replied that he would never stand in need of a country or of a city, which anyone could raise to the ground by mere force of arms. Many more examples of this kind could be adduced, but my treatise does not allow me to prolong them. It is indeed incumbent upon me to criticise these examples not in order to show that they were not as remarkable as they are universally famous, but only to show that they fall short of the exploits of Apollonius, in spite of their being the best of their kind.

III

AS FOR the conduct of Zeno of Elea then, and about the murder of Cotys there is nothing very remarkable, for as it is easy to enslave Thracians and Getae, so it is an act of folly to liberate them, for indeed they do not appreciate freedom, because, I imagine, they do not esteem slavery to be base. I will not say that Plato somewhat lacked wisdom when he set himself to reform the affairs of Sicily rather than those of Athens, or that he was sold in all fairness when, after deceiving others, he found himself deceived, for I fear to offend my readers. But the despotic sway of Dionysius over Sicily was already tottering when Phylton of Rhegium made his attempt against him, and in any case he would have been put to death by him, even if the people of that city had not shot their bolts at him; his achievement, then, I think, was by no means

CHAP.
II

CHAP.
III
Criticism
of Zeno.

of Plato.

of Phylton.

CΑΓ
 III ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐτέρων ἐλευθερίας θάνατον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν
 ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοῦ δουλείας αἰρούμενος. Καλλι-
 σθένης δὲ τὸ δόξαι κακὸς οὐδ' ἂν νῦν διαφύγοι,
 τοὺς γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπαινέσας καὶ διαβαλὼν, ἢ
 διέβαλεν, οὐς ἐνόμισεν ἐπαινεῖν ἀξίους, ἢ ἐπή-
 νυσεν, οὐς ἐχρῆν διαβάλλοντα φαίνεσθαι, καὶ
 ἄλλως ὁ μὲν καθιστάμενος ἐς τὸ λοιδορεῖσθαι ταῖς
 ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιμ οὐκ ἔχει ἀποδρᾶναι τὸ μὴ οὐ
 δόξαι βασκανος, ὁ δὲ τοὺς πονηροὺς κολακεύων
 ἐπαινῶν αὐτὸς ἐποίσεται τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν ἡμαρτη-
 θέντων σφίσιν, οἱ γὰρ κακοὶ κακίους ἐπαινουμένοι.
 Διογένης δὲ πρὸ Χαιρωνικῆς μὲν εἰπὼν ταῦτα
 πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ ἐφύλαξε τὸν ἄνδρα
 καθαρὸν τῶν ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους ὅπλων, εἰργασμένοις
 δ' ἐπιστάς ὤνειδιζε μὲν, οὐ μὲν διωρθούτο.
 Κράτης δὲ καὶ αἰτίαν ἂν λύβοι πρὸς ἀνδρὸς
 φιλοπολίδος μὴ ξυκαράμενος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῆς
 βουλῆς, ἢ ἐς τὸ ἀνοικίσαι τὰς ἐθήβας ἐχρῆτο.
 Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ οὐθ' ὑπὲρ πατρίδος κινδυνευούσης
 δέσας, οὔτε τοῦ σώματος ἀπογνοὺς, οὔτ' ἐς
 ἀνοήτους ὑπαχθεῖς λόγους, οὐθ' ὑπὲρ Μυσῶν ἢ
 Γετῶν, οὔτε πρὸς ἄνδρα, ὃς ἦρχε νήσου μᾶς ἢ
 χώρας οὐ μεγάλης, ἀλλ' ὑφ' ᾧ θάλαττά τε ἦν καὶ
 γῆ πᾶσα, πρὸς τοῦτον, ἐπειδὴ πικρῶς ἐτυράννευε,
 παρέττατεν ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τῶν ἀρχομένων
 κέρδους, χρησάμενος μὲν τῇ διανοίᾳ ταυτῇ καὶ
 πρὸς Νέρωνα.

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wonderful he only preferred to die in behalf of the liberty of others rather than to endure the death penalty of being himself a slave. And as he takes themes even today he cannot acquit himself of hypocrisy for in first commending and then attacking one and the same set of people he either attacked those whom he felt to be worthy of praise or he praised those whom he ought to have been equally attacking. Moreover a person who sets himself to abuse great men cannot escape the charge of being envious since he who flatters the abused by his very praises of them cleaves down upon his own head the guilt of their misdeeds for evil men are not rendered more evil when you praise them. And though as if he had addressed Philip in the way he did before the battle of Chaeroneia instead of after it might have preserved him from the guilt of taking up arms against Athens but instead of doing so he waited till the harm was done when he could only reprove him but not reform him. As for Crates he must needs trust the remorse of every patriot for not succumbing Alexander in his design of reconquering Illyria. But Apollonius had not to fear for any country that was endangered nor was he in danger of his own life nor was he reduced to silence by all speeches nor was he hampering the cause of Macedonia or Greece nor was he face to face with one who was once sovereign of a single island or of an inaccessible blue country but he confronted one who was master both of sea and land at a time when his tyranny was hard and bitter and he took his stand against the tyrant in behalf of the welfare of the subjects with the same spirit and purpose as he had taken his stand against Nero.

CAP.
IV

Ἡγείσθω δ' οὖν τις ἀκροβολισμούς ἐκείνα, ἐπεὶ μὴ ὁμοσε χωρῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸν Βίνδικα ἐπιρρωνυὺς καὶ τὸν Τυγελλῆνον ἐκπλήττων σαθροτέραν τὴν τυραννίδα ἐποίει, καὶ τις ἀναφύεται λόγος ἀλαζῶν ἐνταῦθα, ὥς οὐδὲν γευναῖον ἐπιθέσθαι Νέρωνι ψαλτρίας τινὸς ἢ αὐλητρίδος βίον ζῶντι· ἀλλὰ περὶ γε Δομετιανοῦ τί φήσουσιν; ὅς τὸ μὲν σῶμα ἔρρωτο, ἡδονὰς δὲ τὰς μὲν ἐξ ὀργάνων τε καὶ κτύπων τὰς τὸ θυμοειδὲς ἀπομαραινούσας παρητεῖτο, τὰ δὲ ἐτέρων ἄχῃ καὶ ὃ τι ὀλοφύραϊτό τις, ἐς τὸ εὐφραῖνον εἴλκε, τὴν δ' ἀπιστίαν δῆμων μὲν ἐκάλει πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους φυλακτήριον, τυράννων δὲ πρὸς πάντας, τὴν δὲ νύκτα πάντων μὲν ἔργων ἡξίου παύειν βασιλέα, φόνων δὲ ἄρχειν, ὅθι ἡκρωτηριάσθη μὲν ἡ βουλὴ τοὺς εὐδοκιμωτάτους, φιλοσοφία δὲ οὕτω τι ἐπτηξεν, ὥς ἀποβαλόντες τὸ σχῆμα οἱ μὲν ἀποδρᾶναι σφῶν ἐς τὴν Κελτῶν ἐσπέραν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰ ἔρημα Λιβύης τε καὶ Σκυθίας, ἔνιοι δ' ἐς λόγους ἀπενεχθῆναι ξυμβούλους τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων. ὃ δ', ὥσπερ τῇ Σοφοκλεῖ πεποιήται πρὸς τὸν Οἰδίπουν ὁ Τειρεσίας ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ λέγων

οὐ γιέρ τι σοὶ ζῶ δοῦλος, ἀλλὰ Λοξία,

IV

Some may think that his attitude towards Nero was a mere bit of skimming because he did not come to the quarters with him but merely undermined his despotism by his encouragement of Vindex and the terror with which he inspired Tigellinus. And there are certain braggarts here who foster the tale that it requires no great courage to assail a man like Nero who led the life of a female harpist or flautist. But what I could ask have they to say about Domitian? For he was vigorous in body and he abjured all those pleasures of music and song which wear away and soften down ferocity: and he took pleasure in the sufferings of others and in any lamentations they uttered. And he was in the habit of saying that distrust is the best safeguard of the people against the tyrants and of the tyrant against the multitude: and though he thought that a sovereign ought to rest from all hard work during the night, yet he deemed it the right season to begin murdering persons. And the result was that while the Senate had all its most distinguished members cut off, philosophy was reduced to cowering in a corner to such an extent that some of its votaries disguised themselves by changing their dress and ran away to take refuge among the western Galls while others fled to the deserts of Libya and Syria, and others again stooped to compare nations in which his crimes were painted. But Apollonius the Treason who is represented by Sapphirus as addressing to Domitian the words

'For I live in your slavery that I live, but in that
of Læsus,

CAP.
IV οὕτω τὴν σοφίαν δέσποιναν πεποιημένος ἐλεύθερος ἦν τῆς Δομετιανοῦ φορᾶς, τὰ Τειρεσίου τε καὶ Σοφοκλέους ἑαυτῷ ἐπιθεσπίσας καὶ δεδιώς μὲν οὐδὲν ἴδιον, ἃ δὲ ἑτέρους ἀπώλλυ, ἐλεῶν, ὅθεν ξυνίστη ἐπ' αὐτὸν νεότητιέ τε, ὁπίασιν ἡ βουλὴ εἶχε, καὶ ξύνεσιν, ὁπίασιν περὶ ἐνίοις αὐτῶν ἐωρᾶτο, φοιτῶν ἐς τὰ ἔθνη καὶ φιλοσοφῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ὥς οὔτε ἀθίνατος ἡ τῶν τυράννων ἰσχὺς, αὐτῷ τε τῷ φαβεροῖ δοκεῖν ἀλίσκονται μᾶλλον. διῆκει δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ Παναθήναια τὰ Ἀττικὰ, ἐφ' οἷς Ἀρμόδιός τε καὶ Ἀριστογείνων ἄδονται, καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἔργον, ὃ καὶ τριάκοντα ὁμοῦ τυράννους εἶλε, καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων δὲ αὐτῶν διῆκει πάτρια, ὥς κἀκεῖνοι δῆμος τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄντες τὰς τυραννίδας ἐώθουν ὀπλοῖς.

V

CAP.
V Τραγωδίας δὲ ὑποκριτοῦ παρελθόντος ἐς τὴν Ἐφεσον ἐπὶ τῇ Ἰνοῖ τῷ δρᾶματι, καὶ ἀκροωμένου τοῦ τῆς Ἀσίας ἄρχοντος, ὃς καίτοι νέος ὢν φανερὸς ἐν ὑπάτοις ἀτολμότερον ὑπὲρ τούτων διανοεῖτο, ὃ μὲν ὑποκριτῆς ἐπέβαινεν ἤδη τὰ ἱαμβεῖα, ἐν οἷς ὁ Εὐριπίδης διὰ μακρῶν αὐξηθέντας τοὺς τυράννους ἀλίσκεσθαι φησιν ὑπὸ μικρῶν, ἀναπηδῆσας δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ἔλλ' ὁ δειλός,” ἔφη, “οὔτος οὔτε Εὐριπίδου ξυνήσιν οὔτε ἐμοῦ.”

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chose wisdom as his mistress, and escaped scot free CHAP. IV
 from paying tribute to Domitian. Applying to him-
 self, as if it were an oracle, the verse of Tiresias and
 of Sophocles, and fearing nothing for himself, but
 only pitying the fate of others, he set himself to rally
 round him all the younger men of the Senate, and
 husband such intelligence as he saw discerned in many
 of them, and he visited the provinces and in the name
 of philosophy he appealed to the governors, pointing
 out to them that the strength of tyrants is not
 immortal, and that the very fact of their being
 dreaded exposes them to defeat. And he also
 reminded them of the Panathenaic festival in
 Attica, at which hymns are sung in honour of
 Harmodius and Aristogiton, and of the saly that
 was made from Phyle, when thirty tyrants at once
 were overthrown, and he also reminded them of the
 ancient history of the Romans, and of how they too
 had originally been a democracy, after driving out
 despotism, arms in hand.

V

AND on an occasion when a tragic actor visited CHAP. V
 Ephesus and came forward in the play called the
 Iro, and when the governor of Asia was one of the
 audience, a man who though still young and of Apphia the Iro at Ephesus
 distinguished rank among the consuls, was never-
 theless very nervous about such matters, just as the
 actor finished the speech in which Euripides
 describes in his Iambics how tyrants after long
 growth of their power are destroyed by little causes,
 Apollonius leapt up and said "But yonder coward
 understands neither Euripides nor myself."

VI

CAP. VI Καὶ μὲν καὶ λόγον ἰφικημένου, ὡς λαμπρὰν
 κάθαρσιν εἶη Δομετιανὸς πεποιημένος τῆς Ῥω-
 μαίων Ἑστίας, ἐπειδὴ τρεῖς τῶν Ἑστιάδων
 ἀπέκτεινεν ἐπ' αἰτία τῆς ζώνης καὶ τῷ μὴ καθα-
 ρεῦσαι γάμων, ἃς ἀγνώως τὴν Ἰλιάδα Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ
 τὸ ἐκεῖ πῦρ θεραπεύειν ἔδει, "εἰ γὰρ καὶ σν," ἔφη,
 "καθαρθείης Ἰλιν, τῶν ἰδίκων φόνων, ὧν πᾶσα
 ἡ οἰκουμένη μεστὴ νῦν." καὶ οὐδὲ ἰδὼς ταῦτα,
 ὥσπερ οἱ δειλοί, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ὀμίλῳ καὶ ἐν πάντας
 ἐκήρυττέ τε καὶ ᾄχετο.

VII

CAP. VII Ἐπει δὲ Σαβῖνον ἀπεκτονώς, ἵνα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ
 ξυγγενῶν, Ἰουλίαν ἤγετο, ἡ δὲ Ἰουλία γυνὴ μὲν
 ἦν τοῦ πεφονευμένου, Δομετιανοῦ δὲ ἀδελφιδῆ,
 μία τῶν Τίτου θυγατέρων, ἔθνε μὲν ἡ Ἐφεσος
 τοὺς γάμους, ἐπιστάς δὲ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος,
 "ὦ νύξ," ἔφη, "τῶν πάλαι Δαναΐδων, ὡς μία
 ἦσθα."

VIII

CAP. VIII Καὶ μὲν καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὧδε αὐτῷ ἐπράτ-
 τετο· ἀρχῇ πρέπειν ἐδόκει Νερούας, ἥς μετὰ
 158

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

VI

WHEN moreover the news was brought how notable a purification of the goddess Vesta of the Romans Domitian had carried out, by putting to death three of the vestal virgins who had broken their vows and incurred the pollution of marriage, when it was their duty to minister in purity to the Athene of Ilum and to the fire which was worshipped in Rome, he exclaimed. "O Sun, would that thou too couldst be purified of the unjust murders with which the whole world is just now filled." Nor did he do all this in private, as a coward might, but proclaimed his sentiments and aspirations amidst the crowd and before all.

CHAP.
VI
Demon-
strates
in public
against
Domitian

VII

ON another occasion when after the murder of Sabinus, one of his own relations, Domitian was about to marry Julia, who was herself the wife of the murdered man, and Domitian's own niece, being one of the daughters of Titus, Epheus was about to celebrate the marriage with sacrifice, on y Apollonius interrupted the rites, by exclaiming: "O thou night of the Danaids of yore, how unique thou wast!"

CHAP.
VII
Domitian's
marriage
with Julia

VIII

THE following taen is the history of his acts in Rome. Nerva was regarded as a proper candidate

CHAP.
VIII

Δομετιανὸν σωφρόνως ἤψατο. ἦν δὲ καὶ περὶ
 "Ορφεῖόν τε καὶ Ῥοῦφον ἢ αὐτὴ δόξα ταύτους
 Δομετιανὸς ἐπιβουλεύειν ἑαυτῷ φήσας, οἱ μὲν ἐς
 νήσους καθείρχθησαν. Νερουά δὲ προσέταξεν
 αἰκεῖν Ἰουραντα ὧν δὲ ἐπιτήδειος αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀπολ-
 λαῖνιος τὸν μὲν χρόνον, ὃν Τίτος ὁμοῦ τῷ πατρὶ
 καὶ μετὰ τὸν πατέρα ἤρχεν, αἰεί τι ὑπὲρ σωφρο-
 σύνης ἐπέστελλε τοῖς ἀνδράσι, προσποιῶν αὐτοὺς
 τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ὡς χρηστοῖς. Δομετιανοῦ δέ,
 ἐπεὶ χαλεπὸς ἦν, ἐφίστη τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ ὑπὲρ
 τῆς ἀπάντων ἐλευθερίας ἐρρώννυ. τὰς μὲν δη
 ἐπιστολιμαίους ξυμβουλίας οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς αὐτοῖς
 ᾔετο, πολλοὺς γάρ τῶν ἐν δυνάμει καὶ δοῦλοι
 προὔδοσαν καὶ φίλοι καὶ γυναῖκες, καὶ οὐδὲν
 ὑπόρρητον ἐχώρησε τότε οἰκία, τῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ
 ἐταίρων τοὺς σωφρονεστύτους ἄλλοτε ἄλλον ἀπο-
 λαμβάνων, "διάκουον," εἶπεν ἄν, "ποιοῦμαί σε
 ὑπόρρητον λαμπροῦ· βαδισαὶ δὲ χρή ἐς τὴν
 Ῥώμην παρὰ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ διαλεχθῆμαί οἱ καὶ
 γενέσθαι πρὸς τὴν πειθῶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πᾶν ὃ τι
 ἐγώ." ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκουσεν, ὅτι φεύγοιεν ὁρμῆς μὲν
 ἐνδειξάμεναί τι ἐπὶ τὸν τύραννον, ὅκνη δ' ἔκπε-
 σόντες ὧν διενσήθησαν, διελέγετο μὲν ὑπὲρ Μαιρῶν
 καὶ ἀνάγκης περὶ τὸ νέμος τῆς Σμυρνης, ἐν ᾧ ὁ
 Μέλης.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS. BOOK VII

for the throne which after Domitian's death he occupied with so much wisdom and the same opinion was entertained of Orphitus and of Rufus. Chelcian accused the two latter of intriguing against himself and they were confined in islands, while Nerva was commanded to live in Tarentum. Now Apollonius had been intimate with them all the time that he is shown for the first time with us last year, and also long after his father's death, and he was in constant correspondence with them on the subject of setting control being necessary to exhibit them on the side of the sovereigns whose executive of character he esteemed. But he did his best to abate them from Domitian, on account of his cruelty, and encouraged them to exercise the cause of the freedom of all. Now it occurred to him that his spoken conveying advice to them were fraught with danger to them for many of those who were in power were betrayed by their own slaves and friends and womenkind and there was not at the time any house that could keep a secret according to he would take now one and now another of the discreetest of his own companions and say to them "I have a he have secret to entrust to you for you must be take a great anxiety ago to come to so and so, mentioning the party and you must had converse with him and do the utmost I could do to win him over." But when he heard that they were banished for having displayed a tendency to revolt against the tyrant and yet had some timidity about them, as he delivered a discourse on the subject of the fates and if Destiny is the grave of Sisyphus in which stands the statue of the river Meles.

chap
v
Apollonius
was intimate
with
them

CAP.
IX

Εἰδὼς δὲ τὸν Νερούαν ὡς αὐτίκα δι' ἄρξει, διήκει τὸν λόγον καὶ ὅτι μὴδ' οἱ τύραννοι τὰ ἐκ Μοιρῶν οἷσι βιάζεσθαι, χαλκῆς τε εἰκόνας ἰδριμένης Διομετιανοῦ πρὸς τῇ Μιέλητι, ἐπιστρέψας ἐς αὐτὴν τοὺς παρόντας, "ἀνόητε," εἶπεν, "ὥς πολλὰ διαμαρτύνειν Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνέγκης ᾧ γὰρ μετὰ σὲ τυραννεῖσθαι πέπρωται, ταῦτον κἂν ἀποκτείνης, ἀναβιωσεται." ταῦτα ἐν Δημοκρατίᾳ ἀφίκετο ἐκ διαβολῶν Ἰϋφφρίτου, καὶ ὑπερ ὅτι μὲν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐχρησμοφδεῖ αὐτά, οὐδεὶς ξυνίει, τιθέμενος δὲ ὁ τύραννος εὖ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φόβον ὥρμησεν ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς ἄνδρας· ὡς δὲ μὴ, ἔξω λόγοι πρῶττον αὐτὸ φαίνοιτο, ἐκίλει τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἀπολογησόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπορρήτων. ἥ γὰρ ἀφικομένου καταψηφισάμενης οὐδὲ ἀκρίτους ἀπεκτονέειν δόξειεν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἐκείνῃ ἐαλωκότας, ἢ εἰ σοφία τι πρὸς τοῦ φανεροῦ ὑπεξέλθαι, μᾶλλον ἤδη ἀπολεισθαι σφῶς ὡς καταψηφισμένους καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς αἰτίας.

CAP.
X

Διανοουμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα καὶ γραφάντος ἤδη πρὸς τὸν τῆς Ἀσίας ἄρχοντα, ὡς ξυλληφείη

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

IX

AND being aware that Nerva would before long become sovereign, he went on to expound in his oration that not even tyrants are able to force the hand of destiny and directing the attention of his audience to the brazen statue of Domitian which had been erected close by that of Mæcæus, he said 'Thou fool how much art thou mistaken in thy views of Destiny and Fate. For even if thou shouldst slay the man who is fated to be despot after thyself, he shall come to life again. This saying was reported to Domitian by the malevolence of Eparcetes and though no one knew to what of the sentences above mentioned some were applied, yet the despot in order to allay his fears determined to put them to death. But in order that it might seem to have an excuse for doing so, he summoned Apollonius before him to defend himself on the charge of holding secret relations with them. For he considered that if he could, he could get a sentence pronounced against him and so avoid the reputation of having put people to death without trial seeing that they would have been convicted through Apollonius, or in the alternative case if the latter by some ruse avoided an open trial, then the fate of the others would all the more certainly be sealed, because the sentence would have been passed on them by their own accomplice.

X

MOTIVED by these considerations Domitian had already written to the governor of Asia, directing

CHAP
I
His
discourse
at Nicæa
etc. 120
Pagan

The action
A. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.
1. 1. 1. 1. 1.
1. 1. 1. 1. 1.
1. 1. 1. 1. 1.
1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

CHAP
I

ΣΑΡ
 I τε καὶ ἀναχθείη, προεῖδε μὲν ὁ Τυριαῖος πάντα δαι-
 μονίαις τε καὶ ὥσπερ εἴωθει, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἑταίρους
 εἰπὼν δεῖσθαι ὑποδημίας ὑπορρητοῦ, τοὺς μὲν
 ἐσῆλθεν Ἀβήριδος τοῦ ἀρχαίου δοξα, καὶ ὅτι ἐκ
 τοιούτου τι ὥρμηκοι, ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ τῷ Δίμειδι τὸν
 ἑαυτοῦ νοῦν ἐκφίνας, ἐς Ἀχαιοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐπλεῖ,
 Κορίνθου δὲ ἐπιβας καὶ τῷ Ἰλίου περὶ μισση-
 βρίαν ὅποσα εἴωθει δράσας, ἀφῆκεν ἐκ τοῦ Σικελῶν
 καὶ Ἰταλῶν ἔθνος ἅμα ἰσπέρφ. τυχὼν δὲ οὐρκου
 πνεύματος καὶ τινος εὐροίας ὑποδραμούσῃ τὸ
 πέλαγος ἀφίκετο ἐς Δικαιαρχίαν πεμπταῖως. Δη-
 μητρίῳ δὲ ἐντυχὼν, ὃς εἶδοκε θαρσαλώτατος τῶν
 φιλοσόφων, ἐπεὶ μὴ πολὺ ἵπο τῆς Ῥώμης διη-
 τᾶτο, ξυνει μεν αὐτοῦ ἐξεστηκύτος τῇ τυρίνῃ,
 διατριβῇ δὲ ἔσκε, "ἐλλήφῃ σε," εἶπε, "τρυ-
 φῶντα καὶ τῆς εὐδαιμονοῦς Ἰταλίας, εἰ δὴ εὐδαίμων,
 τὸ μακροβιωτάτου οικούντα, ἐν ᾧ λέγεται καὶ
 Ὀδυσσεὺς Καλυψοῖ ξυνῶν ἐκλαθεσθαι καπνοῦ
 Ἰθακησίου καὶ οἴκου." περιβαλὼν δ' αὐτὸν ὁ
 Δημήτριος, καὶ τι καὶ ἐπευφημήσας, "ὦ θεαί,"
 ἔφη, "τι πείσεται φιλοσοφία κινδυνεύουσα περὶ
 ἀνδρὶ τοιούτῳ," "κινδυνεύει δέ," εἶπε, "τί," "ἦ
 γε" εἶπε, "προειδὼς ἤκεις· εἰ γὰρ τὸν σὸν ἀγνοῶ
 μόνον, οὐδὲ τὸν ἑμαυτοῦ οἶδα. διαλεγώμεθα δὲ μὴ
 ἐνταῦθα, ἀλλ' ἴωμεν οὐ μόνων ἡμῶν ἢ ξυνουσία
 ἔσται, παρατυγχανήτω δὲ καὶ ὁ Δίμεις, ὃν ἐγώ,
 καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλῆα, ἰόλεων ἡγοῦμαι τῶν σῶν
 ἀθλῶν."

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

the man of Tyana to be arrested and brought to ¹ ~~Rome~~, when the latter foreseeing in his usual way through a divine instinct what was coming, told his companions that he needed to depart on a mysterious voyage, and they were reminded of the opinion circulated by ~~Alma~~ of old and felt that he was intent upon some such scheme. Apollonius however without revealing his intention even to ~~Dionys~~, set sail in his company for ~~Achaia~~, and having sailed at Corinth and worshipped the Sun about midday, with his usual rites, embarked in the evening for Sicily and Italy. And taking in with a favourable wind and a good current that ran in his direction, he reached ~~Thessaly~~ on the fifth day. There he met ~~Demetrius~~ was ² ~~amused~~ for being the boldest of the persecutors ³ ~~and~~ because he did not live far away from Rome and knowing that he was ready to get out of the way of the tyrant he said by way of amusing himself. "I have caught you in your luxury dwelling here in the most blessed part of happy Italy if indeed she be happy here where ~~Demetrius~~ said to have forgotten in the company of ~~Calpurnius~~ the smoke of his ~~father's~~ home. Thereupon ~~Demetrius~~ commenced himself after sundry pious speculations said—(1) ~~is~~ gods what will come upon philosophy, if she risks the ~~company~~ of such a man as yourself?" And what risk does she run? asked he. "Those surely a foreknowledge of which brought you here," said the other—"for if I do not know what ~~is~~ your mind then I do not know what ~~is~~ in my own. But ~~let us~~—conduct our conversation here, but let us retire where we can talk together alone, and let only ~~Dionys~~ be present whom by Hercules I am inclined to consider an ~~obstacle~~ of your labours."

XI

ἸΑΧ. Ἄγει δε αὐτοὺς εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐς τὸ Κικέρωνος
 τοῦ παλαιοῦ χωρίον, ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο πρὸς τῷ ἄστει.
 ἱξησιάντων δὲ ὑπὸ πλατύνῳ οἱ μὲν τέττιγες ὑπο-
 ψαλλούσης αὐτοὺς τῆς αὔρας ἐν ῥιθαῖν ἦσαν ἵνα-
 βλέψας δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὁ Δημητριος, "ὦ μακίριοι,"
 ἔφη, "καὶ ἀτεχνῶς σοφοί, ὧν ἐδίδουξάν τε ὑμῖν
 ᾠδὴν ἄρα Μοῦσαι μήπω ἐν δίκας ἢ διαβολὰς
 ὑπαχθεῖσαν, γαστροί τε κρείττους ἐποίησαν καὶ
 ἀνψκισαν τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου φθόνου ἐν ταυτὶ τὰ
 δένδρα, ἐφ' ὧν ὀλβιοὶ τὴν ἐφ' ὑμῶν τε καὶ Μουσῶν
 εὐδαιμονίαν ῥιζοῦτε." ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλωνιος ξυνίει μὲν
 οἱ τείνει ταῦτα, διαβαλὼν δ' αὐτὰ ὧν ἀργότερα
 τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, "εἴτα," εἶπε, "τεττίγων βου-
 ληθεὶς διαλθεῖν ἐπαινον, οὐκ ἐς τὸ φανερον διῆκει
 αὐτον, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα πτήξας ὥσπερ δημοσίῳ
 κειμένον νόμου μηδὲνα ἐπαινεῖν τέττιγος," "οὐχ
 ὑπὲρ ἐπαίνου," ἔφη, "ταῦτα εἶπον, ἀλλ' ἐνδει-
 κνύμενος, ὅτι τούτοις μὲν ἀνεῖται τα αὐτῶν
 μουσεῖα, ἡμῖν δὲ οὐδὲ γρύξαι συγγνώμη, ἀλλ'
 ἔγκλημα ἢ σοφία εὐρηται, καὶ ἡ μὲν Ἀνύτοι καὶ
 Μελητου γραφὴ Σωκράτης," φησὶν, "ἀδικεῖ
 διασθεύρων τοὺς νέους καὶ δαιμόνια καινὰ ἐπεσά-
 γων, ἡμᾶς δὲ οὕτως γρίφονται· ἀδικεῖ ὁ δεῖνα
 σοφὸς ὧν καὶ δίκαιος καὶ ξυνίει μὲν θεῶν, ξυνίει

XI

With these words, Demetrius led them to the villa in which Cæcilius lived of old and it is close by the city. There they sat down under a plane tree where the grasshoppers were chirping to the soft music of the summer breeze with Demetrius glancing up at them, remarked:—(O ye blessed insects and unforgotten wise, I would seen then that the Muses have taught you a song which is neither actionable, nor likely to be reformed against, and they made you superior to all wants of the body, and settled you far above a human envy to live in these trees, on which you sit and sing in your blessedness about your own and the Muses' prerogative of happiness. Now Apollonius understood the drift of this apostrophe, but it jarred upon him as inconsistent with the strenuous professions of his friend. "It seems then," he said, "that though you only wanted to sing the praises of the grasshoppers you could not do it openly but come cowering hither as if there were a positive law against anyone praising the grasshoppers." "I said what I did," he replied, "not by way of praising them but of signifying that when they are left undisturbed in their concert halls they are not allowed even to utter, for wisdom has been rendered a penal offence. And whereas the indictment of Atylus and Meletus ran: Socrates commits wrong in corrupting youth and introducing a new religion we are indicted in such terms as these: he and we commit wrong by being wise and just and gifted with understanding of the gods no less than of men, and with a wide

CHAP
I'Their talk
at Cæcilius's
villaDemetrius is
in a
dramatic
scene

CAP. X. δὲ ἀνθρώπων, νόμων τε πέρι πολλά εἰδώς σὺ δ',
 ὅσῳ περ ἡμῶν σοφώτατος, τοσούτῳ, σοφωτέρα
 κατηγορία ἐπὶ σὲ εὖρηται βούλεται γάρ σε Δο-
 μετιανὸς μετέχειν τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, ἐφ' οἷς
 Νερούας τε καὶ οἱ ξυν αὐτῷ φεύγουσι." "φεύ-
 γουσι δ'," ἢ δ' ὅς, "ἐπὶ τῷ," "ἐπὶ τῇ μεγίστῃ γε,"
 ἔφη, "τῶν νῦν αἰτιῶν, ὥς δοκεῖ τῷ διώκοντι·
 φησὶ γάρ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἄρχὴν τὴν αὐτοῦ
 πηδῶντας ἡμικέσαι, σὲ δὲ ἐξυρμῆσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας
 ἐν ταῦτα παῖδα, οἶμαι, τεμόντι." "μῶν," ἔφη
 "ὥς ὑπ' εὐνοῦχου ἢ ἀρχῇ καταλυθείη;" "οὐ
 τοῦτο," ἔφη, "συκοφαντοῦμεθα, φασὶ δ', ὡς παῖδα
 θυσαις ὑπὲρ μαντικῆς, ἣν τὰ νεαρὰ τῶν σπλαγχ-
 νων φαίνει, πρίσκειται δὲ τῇ γραφῇ καὶ περὶ
 ἀμπεχύνης καὶ δαιτης καὶ τὸ ἔστιν ὑφ' ὧν προσ-
 κινεῖσθαι σε. ταυτὶ γὰρ Τελεσίμου ἤκουον ἀνδρὸς
 ἐμοῖ τε καὶ σοὶ ἐπιτηδείου." "ἔρμαιον," εἶπεν,
 "εἰ Τελεσίμῳ ἐντευξόμεθα, λέγει γάρ πού τὸν
 φιλόσοφον, ὃς ἐπὶ Νέρωνος ἐν ὑπατοῖς ἤρξει."
 "ἐκείνουν μὲν οὖν," ἔφη, "λέγω, ξυγγειοῖο δ' ἂν
 αὐτῷ τίνα τρόπον, αἱ γὰρ τυραννίδες ὑποπτοτέραί
 πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ἀξίᾳ πάντας, ἣν ἐν κοινὸν ἴωσι λόγον
 τοῖς ἐν οἴᾳ σὺ νῦν αἰτία, Τελεσίμους δὲ καὶ τῷ
 κηρύγματι ὑπεξῆλθεν, δὲ κεκήρυκται νῦν ἐς φιλο-
 σοφίαν πᾶσαν, ἰσπασόμενος μᾶλλον τὸ φεύγειν
 ὥς φιλόσοφος ἢ τὸ ὡς ὑπατος μένειν." "μὴ κιν-

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

knowledge of the laws. And as for yourself, so far forth as you are cleverer and wiser than the rest of us, so much the more cleverly is the indictment against you drawn up for Domitian intends to implicate you in the charges for which Nerva and his associates are banished. But for what crime, said Apollonius, "are they banished?"

"For what is reckoned by the jurists to be the greatest of latter-day crimes. He says that he has caught these persons in the act of trying to usurp his throne, and accuses you of instigating their attempt by instigating, I think a boy."

The charges
of
Apollonius

"What, as if I were by an emerald that I want his empire overthrown?" "It is not that," he replied, "of which we are falsely accused, but they declare that you sacrificed a boy to learn the secrets of futurity, which are to be learned from an inspection of youthful entrails, and in the indictment your dress and manner of life are also impugned, and the fact of your being an object of worship to some." This then is what I have heard from our kinsman, no less your intimate than mine.

"What, then," exclaimed Apollonius, "if we could meet for dinner, for I suppose you mean the philosopher who held consular rank in the reign of Nero." "The same," he said, "but how are you to come across him?" For despots are doubly suspicious of any man of rank should they find him holding communication with people who are under such an accusation as you do. And Tiberius, moreover, gave way quietly before the edict which has lately been issued against philosophers of every kind, because he preferred to be in exile as a philosopher, to remaining in Rome as a consul. "I would not have him run any risks

The philosopher
who
held
consular
rank
in
the
reign
of
Nero

CAP. ^Α
XII δυνεύετω," εἶπεν, "ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐμοῦγε ἕνεκα, ἱκανῶς γὰρ ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας κινδυνεύει.

XII

^Α
XII "Ἄλλ' ἀκείνῳ μοι εἰπέ, Δημήτριάδε, τί δοκῶ σοι λέγων ἢ τί πράττειν εὖ θήσεσθαι τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ φόβον;" "μὴ παίζων," ἔφη, "μηδέ, ἢ δέδιαν, φοβεῖσθαι λέγων, εἰ γὰρ φοβερά ἡγοῦ ταῦτα, καὶ ὄχλου ἀποδράς τῶν ὑπὲρ πάντων λόγων." "σὺ δ' ἂν ἀπεδράς" εἶπεν, "εἰ περὶ ὧν ἐγὼ ἐκινδύνευας," "οὐκ ἄν," ἔφη "μὰ τὴν Ἀθηναίαν εἴ τις ἐδίδαξε τὸ δ' ἄνευ δικῆς καὶ ἢ μηδ', εἰ ἀπολογολίμην ὑπερασπόμενος ἢ ὑπερασπύμενος μέν, ἀποκτενῶν δὲ καὶ μὴ ἀδικοῦντα, οὐκ ἂν ἔμοιγ' οὖν ξυμχωρησας ἔλυσθαι ποτὲ ψυχρὸν οὗτον καὶ ἀνδραπαδωδὴ θάνατον ἀντὶ τοῦ φιλοσοφίᾳ προσήκοντος· φιλοσοφία δέ, οἶμαι, προσήκει ἢ πόλιν ἐλευθεροῦντα ἀπαθαινεῖν ἢ γονεῦσι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ παισὶ καὶ ἀδελφοῖς καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ συγγενείᾳ ἀμύνοντα ἢ ὑπὲρ φίλων ἀγωνιζόμενον, οἱ συγγενεῖας αἰρετώτεροι σοφοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἢ οἱ ἡμπολημένοι ἐξ ἔρωτος τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐπ' ἀληθείᾳ κεκομψευμένοις δ' ἀπαθαινεῖν καὶ παρασχεῖν τῷ τυράννῳ σοφῶς δόξαι, πολλὰ βαρύτερον ἢ εἴ τις, ὥσπερ φασὶ τὸν Ἰξίονα, μετέωρος ἐπὶ τροχοῦ κυμύπτοισα. σοὶ δὲ ἀγῶνος οἶμαι

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

on my account anyhow," said Apollonius, "for the great risks he runs in behalf of philosophy are serious enough."

XII •

"But tell me this Demetrius, what do you think I had better say or do in order to allay my own fears?" You had better not trifle, said the other, "nor pretend to be afraid of what you do not dread, for if you really thought these accusations dangerous you would have been away by now and evaded the necessity of defending yourself from them." And would you run away? said Apollonius. If you were placed in such a dangerous situation I would not be so easily cowarded. At least if there were some one to support me, but in fact there is no fair trial and if I do offer a defence in court would ever listen to me, or if I were listened to I should be slain all the more certainly because I was known to be innocent. You would not I suppose care to see me chosen as cold-blooded and brutal a death as that rather than one which befits a philosopher. And I may as it seems a philosopher to deny the attempts which I make honestly to protect his parents and children and brothers and if ever a stock or to be struggling for his body who in fact even of the wise are more precious than mere knowledge or for favours that have been purchased by him. But to be sent to death not for true reasons but for false ones and to furnish the tyrant with a pretext for being considered wise is much worse and more grievous than to be bowed and bent high in the sky on a wheel as they say Ixion was. But it seems to me the very fact of your coming

ἄρξειν αὐτὸ τὸ ἤκειν ἐνταῦθα, σὺ μὲν γὰρ τῷ τῆς γνώμης ὑγιαίνοντι προστίθης τοῦτα καὶ τῷ μὴ ἂν θαρρήσαι τὴν δεῦρο οδόν, εἴ τι ἡδίκεις, Δομετιανῷ δὲ οὐ δοξεις, ἀλλ' ἀπορρητὸν τινα ἰσχὺν ἔχων θρασέως ἐρρῶσθαι. τὸ γὰρ καλοῦντος μὲν, αὐτῷ δ' ἡμέραι δέκα, ὡς φασι, σὲ δ' ἀφίχθαι πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν οὐδ' ἀκηκούτα πῶ ὡς κριθῆσθαι. νοῦν τῇ κατηγορίᾳ δώσει, προγιγνώσκων γὰρ ἂν φαίνοιο καὶ ὁ λυγρὸς ὁ περὶ τοῖ παιδὸς ἰσχύσει. καὶ ἔρα, μὴ τὰ περὶ ληϊκῶν καὶ ἀναιγκῆς, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ διεiléχθαι σέ φασιν, ἐπὶ σέ ἦκη, καὶ βουλομένης τι τῆς εἰμαρμένης ἄτοπον, σὺ δ' ἠμαγκασμένος χωρὴς ἐπ' αὐτό, οὐκ εἰδὼς ὡς σοφίοντος αἰετὸς τὸ φυλάττεσθαι. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐκλέλῃσαι τῶν ἐπὶ Νέρωνος, οἷσθ' ἂν πού τοι καὶ ὅτι μὴ ἀναλεύθερος ἐγὼ πρὸς θάνατον. ἀλλ' εἴχ' ἐτι ῥαστώνης ἐκεῖνα· Νέρωνα γὰρ ἡ κιθάρα τοῦ μὲν προσφόρου βασιλεῖα σχήματος ἐδόκει ἐκκρύψειν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα οὐκ ἰσηδῶς ἤρμωσεν, ἦγε γάρ τινος πολυλαΐκας δι' αὐτὴν ἐκεχειρίας, καὶ ἀπειχετο τῶν φόνων· ἐμὲ γοῦν οὐκ ἐπέκτεινε καί τοι τὸ ξίφος ἐπ' ἐμ' αὐτὸν ἔλκοντα διὰ τοὺς σοὺς τε κήμου λόγους, οὓς ἐπὶ τῷ βαλανεῖῳ διήλθον, αἷτιον δ' ἦν τοῦ μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι τὸ τὴν εὐφωνίαν αὐτῷ ἐπιδούναι τότε καὶ τό, ὡς ᾄετο, μελωδίας λαμπρὰς ἄψασθαι. νυνὶ δὲ τίνι μὲν εὐφωνία, τίνι δὲ κιθάρα θύσομεν,

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here will be the beginning of your trial, for though ^{you} may attribute your journey hither to your quiet conscience and to the fact that you would have never ventured upon it if you were guilty. Demetrius will credit you with nothing of the kind, but will merely believe that you ventured on so hardly a course because you possess some mysterious power. For think, ten days they say have not elapsed since you were cited to appear and you turn up at the court without even having heard as yet that you were to undergo a trial. What sort of that be tantamount to justifying the accusation for everyone will think that you foreknew the event and the story about the boy will gain credit therefore? And take care that the discourse which they are now delivering about the Fates and Necessity in Laia does not come true of yourself and that it is not that I have some crafty in store you are not making strength to meet it with your hands tied, just because you would see that Laetitia is the better part of valour. And if you have not forgotten the affairs of Neposceus you will remember my own case and that I showed no coward's dread of death. If I then were grieved were resolute for although Neposceus was attached to the dignity that within a day and night there would yet in other ways its name I announced a mortal not my least ally with wars for he was often and could there is to grant a truce to him at times and stay his murderous hand. At any rate he did not stay me although I attracted him in order to make I know not by your counsels as by my own which were directed against the both and the reason why he did not stay me was that just then his voice improved and he achieved as he thought a very brilliant victory. But where is the royal

C. AP.
XII

ἄμουσα γὰρ καὶ μεστὰ χολῆς πάντα, καὶ οὐτ' ἂν
 ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ ὅδε οὐτ' ἂν ὑφ' ἑτέρων θελχθῇ.
 καίτοι Πινδαρος ἐπαινῶν τὴν λύραν φησίν, ὥς καὶ
 τὸν τοῦ Ἄρεος θυμὸν θέλγει καὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν
 ἴσχει αὐτόν, οὐτοσί δέ, καίτοι μουσικὴν ἀγωνίαν
 καταστησάμενος ἐνταῦθα, καὶ στεφανῶν δημοσίᾳ
 τοὺς νικῶντας, ἔστιν οὗς καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτῶν,
 ὅστατά φασι μουσικὴν ἀγωνίαν ἀνλήσαντάς τε
 καὶ ἄσαντας βουλευτέα δέ σοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν
 ἀνδρῶν, πρῶτα πολεῖν, γὰρ καὶ κείνους ἢ θρασυ
 δοξας ἢ εἰπων, ἃ μὴ πείσκειν. ἢ σιωπήνῃ δέ σοι
 παρὰ πόδα τῶν γὰρ νεῶν τούτων, πολλὰ δ', ὡς
 ὀρέξ, εἰσίν, αἱ μὲν ἐν Λιβύῃν ἀφήσανσιν, αἱ δ' ἐς
 Αἴγυπτον, αἱ δ' ἐς Φοινικὴν καὶ Ἰσὺπον, αἱ δ'
 εὐθὺς Σαρδοὺς, αἱ δ' ὑπὲρ Σαρδίᾳ μᾶλλον ἐπιβέντι
 σοι κομίζεσθαι κριτιστὸν ἐν ὁτιδὴ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
 τούτων, αἱ γὰρ τυραννίδες ἦντον χαλεπαὶ τοῖς
 φανεροῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἦν ἐπαινούντας αἰσθάνονται
 τὸ μὴ ἐν φανερῇ ζῆν."

XIII

C. AP.
XIII

Ἥγηθεὶς δ' ὁ Δάμις τῶν τοῦ Δημητρίου λόγων,
 "ἀλλὰ σύ γε," ἔφη, "φίλος ἀνδρὶ παρῶν γένοιο
 ἂν ἀγαθόν τι τούτῳ μέγα, ἐμοῦ γὰρ σμικρὸς λόγος,
 εἰ ξυμβουλευόμεν αὐτῷ μὴ κυβιστᾶν ἐς ὀρθὰ ξίφη,

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mightingale, and where the harp to which we can to-day make our peace offerings? For the outlook of to-day is unredeemed symusic, and full of spleen, and this tyrant was little likely to be charmed by himself, as by other people. It is true that Pindar says in praise of the lyre, that it charms the savage breast of Ares, and stays his hand from war, but this ruler, although he has established a musical contest in Rome, and offers a public crown for those who win the crown, nevertheless slew several of the people who, so I hear, piped and sang in his last musical contest. And you should also consider our friends and their safety, for you will certainly ruin them as well as yourself, if you make a show of being brave, or use arguments which will not be listened to. But your life lies within your reach, for here are ships you see how many there are, some about to sail for Libya, others for Egypt, others for Paphlagonia and Cyprus, others direct to Sardania, others still for places beyond Sardania. It were best for you to embark on one of these, and betake yourself to one or another of these provinces, for the burden of tyranny is less heavy upon distinguished men, if it perceives that they only desire to live quietly and not put themselves forward.

XIII

DAMON was so impressed by the arguments of Demetrius that he exclaimed "Well, you anyhow are a friend and by your presence you can do a very great service to my master here. As for me, I am of little account, and if I advised him not to throw himself upon naked swords, nor expose himself to

CHAP.
XII.
The story-
book of the
of Demetrius

μηδ' ἀναρριπτεῖν πρὸς τυραννίδα, ἥς οὐ χαλεπώ-
 τέρα ἐνομίσθη. τῆς γοῦν ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐνταῦθα, εἰ μή
 σοι ξυνέτυχον, οὐδὲ τὸν νοῦν ἐγίγνωσκον, ἔπομαι
 μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ θάπτον ἢ ἑαυτῷ τις, εἰ δὲ ἔροίό με,
 ποῖ πλέω ἢ ἐφ' ὅ τι, καταγέλαστος ἐγὼ τοῦ πλου-
 Σικελικὰ μὲν πελώγη καὶ Ὑρρημους κύλπους ἀνα-
 μετρῶν, οὐκ εἰδώς δέ, ὑπὲρ ὅτου, καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐκ
 προρρήσεως ἐκινδύνευον, εἶχον ἢν πρὶν τοὺς ἐρω-
 τῶντας λεγείν, ὥς Ἀπολλωνίους μὲν θανάτοι, ἐρῶ
 ἐγὼ δ' ἀντεραστής ξυμπλίσκω. ἔπει δ' οὐδὲν οἶδα,
 ἐμὸν ἤδη λέγειν, ὑπὲρ ὅν οἶδα, λέξω δὲ αὐτὸ ὑπὲρ
 τοῦ ἀνδρός· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ ἀποθάνειμι, οὐταὶ δεινὰ
 φιλοσοφία παίσεται, σκευοφύργῳ γὰρ εἵκασμαι
 στρατιώτου γευνάϊον, λόγου ἱξιούμενον, ἥτις τοιῷδε
 ἔπομαι, εἰ δὲ ἔσται τις, ὃς ὑποκτενεῖ τοῦτον,
 εὖποροι δ' αἱ τυραννίδες γὰρ μὲν ξυμβεῖναι, τὰ δὲ
 ἐξῆραι, τρόπαιον μὲν οἶμαι κατὰ φιλοσοφίας
 ἐστήξει σφαιρίσσης περὶ τῷ ἄριστα ἀνθρώπων
 φιλοσοφησαντι, πολλοὶ δὲ Ἄνυτοι καθ' ἡμῶν καὶ
 Μέλητοι, γραφαὶ δ' αἱ μὲν ἔνθεν, αἱ δὲ ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ
 τοὺς Ἀπολλωνίῳ ξυγγενομένους, ὥς ὁ μὲν τις
 ἐγέλασε καθαπτομένοι τῆς τυραννίδος, ὁ δ' ἐπέρ-
 ρωσε λέγοντα, ὁ δ' ἐνέδωκε λέξαι τι, ὁ δ' ἀπῆλθε

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risks with tyrants, than whom none were ever yet ^{CRAP}
 deemed harsher, he would not listen to me. As a ²⁴⁷
 matter of fact I should never have known if I had
 not met you, what he meant by his journey hither,
 for I follow him more readily more blindly than
 another man would follow him; and if you asked
 me where I am bound or for what I should more y
 excite your laughter by telling you that I was
 traversing the seas of Sicily and the coasts of Etruria,
 without knowing in the least why I took ship. And
 if only I were clearing these dangers after I had
 received open warning I could the more to those who
 asked me the question, that Apollonius was court
 ing death, and that I was accompanying him on
 board ship because I was his rival in his passion.
 But as I know nothing of this matter, it is true for
 me to speak of what I do know, and I will say it
 in the interests of my master. For if I were put to
 death it would not do much harm to philosophy,
 for I am like the corpse of some distinguished
 scholar, and am only entitled to consideration
 because I am of his caste. But if someone is going
 to be set on to slay him, and tyrants find it easy to
 contrive plots and to remove obstacles from their
 path, then I think a regular trophy will have been
 raised over the defeat of philosophy in the person of the
 noblest of her human representatives, and as there are
 many people taking part in plots, such as were Arctus
 and Mithras, words of information will be scattered
 from all quarters at once again at the companions of
 Apollonius, one will be accused of having laughed
 when his master attacked tyranny, another of having
 encouraged him to take a third of having suggested
 to him a topic to talk about, a fourth of having left

CAP. XIII
 ξὺν ἐπαίῳ ὧν ἤκουσεν. ἐγὼ δ' ἀποθυήσκην μὲν
 ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας αὐτῷ φημι δεῖν, ὥς ὑπὲρ ἱερῶν
 καὶ τειχῶν καὶ τάφων, ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας γὰρ τῶν
 τοιοῦνδε πολλοὶ καὶ ὀνομαστοὶ ἄνδρες ἀποθανεῖν
 ἡσπάζοντο, ὥς δὲ ἀπολεσθαι φιλοσοφίαν μήτε
 ἐγὼ ἀποθάνοιμι μήτε ὅστις ἐκείνης τε καὶ Ἀπολ-
 λωνίου ἐρᾷ."

XIV

CAP. XIV
 Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "Δίμιδι μὲν ὑπὲρ
 τῶν παρόντων εὐλαβῶς δειλεγμένῳ ξυγγνώμην,"
 ἔφη, "προσῆκει ἔχειν, Ἀσσύριος γὰρ ὧν καὶ
 Μήδοις προσοικησαν, οὐ τὴν τυραννίδα προ-
 σκυνοῦσιν, οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἐνθυμείται μέγα,
 σὺ δ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἀπολογήσῃ,
 φόβους ὑποτιθείς, ὧν, εἴ τι καὶ ἀληθὲς ἐφαίνεται,
 ἀπάγειν ἐχρὴν μᾶλλον ἢ ἔσω καθιστάναι τοῦ
 φοβεῖσθαι τὸν μηδ' ἂ παθεῖν εἰκος ἦν δεδιότα.
 σοφὸς δ' ἀνὴρ ἀποθυησκέτω μὲν ὑπὲρ ὧν εἶπας,
 ἀποθάνοι δ' ἂν τις ὑπὲρ τούτων καὶ μὴ σοφός, τὸ
 μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἀποθυήσκειν νόμῳ προσ-
 τέτακται, τὸ δ' ὑπὲρ ξυγγενείας ἢ φίλων ἢ
 παιδικῶν φύσις ὥρισε. δουλοῦται δὲ ἅπαντας
 ἀνθρώπους φύσις καὶ νόμος, φύσις μὲν καὶ

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his lecture-room with praise on his lips for what he had heard. I admit that one ought to die in the cause of philosophy in the sense of dying for one's temples, one's own walls, and one's sepulchres, for there are many famous heroes who have embraced death in order to save and protect such interests as those, but I pray that neither I myself may die in order to bring about the ruin of philosophy, and that no one else either may die for such an object who loves philosophy and loves Apollonius." CHAP. XIII

XIV

APOLLONIUS answered thus. "We must make allowance for the very timid remarks which Damis has made about the situation, for he is a Syrian and lives on the border of Media, where tyrants are worshipped, and where no one entertains a lofty ideal of freedom, but as for yourself, I do not see how you can defend yourself at the bar of philosophy from the charge of trumping up fears, from which even if there were really any reason for them, you ought to try to wean him, instead of doing so you try to plunge into terror a man who is only too inclined to tremble at imaginary dangers. I would indeed have a wise man sacrifice his life for the objects you have mentioned, but any man without being wise would equally die for them, for it is an obligation of law that we should die in behalf of our freedom, and an injunction of nature that we should die in behalf of our kinsfolk or of our friends or darlings. Now all men are the slaves of nature and of law, the willing slaves of nature, as the unwilling

CHAP. XIV
Apollonius
opposes
himself with
Dametrius
for his
cowardice

CAP.
XIV

έκόντας, νόμος δὲ ἄκοντας σοφοῖς δὲ οἰκειότερον
τελευταῖαν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐπετήδευσαν ἃ γὰρ μὴ νόμον
ἐπιτάξαντος, μηδὲ φύσεως ξυντεκούσης, αὐτοὶ ὑπο
ρώμης τε καὶ θράσους ἐμελέτησαν, ὑπὲρ τούτων,
εἰ καταλῦοι τις αὐτά, ἴτω μὲν πῦρ ἐπὶ τὸν σοφόν,
ἴτω δὲ πέλεκυς, ὥς μακήσει αὐτὸν οὐδὲν τούτων,
οὐδὲ ἐς ὅτιοῦν περιελᾷ ψεύδος, καθέξει δέ, ὅπῃσα
οἶδε, μείον οὐδὲν ἢ ἂ ἐμυθήθῃ. ἐγὼ δὲ γιγνύσκω μὲν
πλεῖστα ἀνθρώπων, ἅτε εἰδὼς πάντα, οἶδα δὲ ὅτι
οἶδα τὰ μὲν σπουδαίαις, τι δὲ σοφοῖς, τὰ δὲ
ἑμμαντῶ, τὰ δὲ θεοῖς, τυράννοισι δὲ οὐδέν. ὥς δὲ
οὐχ ὑπάρ ἀνοήτων ἦκω, σκοπεῖν ἔξεστιν. ἐγὼ γὰρ
περὶ μὲν τῷ ἑμμαντοῦ σιόματι κινδυνεύω οὐδέν, οὐδ'
ἀποθάνοιμι ἂν ὑπὸ τῆς τυραννίδος, οὐδ' εἰ αὐτὸς
βουλοίμην, ξυνίημι δὲ κινδυνεύων περὶ τοῖς
ἀνδράσι, ὧν εἴτε ἡρχὴν εἴτε προσθήκην ποιεῖται
μὴ ὁ τύραννος, εἰμὶ πάντες ὅτι βούλεται. εἰ δὲ
προϋδίδουν σφᾶς ἢ βραδύνων ἢ βλακεύων πρὸς
τὴν αἰτίαν, τίς ἂν τοῖς σπουδαίοις ἔδοξα; τίς δ'
οὐκ ἂν ἀπέκτεινέ με εἰκότως, ὧς παίζοντα ἐς
ἄνδρας, οἷς, ἃ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἦτουν, ἀνετέθη, ὅτι
δ' οὐκ ἦν μοι διαφυγεῖν τὸ μὴ οὐ προδύτης δύξαι,
δηλῶσαι βούλομαι.

Τυραννίδων ἡθὴ διττή, αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀκρίτους
ἀποκτείνουσιν, αἱ δὲ ὑπαχθέντας δικαστηρίοις,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

uses of law. But it is the duty of the wise in a still ^{even} higher degree to lay down their lives for tenets they have embraced. Here are interests which neither law has laid upon us, nor nature planted in us from birth, but to which we have devoted ourselves out of mere strength of character and courage. In behalf therefore of these should anyone try to violate them, let the wise man pass through fire, let him bare his neck to the axe, for he will not be overcome or by any such threats nor driven to any sort of subterfuge, but he will cleave to all he knows as firmly as if it were a religion in which he had been initiated. As for myself I am acquainted with more than other human beings, for I know all things, and what I know I know partly for good, ²¹⁵ partly for wise ends, partly for evil, partly for the gods, but for tyrants nothing. But that I am not come on any false errand, you can see if you will, for I run no risk of my life myself, nor that I die at the hands of a despot, however much I might wish to do so, but I am aware that I am running a risk in connection with persons of whom the tyrant may accuse me of being either the leader or the accomplice, let me or whatever he likes, I am content. But if I were to betray them by adding back or cowardly refusal to face the accusation, what would good men think of me? Who would not justly slay me, for paying with the lives of men to whom was entrusted everything I had besought of heaven? And I would like to point out to you that I should not possibly escape the reputation of being a traitor.

"For there are two kinds of tyrants, the one kind put their victims to death without trial, the other after they have been brought before a court of law.

εἰκότασι δ' αἱ μὲν τοῖς θερμοῖς τε καὶ ἐτοίμοις
 τῶν θηρίων, αἱ δὲ τοῖς μαλακωτέροις τε καὶ λη-
 θάργοις ὥς μὲν δὴ χαλεπαὶ ἄμφω, δῆλον πᾶσι
 παρίδειγμα παλαιμένοις τῆς μὲν ὁρμώσης καὶ
 ἀκρίτου Νέρωνα, τῆς δὲ ὑποκαθημένης Τιβε-
 ριον, ἀπώλυσαν γὰρ ὁ μὲν οὐδ' οἰηθέντας, ὁ
 δ' ἐκ πολλοῦ δέισαντας. ἐγὼ δ' ἡγοῦμαι χαλεπω-
 τέρας τὰς δικάζειν προσποιουμένας καὶ ψηφίζε-
 σθαί τι ὥς ἐκ τῶν νόμων, πρίττουσι μὲν γὰρ κατ'
 αὐτοὺς οὐδέν, ψηφίζονται δ', ἅπερ οἱ μηδὲν κρί-
 ναντες, ὄνομα τῷ διατρίβοντι τῆς ὀργῆς θέμενοι
 νόμον, τὸ δ' ἀποθνήσκειν κατεψηφισμένους ἀφαι-
 ρεῖται τοὺς μθλίους καὶ τὸν παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν
 ἄλεον, ὃν ὥσπερ ἐντίφειον χρή ἐπιφέρειν τοῖς
 ἀδίκως ἀπελθοῦσι. δικαστικὸν μὲν δὴ τὸ τῆς
 τυραννίδος ταύτης ὄρω σχῆμα, τελευτᾶν δέ μοι
 δοκεῖ ἐς ἀκριτον, ὧν γὰρ πρὶν ἢ δικάσαι κατεψη-
 φίστατο, τούτους ὥς μήπω βεδικασμένους ὑπῄκει τῇ
 κρίσει. καὶ ὁ μὲν ψήφῳ ἄλλους ἐν αὐτῇ δῆλον ὥς
 ὑπὸ τοῦ μὴ κατὰ νόμους κρίναντος ἀπολωλεναι
 φησὶν, ὁ δ' ἐκλιπὼν τὸ δικάσασθαι πῶς ἂν
 διαφύγοι τὸ μὴ οὐκ ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἐψηφίσθαι; τὸ δὲ
 καὶ τοιῶνδε ἀνδρῶν κειμένων ἐπ' ἐμοὶ νῦν ἀπο-
 δρᾶναι τὸν ἑμαυτοῦ τε κύκλῳ ὠγῶνα, ποῖ με τῆς

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The former kind resemble the more passionate and prompt of wild beasts the other kind resemble the gentler and more cautious ones. That last kind are cruel is clear to every body who takes Nero as an example of the insatiable disposition which does not trouble about legal forms. I am now on the other hand of the tardy and sluggish nature for the former destroyed his victims before they had any suspicion of what was coming and the other after he had tortured them with long drawn out terror. For myself I consider these the crueler who make a pretence of legal trial, and of getting a verdict pronounced in accordance with the law, for in reality they set them at defiance and bring in the same verdict as they would have done without any real trial giving the name of law to that which they wickedly tear asunder. The very fact of their being put to death in legal form does but deprive the victims so condemned to death of that compassion on the part of the crowd, which should be tendered like a winding sheet to the victims of injustice. Well, I perceive that the present ruler cloaks his tyranny under legal forms, but I see at once that he is by condemning without trial too he really condemns those before they enter the court and then brings them before it as if they were guilty of a crime. Now one who is formally condemned by a verdict in court cannot any way be preserved from an unjust sentence but how can he that undergoes trial escape condemnation by his own consent? And supposing now that the fate of such distinguished persons also rested on me, I determine to run away from the cross which equally depends over them and myself what can save me no matter where I go on all the earth from the

ΠΑΡ
ΣΤΥ

γῆς εἰσεὶ καθαρὸν δόξαι, ἔστω γὰρ σὲ μὲν εἰρηκέναι ταῦτα, ἐμὲ δὲ ὡς ὀρθῶς εἰρημικοῖς πείθεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀπεσφίχθαι, τίς μὲν ὑπὲρ εὐπλοίας εὐχὴ τῷ τοιῷδε, ποῖ δὲ ὀρμίζεται; πορεύσεται δὲ παρὰ τίνα; ἐξαλλαττεῖν γὰρ χρὴ οἶμαι πείσης, ὀπόσης Ῥωμαῖοι ἄρχουσι, παρ' ἄνδρας δὲ ἤκειν ἐπιτηδεῖους τε καὶ μὴ ἐν φανερῷ οἰκοῦντας, τοῦτ' ὃ ἂν Φραῳτῆς τε εἴη καὶ ὁ Βαβυλωνίως καὶ Ἰάρχας ὁ θεῖος καὶ Θεσπεσίω· ὁ γενναῖος. εἰ μὲν δὴ ἐπ' Αἰθιοπῶν στελλαίμην, τί ἔστιν, ὦ λήστε, πρὸς Θεσπεσίωνα εἶποιμι, εἴτε γὰρ κρύπτοιμι ταῦτα, ψευδολογίας ἐραστὴς δύξω, μᾶλλον δὲ δοῦλος, εἴτε ἐς ἀπαγγελίαν αὐτῶν ἵοιμι τοιοῦνδ' ἐνδὲ που δεήσει λόγων ἐμῶν, ὦ Θεσπεσίω, ἰὺ φρήτιν πρὸς ὑμᾶς διεβαλεν, ἃ μὴ ἐμαυτῇ ξύνοιδ' ὁ μὲν γὰρ κομπαστὴν ἔφη καὶ τερατώδη με εἶναι καὶ ὑβριστὴν σοφίας, ὅπως Ἰνδοῦν, ἐγὼ δὲ ταυτὶ μὲν οὐκ εἰμι, προδύτης δὲ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ φίλων καὶ σφαγεὺς καὶ οὐδὲν πιστὸν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτά εἰμι, στέφανόν τε ἡρετῆς, εἴ τις, στεφανωσόμενος ἦκω τοῦτον, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς μεγίστους τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην οἰκῶν οὕτως ἀνεῖλον, ὥς μηδὲ οἰκήσεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἔτι ἐρυθρίῃς. Δημήτριε, τούτων ἀκούων, ὁρῶ γάρ. τί οὖν, εἰ καὶ Φραῳτὴν ἐνθυμηθείης κάμε παρὰ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἐς Ἰνδοὺς φεύγοντα, πῶς μὲν ἂν ἐς αὐτὸν βλέψαιμι, τί δ' ἂν εἶποιμι ὑπὲρ ὧν φεύγω; μῶν

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

brand of infamy? For let us suppose that you have de-
 vered yourself of all these sentiments, and that I have admitted their correctness and acted
 on them, and that in consequence our friends have been murdered what prayers could I offer
 in such a case for a favourable voyage? What haven
 could I cast anchor in? To whom could I set out on
 any voyage? For methinks I should have to steer
 clear of any land over which the Romans rule, and
 should have to seek men who are my friends and yet
 do not see in sight of the tyrant, and that would be
 Phraotes, and the Babylonian and the divine Iarchus,
 and the noble Thespeson. Now supposing I set out
 for Ethiopia, what, my excellent friend, could I tell
 Thespeson? For if I concealed this episode, I
 should prove myself a lover of falsehood, my worse,
 a slave, while if I frankly confessed all to him, I
 could only use such words as these. O Thespeson,
 Euphrates slandered me to you and accused me of
 things that are not on my conscience, for he said
 that I was a boaster and a miracle-monger, and one
 that violated wisdom especially that of the Indians,
 but while I am none of these things I am neverthe-
 less a betrayer of my own friends and their murderer
 and utterly unreliable and so forth, and if there is
 any wrath for virtue, I come to wear it, because I
 have ruined the greatest of the Roman houses so
 utterly that henceforth they are left desolate. You
 blush, Demetrius to hear such words, I see that you
 do so. What, then, if you turn from Thespeson to
 Phraotes and imagine me fleeing to India to take
 refuge with such a man as he? How should I look
 him in the face? how should I explain the motive of
 my flight? Should I not have to say that when I visited

CHAP.
XIV

ΟΔΥ
XIV

ὥς ἀφικόμην μὲν καλὸς κἀγαθὸς πρότερον καὶ τὸν
 θάνατον τὸν ὑπὲρ φίλων οὐκ ἄθυμος, ἐπεὶ δὲ
 ξυμγεγνόμην αὐτῷ, τὸ θειότατον τοῦτ' ἐκ τῶν κατὰ
 ἀνθρώπους ἄτιμον ἔρριψά σοι· ὁ δὲ Ἰάριχος οὐδὲ
 ἐρήσεται οὐδὲν ἤκοντα, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὁ Ἀἰολὺς ποτε
 τὸν Ὀδυσσεῖα κακῶς χρησίμενον τῷ τῆς εὐπλοΐαν
 δώρῳ ἄτιμον ἐκέλευσε χῶρεῖν τῆς νήσου, κίμδ'
 δηπὺν ὑπελᾶ τοῦ ὄχθου, κακὸν εἰπὼν ἐκ τοῦ
 Ἰαντάλειον γεγενῆναι πῶμα, βούλονται γὰρ τὸν ἐς
 αὐτὸ κύψαντα καὶ κινδύνων κοινωρεῖν τοῖς φίλοις.
 οἶδα, ὡς δεινὸς εἶ, Δημήτριε, λόγους ξυντεμεῖν
 πάντας, ὅθεν μοι δοκεῖς καὶ τοιοῦτο τι ἐρεῖν· πρὶν
 μο' ἀλλὰ μὴ παρὰ τούτους ἴθι παρ' ἄνδρα δέ, οἷνε
 μήπω ἐπέμειξας, καὶ εὖ κείσεται σοι τὸ ἀποδρᾶναι,
 ῥᾶον γὰρ ἐν οὐκ εἰδόσι λήσῃ. βασανιζέσθω δὲ
 καὶ ὅδε ὁ λόγος, ὅπῃ τοῦ πιθανοῦ ἔχει δοκεῖ γάρ
 μοι περὶ αὐτοῦ τῶνδε· ἐγὼ ἡγοῦμαι τὸν σοφὸν
 μηδὲν ἰδίᾳ μηδ' ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ πρίττειν, μηδ' ἂν
 ἐνθυμηθῆναί τι οὕτως ἀμείρτυρον, ὡς μὴ αὐτὸν
 γοῦν ἑαυτῷ παρεῖναι, καὶ εἴτε Ἀπόλλωνος αὐτοῦ
 τὸ Πυθοῖ γράμμα, εἴτε ἀνδρὸς ὑγιῶς ἑαυτὸν γνον-
 τος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γνώμην αὐτοῖς ποιουμένου ἐς πινυ-
 τας, δοκεῖ μοι ὁ σοφὸς ἑαυτὸν γυγνώσκων καὶ
 παραστάτην ἔχων τὸν ἑαυτοῦ νοῦν μήτ' ἂν πτήξαι
 τι ὧν οἱ πολλοὶ, μήτ' ἂν θαρσῆσαί τι ὧν ἕτεροι μὴ

him before, I was a gentleman not too faint-hearted to lay down my life for my friends, but that after enjoying society, I had at your bidding thrown away with scorn this divinest of human privileges. And as for Iarchus, he surely would not ask me any question at all when I arrived, but just as Aeolus once bade Odysseus quit his island with ignominy because he had made a bad use of the gift of a good wind which he had bestowed on him so Iarchus, I imagine, would drive me from his acquaintance, and tell me that I had disgraced the draught I there had from the cup of Isotania. For they require a man who stoops and cringes of that gublet, to share the dangers of his friends. I know, Demetrius, how clever you are at chopping logic and this I believe, is why you wd tender me some further advice, such as this. But you must not resort to those you have named, but to men with whom you have never had anything to do, and then your flight will be alright, for you will find it easier to be hidden among people who do not know you. Well, let me examine this argument too, and see whether there is anything in it. For this is how I regard it. I consider that a wise man does nothing in private nor by himself alone, I hold that not even my almost thoughts can be so devoid of witness, that he in itself at least is not present with himself and whither the Pythian inscription was suggested by Apollo himself, or by some man who had a healthy conscience, and was therefore decided to publish it as an apothem for all, I hold that the sage who 'knows himself' and has his own conscience as his perpetual companion, will never cower before things that scare the many, nor venture upon courses which others would engage

CΑΙ
XIV

ξύν αίσχυνῇ ἄπτονται· δαῦλοι γὰρ τῶν τυραννίδων ὄντες καὶ προδοῦναι αὐταῖς ποτε τοὺς φιλτατοὺς ὥρμησαν, τὰ μὲν μὴ φοβερά δέισαντες, ἃ δὲ χρὴ δέισαι μὴ φοβηθέντες.

Σοφία δὲ οὐ ξυγχωρεῖ ταῦτα πρὸς γὰρ τῷ Πυθικῷ ἐπιγρίμματι καὶ τὸ τοῦ Εὐριπίδου ἐπαινεῖ, ξύνεσιν ἡγουμένου περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἶναι τὴν ἀπολλύσαν αὐτοὺς νόσον, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνθυμηθείσιν, ὥς κακὰ ἐργασμένοι εἰσὶν ἡδὲ γὰρ που καὶ τῷ Ὑρέστῃ τὰ τῶν Κύμνιδων εἶδη ἀνέγραφεν, ὅτε δὴ ἐμαίνετο ἐπὶ τῇ μητρὶ, νοῦς μὲν γὰρ τῶν πρακτέων κύριος, σύνεσις δὲ τῶν ἐκείνῳ δοξάντων. ἦν μὲν δὴ χρηστὰ ἔλθῃαι ὁ νοῦς, πέμπει ἡδὲ τὸν ἄνδρα ἰ, ξύνεσις ἐς πάντα μὲν ἱερὰ, πᾶσας δὲ ἰγνύει, πάντα δὲ τεμενῇ, πάντα δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἡθῇ κροτοῦσά τε καὶ ἡδουσα, ἐφυμνησεὶ δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ καθεύδοντι, παριστᾶσα χορὸν εὐφημον ἐκ τοῦ τῶν ἀνείρων δήμου, ἦν δ' ἐν φαύλῃ ὀλισθῇ ἢ τοῦ νοῦ στυσίαι, οὐκ ἐμ' τοῦτον ἢ ξύνεσις οὔτε ὄμμα ὕρθον ἐς ἀνθρώπων τινὰ ἀφεῖναι οὔτε τὸ ἀπ' ἐλευθέρας γλώττης φθεγμα, ἱερῶν τε ἀπελαύνει καὶ τοῖ εὐχεσθαι, οὐδὲ γὰρ χεῖρα αἶρειν ξυγχωρεῖ ἐς τὰ ἀγαλματα, ἀλλ' ἐπικόπτει αἶροντας ὥσπερ τοὺς ἐπανατεινομένους οἱ νόμοι, ἐξίστησι δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ὀμίλου παντὸς καὶ δειματοῖ καθεύδοντας, καὶ ἃ μὲν ὀρῶσι μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ εἰ δὴ τινα ἰκούειν ἢ λέγειν οἴονται, ὀνειρωδῇ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

upon without shame. For being the slaves of despots, they have been ready at times to betray to them even their dearest, because just as they trembled at imaginary terrors, so they felt no fear where they should have trembled.

"But Wisdom shows of none of these things. For beside the Pythian epigram, she also praises Euripides who regarded conscience in the case of human beings as a disease which works their ruin, whenever they realize that they have done wrong. For it was such conscience that brought up before Orestes and and depicted in his imagination the shapes of the Eumenides, when he had gone mad with wrath against his mother, for whereas reason decides what should be done, conscience revives the resolutions taken by reason. If then reason chooses the better part, conscience forthwith escorts a man to all the temples, into all the by streets, into all groves of the gods, and into all haunts of mankind, applauding him and singing his praises. She will even hymn his merits as he sleeps, and will weave around him a chorus of angels from the world of dreams, but if the determination of reason trip and fall into evil courses, conscience permits not the sinner to look others in the face, nor to address them freely and boldly with his lips, and she drives him away from temples and from prayer. For she suffers him not even to up lift his hands in prayer to the images, but strikes them down as he lifts them, as the law strikes down those who rebel against it, and she drives such men from every social meeting, and terrifies them in their sleep, and while she turns into dreams and windy forms all that they see by day, and any things they think they hear or say, she lends to their empty

CHAP
XIV

Eu. ep. de.
200

ΟΔΡ
XIV καὶ ἀνεμαῖα ποιεῖ τούτοις, τὰς δὲ ἀμυδράς καὶ
φαντασιώδεις πτοίας ἀληθεῖς ἤδη καὶ πιθανὰς τῷ
φόβῳ. ὥς μὲν δὴ ἐλέγξει με ἡ συνεσις ἐς εἰδύτας
τε καὶ μὴ εἰδύτας ἦκοντα, προδοτῆς εἰ γενομένην
τῶν ἀνδρῶν, δεδεῖχθαί μοι σαφῶς οἶμαι καὶ ὥς
φαίνει ἀλήθεια, προδώσω δὲ οὐδὲ ἑμαυτὸν, ἀλλ'
ἀγωνιούμαι πρὸς τὸν τύραννον, τὸ τοῦ γενναίου
Ὅμηρου ἐπειπῶν· ξυνὸς Ἕκκυάλιος."

XV

ΟΔΡ
XV Ἰπὸ τούτων ὁ Δαμῖς τῶν λόγων αὐτὸν μὲν
οὕτω διατεθῆναι φησιν, ὥς ὁρμὴν τε ἀναλαβεῖν
καὶ θαρσος, τὸν Δημήτριον δὲ μὴ ἀπαγνῶναι τοῦ
ἀνδρος, ἀλλ' ἐπαινέσπαντα καὶ ξυνθέμενον οἷς εἶπεν
ἐπιθειάζει οἱ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κινδυνεύει καὶ φιλοσοφία
αὐτῇ, ὑπὲρ ἧς καρτερεῖ ταῦτα, ἡγεῖσθαι τε αὐτοῖς
οὐ καταλυσιν ἐτύγχανε, τὸν δὲ Ἀπολλώνιον
παραιτούμενον τοῦτο, "δείλη ἤδη." φησιν, "καὶ
χρὴ περὶ λύχνων ἀφὰς ἐς τὸν Ῥωμαίων λιμένα
ἀφεῖναι, τουτὶ γὰρ ταῖς ναυσὶ ταύταις νόμιμον,
ξυσσιτησομεν δέ, ἐπειδὴν εὐ τιμὰ ἔχῃ, νυνὶ γάρ
ἀν καὶ κατασκευασθεῖη τις αἰτία ἐπὶ σέ ὥς ξυσ-
σιτήσαντα τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐχθρῷ, καὶ μηδὲ τὴν
ἐπὶ τοῦ λιμένος μεθ' ἡμῶν ἴθι, μὴ καὶ τὸ λυγροῦ
κεκοινωνηκέναι μοι διαβιάῃ σε ἐς ἀπορρήτους
βουλίας." ξυνεχώρησε μὲν δὴ ὁ Δημήτριος καὶ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

and fantastic flutterings of heart truth and substantial reality of well-founded terror I think then that I have clearly shown you, and that truth itself will convince you, that my conscience will convict me wherever I go, whether to people that know me, or to people that do not, supposing I were to betray my friends, but I will not betray even myself, but I will boldly wrestle with the tyrant, hailing him with the words of the noble Homer Mars is as much my friend as thoue." CHAP
XIV
Iliad 12. 802

XV

DAMON was so impressed by this address, he tells us, that he took fresh resolution and courage, and Demetrius no longer despaired of Apollonius, but rather praising and agreeing with his appeal, wished godspeed to him in his perilous enterprise and to his mistress Philosophy for whose sake he braved so much. And he led them, Damon says, to where he was lodging, but Apollonius declined and said "It is now eventide, and about the time of the lighting up of the lamps and I must set out for the port of Rome, for this is the usual hour at which these ships sail. However we will dine together another time, when my affairs are on a better footing, for just now some charge would be trumped up against yourself of having dined with an enemy of the Emperor. Nor must you come down to the harbour with us, lest you should be accused, merely for having conversed with me, of harbouring criminal designs." Demetrius accordingly consented, and after embracing them he quitted them, CHAP
XV
Demetrius is recommended
the departure
for Rome
with
Apollonius

CAP.
XV. περιβαλὼν αὐτοὺς ἀπῆει, μεταστρεφόμενός τε καὶ τὰ δίκρνα ἀποψῶν, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ἰδὼν ἐς τὸν Δάμν, "εἰ μὲν ἔρρωσαι," ἔφη, "καὶ θαρσεῖς ἄπερ ἐγώ, βαδίσωμεν ἄμφω ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν, εἰ δὲ αἰθύμως ἔχεις, ὦρα σοι καταμένειν ἐνταῦθα, Δημητρίῳ γὰρ ξυνέσῃ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ἀνδρὶ σοί τε καὶ μοι ἐπιτηδείῳ" ὑπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ Δάμν, "καὶ τίνα," ἔφη, "νομίῳ ἐμαυτὸν, εἰ τοιαῦτά σοι διειλεγμένου σήμερον ὑπὲρ φίλων καὶ κοινωνίας κινδύνων, οἳ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἤκουσιν, ἐγὼ δ' ἀνῆκουσ τοῦ λυγροῦ φεύγοιμί σε καὶ ἀποκινδυνεύοιμί σου, μήπω πρότερον κακὸς ὑπὲρ σοῦ δόξας;" "ὀρθῶς," ἔφη, "λέγεις καὶ ἴωμεν, ἐγὼ μὲν, ὡς ἔχω, σὲ δὲ χρὴ μετασκευάζειν σαυτὸν ἐς τὸ δημοτικώτερον καὶ μῆτε κομῆν, ὡς γούν ἔχεις, τριβωνία τε ἀνταλλάττεσθαι τουτοῦ τοῦ λίνου καὶ τοῦ ὑπόδημα παραιτεῖσθαι τοῦτο τί δὲ βούλεται μοι ταῦτα, χρὴ διαλεχθῆναι. λῶρον γὰρ καὶ πλειὸν καρτερῆσαι πρὸ τῆς δίκης· οὐ δὲ βούλομαι κοινωνῆσαί σε μοι τούτων ξυλληφθέντα, ξυλληφθεῖης γὰρ ἂν διαβεβλημένου τοῦ σχήματος, ἀλλ' ὡς μὴ φιλοσοφούντα μὲν, ἐπιτήδειον δὲ ἄλλως ὄντα μοι ξυνέπρασθαι τε καὶ παρὰ τυγχάνειν οἷς πράττω" αἰτία μὲν ἦδε τοῦ μεταβαλεῖν τὸν Δάμν τὸ τῶν Πυθαγορείων σχῆμα, οὐ γὰρ ὡς κακίων γε αὐτὸ μεθεῖναι

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

though he often turned back to look towards them and wiped tears from his eyes. But Apollonius looked at Daimas and said "If you are firmly resolved, and are as courageous as myself, let us both embark upon the ship: but if you are dissuaded, it is better for you to remain here for you can live with Demetrius during the interval since he is as much your friend as mine. But Daimas took him up and said "What could I think of myself, if after you have so nobly discoursed to-day about the duty of sharing the dangers of one's friends, when they fall upon them, I let your words fall on deaf ears, and abandoned you in the hour of danger and this although until now I have never shown cowardice where you were concerned?" "You speak rightly," said Apollonius, "so let us depart, I will go as I am, but you, if it needs disguise yourself as a man of the people, nor must you wear your hair long as you do now, and you must exchange your phoenicean cloak for this linen garment and you must put away the shoes you wear. But I must tell you what my intention is in this, for it were best to hold out as long as we can before the trial: then I do not wish that you should be a sharer of my fate through being detected by your dress, which will certainly betray you and lead to your arrest, but I would rather that you followed me in the guise of one not sworn to my philosophy, but just attached to me for other reasons, and so accompanying me in all I do. This is the reason why Daimas put off his Pythagorean garb, for he says he did not do it through cowardice, nor through any regret at having worn it, but merely

CHAR
25

Phoenicean stuff
linen = garb

ΕΛΡ
XV φησιν, οὐδὲ μεταγνοῦς, τέχνην δὲ ἐπαινέσας, ἦν
ὑπῆλθεν ἐς τὸ συμφέρον τοῦ καιροῦ

XVI

ΕΛΡ
XVI Ἀποπλεύσαντες δὲ τῆς Δικαιορχίας τριταῖοι
κατήσαν ἐς τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Θυμβριδός, ἰφ' ὧν
ξυμμετρος ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀναπλους. τὸ μὲν δὴ
Βασίλειον ξίφος ἦν ἐπ' Ἀδελιανῷ τότε. ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ
οὔτοι πύλαι τοῦ Ἀπλλωικοῦ ἦρα, ξυγγιγνῶς
ποτε αὐτῷ κατ' Αἴγυπτον, καὶ φαιερίν' μιν οὐδεν
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Δομετιανὸν ἔλεγεν, οὐ γὰρ
ξυνεχώρει ἡ ἀρχή, τὸν γὰρ δοκοῦντα τῷ βασιλεῖ
ἀπηχθῆσθαι πῶς μὲν ἂν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιγεσε, πῶς
δ' ἂν ὡς ἐπιτηδεῖον ἑαυτῷ παρητήσατο, τέχνην
μὴν ὀπόσαι εἰσιν ἀφανῶς ἀμνησσαι, πιασαὶ ὑπὲρ
αὐτοῦ ἐχρήτο, ὥς γε καὶ τὸν χρόνον, ὅν, πρὶν ἤκειν,
διεβιάλετο, "ὦ βασιλεῦ," ἔφη, "κουφολόγον οἱ
σοφισταὶ χρῆμα καὶ ἀλαζῶν ἡ τέχνη, καὶ ἐπεὶ
μηδὲν χρηστὸν τοῦ εἶναι ἀπολαύουσι, θανάτου
γλιχονται, καὶ οὐ περιμένουσιν αὐτοῦ τὸ αὐτό-
ματον, ἀλλ' ἐπισπῶνται τὸν θάνατον ἐκκαλού-
μενοι τοὺς ἔχοντας ξίφη. ταῦθ' ἡγοῦμαι καὶ
Νέρωνα ἐνθυμηθέντα μὴ ὑπαχθῆναι ὑπὸ Δημη-
τρίου ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ γὰρ θανατῶντα
ᾗσθετο, οὐ κατὰ ξυγγνώμην ἐπανήκεν αὐτῷ τὸν
θάνατον, ἀλλὰ καθ' ὑπεροψίαν τοῦ κτεῖναι. καὶ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

because he approved of a device to which he ac-
commodated himself to suit the expedience of the
moment.

XVI

They sailed from Ithacæarchia, and on the third
day they put in to the mouth of the Tiber from
which it is a fairly short sail up to Rome. Now the
Emperor's sword was at that time in the keeping of
Asiatic a person who long ago had been attached to
Apollonius, because he once met him in Egypt.
And although he said nothing openly in his favor
to Domitian, for that his office did not allow of his
doing, for how could he have praised to his
sovereign's face one who was supposed to be an
object of his detestation any more than he could
intercede in his behalf as for a friend of his own?
Nevertheless whatever means there were of helping
him in an unobtrusive way, he resorted to in his
behalf, and accordingly at the time when before
he arrived, Apollonius was being calumniated to
Domitian, he would say: My sovereign, wizards
are all prattle and flattery, and their art is all
for show, and they are so eager to die because
they get no good out of life, and therefore they
don't wait for death to come of itself, but try
to anticipate and draw it on themselves by pro-
voking those who hold the sword. Thus I think was
the reason why he weighed with Nero and prevented
his being drawn on by Demetrius into slaying him.
For as he saw that he was anxious for death he let
him off not because he wished to pardon him,
but because he disdained to put him to death.

(ΑΙ)
XVI μὴν καὶ Μουσώνιον τὸν Τυρρητὸν πολλὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ
ἐναντιωθέντα τῇ νήσῳ ξυνέσχευ, ἣ ὄνομα Ἰύαρα,
καὶ οὕτω τι τῶν σοφιστῶν τούτων ἤττουσε Ἑλ-
ληνες, ὥς τότε μὲν κατὰ ξυνουσίαν αὐτοῦ ἐσπλεῖν
παντας, νυνὶ δὲ κατὰ ἱστορίαν τῆς κρήνης· ἐν γὰρ
τῇ νήσῳ ἀνύδρῳ οὕτῃ πρότερον εὕρημα Μου-
σανίου κρήνη ἐγένετο, ἣν ᾄδουσιν Ἕλληνες, ἔσα
Ἑλικῶνι τὴν τοῦ ἵππου."

XVII

GAΡ.
XVI Τούτοις μὲν δὴ διῆγεν ὁ Λίλιανος τὸν βασιλέα,
πρὶν ἤκειν Ἀπολλώνιον, ἀφικόμενοι δὲ σοφω-
τέρων ἤπτετο, καλεῖται μὲν γὰρ ἐξυλληφθέντα αὐτὸν
ἀναχθῆναι οἱ, λοιδορουμένου δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ τὴν
κατηγορίαν ξυνθέντος, ὥς γύητι καὶ ἰκανῶς τὴν
τέχνην, ὁ μὲν Λίλιανός, "τῷ βασιλεῖ δικασ-
τηρίῳ," ἔφη, "σαυτοὶ τε καὶ τὰ τούτου φύλαττε,"
ὁ δ' Ἀπολλώνιος, "εἰ μὲν γυης," ἔφη, "ἐγώ, πῶς
κρίνομαι; εἰ δὲ κρίνομαι, πῶς γυης εἰμι, εἰ μὴ
ἄρα το συκοφαντεῖν ἰσχυρὸν οὕτως εἶναι φησιν,
ὥς μηδὲ τῶν γοητευόντων ἡττᾶσθαι αὐτὸν βου-
λομένου δὲ τοῦ κατηγοροῦ λέγειν τι ἀμαθέστερον,
ἐκκρούων αὐτὸν ὁ Λίλιανός, "ἐμοί," εἶπεν, "ἄφεσ
τὸν καιρὸν τὸν προ τῆς δίκης, ἐλεγχοῦ γὰρ ποιή-
σομαι τῆς τοῦ σοφιστοῦ γνώμης ἰδίᾳ καὶ οὐκ ἐν
ὕμιν, κὰν μὲν ὁμολογῇ ἀδικεῖν, ξυντετμήσονται οἱ
ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ λόγοι καὶ σὺ ἄπει εἰρηνικῶς, εἰ
δὲ ἀντιλέγει, δικάσει ὁ βασιλεύς." παρελθὼν οὖν
εἰς τὸ ἀπορρητὸν δικαστήριον, ἐν ᾧ τὰ μεγάλα καὶ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

Moreover in the case of Musonius the Tyrrhenian, CHAP. XVI who opposed his rule in many ways, he only kept him in the island called Gyara, and Hellenes are so fond of these sophists, that at that time they were all making voyages by ship to visit him, as they now do to visit the spring, for until Musonius went there, there was no water in the island, but he discovered a spring, which the Greeks celebrate as loudly as they do the horse's spring at Hecan.

XVII

In this way Aelian tried to put off the king until Apollonius arrived, and then he began to use more address, for he ordered Apollonius to be arrested and brought into his presence. And when the counsel for the prosecution began to abuse him as a wizard and an adept at magic, Aelian remarked, "Keep yourself and your charges against him for the Royal Court." But Apollonius remarked, "If I am a wizard how is it I am brought to trial? And if I am brought to trial, how can I be a wizard? Unless indeed the power of a ruler is so great that even wizards cannot get the better of it." Then when the accuser was about to say something still more foolish, Aelian cut him short and said, "Leave me the time that will elapse until his trial begins, for I intend to examine the sophist's character privately, and not before yourselves; and if he admits his guilt, then the pleadings in the court can be cut short, and you can depart in peace: but if he denies his guilt, the emperor will try him." He accordingly passed into his secret court where the most important accusations

CHAP. XVI
Aelian's account
of the trial
of Apollonius
at Rome

CAP. ΣΥΗ ἐλέγχεται καὶ σιωπᾷται, "χωρεῖτε," ἔφη, "ἐνθένδε καὶ μηδεὶς ἐπακροάσθω, δοκεῖ γὰρ τῷ βασιλεῖ τοῦτο."

XVIII

CAP. ΣΥΗ Ὡς δὲ ἐγένοντο αὐτοί, "ἐγώ," ἔφη, "ὦ Ἀπολλώνια, μεριρίκιον ἦν κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, οὗτος ὁ πατήρ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἦλθε, τοῖς μὲν θεοῖς θύσων, χρησίμενον δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ σοί, καὶ χιλιάρχον μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἦγεν ἤδη τῶν πολεμικῶν εἰδότα, σὺ δ' οὕτω τί μοι ἐπιτηδευσις εἶχες, ὥς χρηματίζοντος τοῦ βασιλέως ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἀπαλαβὼν με ἰδίᾳ, ποδαπὸς τε εἶην λέγειν καὶ ὃ τι μοι τὸ ὄνομα καὶ ὥς ἔχω τοῦ πατρὸς, προὔλεγες δέ μοι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην, ἥ τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς μεγίστη δοκεῖ καὶ μάλιστα ἢ πάντα ὁμοῦ τὰ ἀνθρώπων, ἐμοὶ δὲ ὄχλος καὶ κακοδαιμονία φαίνεται τυραννίδος γὰρ φύλαξ χαλεπῆς εἰμι, κἂν μὲν σφίλω αὐτήν, δέδοικα τὰ ἐκ τῶν θεῶν σοὶ δ' ὅπως εὖνους εἰμί, δεδίλωκα, ὃ γὰρ εἰπὼν ἅψ' ὦν εἰρηκίᾳ ποι τὸ μηδ' ἂν παύσασθαι σε ἀγαπῶν, ἔστ' ἂν ἢ το ἔκρινων μεμνησθαι. * * τὸ δὲ ἰδίᾳ ἐθελῆσαι ἐρέσθαι σε, ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ κατήγορος ξυντέθεικε, σόφισμα οὐ φαῦλον ὑπὲρ ξυνουσίας ἐμοὶ τῆς πρὸς σὲ γέγονεν, ὅπως θαρροῖς μὲν τὰ ἐπ' ἐμοὶ ὄντα, προγνοίης δὲ

¹ There appears to be a lacuna in the text at this point.

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and causes were tried in strict privacy and said to the company "Do you depart hence and let no one remain to listen, for such is the will of the Emperor

XVIII

And when they were alone, he said "I, O Apollonius was a stripling at the time when the father of the present sovereign came to Egypt to sacrifice to the gods, and to consult you about his own affairs. I was a tribune only then, but the Emperor took me with him because I was already versed in war, while you were so friendly with myself that when the Emperor was receiving deputations from the cities, you took our side and told me of what country I was and what was my name and parentage and you foretold to me that I should hold this office which is accounted by the multitude the highest of all and superior to all other human positions at once, although to myself it means much trouble and much unhappiness. For I am the scold of the hardest of tyrants, whom if I betray I am afraid of the wrath of heaven. But I have shown you how friendly I am towards yourself, for in reminding you how our friendship began, I have surely made it dear to you that it can never cease, as long as we can remember those beginnings. If I have said I would question you in private about the charges which your accuser has drawn up against you, it was only a good natured pretext on my part for obtaining an interview with you, in order to assure you of my own good will and to warn

ΟΛΥ. τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλεῖ· ὃ τι μὲν γὰρ ψηφιεῖται ἐπὶ
 ΣΥΛΛ. σοί, οὐκ οἶδα, διέκειται δέ, ὥσπερ οἱ καταψηφί-
 σασθαι μὲν ἐπιθυμοῦντες, αἰσχυρόμενοι δὲ τὸ μὴ
 ἐπ' ἄληθεσι, καὶ πρύφασιν ἀπωλείας ἀνδρῶν
 ὑπαιτων ποιεῖται· σὺ βούλεται μὲν γάρ, ἂ μὴ δεῖ,
 πρίττει δ' αὐτὰ καταρρυθμιζων ἐς τὴν τοῦ δικαίου
 δύξαν. δεῖ δὴ κίμοι πλάσματος καὶ ὁρμῆς ἐπὶ
 σέ, εἰ γὰρ ὑπόψεταιί με ὡς ἀνιέντα, οὐκ οἶδ'
 ὅποτερος ἡμῶν ἀπολείται θῦττον."

XIX

ΟΛΥ. Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ἐπεὶ ὑγιῶς," ἔφη,
 XIX "διαλεγόμεθα, καὶ ὅπύσα καρδία ἴσχει σύ τε
 εἰρηκας ἐμοί τε εἰπεῖν δίκαιον, φιλοσοφεῖς τε ὑπὲρ
 τῶν σεαυτοῦ πραγμάτων ὡς οἱ σφύδρα μοι
 ξυνδιατρίψαντες, καί, νῆ Δία οὕτω φιλανθρώπως
 πρὸς ἡμῶς ἔχεις, ὡς ξυγκινδυνεύειν ἡγεῖσθαί μοι,
 λέξω τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ νοῦν· ἐμοὶ γὰρ ὑποδρᾶναι μὲν
 ἦν ὑμᾶς ἐς πολλὰ μέρη τῆς γῆς, ἂ μὴ ὑμῶν
 ἀκροᾶται, παρ' ἀνδρας τε ἀφικέσθαι σοφοὺς καὶ
 σοφωτέρους ἢ ἐγώ, θεοὺς τε θεραπεύειν ξὺν ὀρθῇ
 λόγῳ. βαδίσαντι ἐς ἡθὴ ἀνθρώπων θεοφιλεστέρων
 ἢ οἱ ἐνταῦθα, παρ' οἷς οὔτε ἐνδείξεις οὔτε γραφὴ
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you of the Emperor's designs. Now what his verdict will be in your case I do not know, but his temper is that of people who are anxious to condemn a person, but are ashamed to do so except upon some real evidence, and he wishes to make you an excuse for destroying these men of consular rank. So his wishes you see are criminal, but he observes a certain formality in his actions in order to preserve a semblance of justice. And I, too, in my turn, must pretend to be exasperated with you, for if he suspects me of any leniency, I do not know which of us will be the first to perish."

CHAP.
XVII

XIX

APOLLONIUS replied "Since we are talking without any restraint and you have told me all that is in your heart, I in turn am bound to tell you no less; and since you also take a philosopher's view of your own position, as one might do who has most thoroughly studied philosophy in my society, and, by Heaven, inasmuch as you are so kindly disposed towards us as to imagine you run a common risk with myself, I will tell you exactly what I think. It was in my power to run away from you to many parts of the earth, where your authority is not recognised, and where I should have found myself among wise men, men much wiser than myself, and where I might have worshipped the gods in accordance with the principles of sound reason. I and only to go to the haunts of men who are more beloved of the gods than are the people of this city, men among whom such things as informers and writs

CHAP.
XIX

οὐδεμία, δι' αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ μήτε ἰδικεῖν μήτε
ἀδικεῖσθαι δικαστηρίων οὐ δέονται, δείσας δὲ
προδότου λαβεῖν αἰτίαν, εἰ φύγοιμι μὲν αὐτὸς
τὴν ἀπολογία, ἀπόλυντο δὲ οἱ δι' ἐμοῦ κινδυνεύοντες, ἤκω ἀπολογησόμενος. ὑπὲρ δὲ ὧν
ἀπολογεῖσθαι με δεῖ, φράζε·"

XX

"Αἰ μὲν ἰδεῖν τῆς γραφῆς ποικίλαι τε," ἔφη,
"καὶ πλείους, καὶ γὰρ τὴν ἐσθῆτα διαβύλλουσι
καὶ τὴν ἄλλην δέλαιταν, καὶ τό ἐστιν ὑφ' ὧν
προσκυνεῖσθαι σε καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἐφέσῃ ποτὲ ὑπὲρ
λοιμοῦ χρῆσαι, διειλέχθαι δὲ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ
βασιλέως τὰ μὲν ἰφανῶς, τὰ δ' ἐκφυμένην, τὰ δ'
ὡς θεῶν ἀκούσαντα. τὸ δὲ ἐμοὶ μὲν ὑπὲρ πάντων,
γιννώσκω γάρ, ὅτι μηδὲ τὸ τῶν ἱερῶν αἷμα ἀνέχρη,
τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ πιθανώτατον διαβύλλεται· φασὶν
ἐς ἰγρὸν βαδίσαντά σε παρὰ Νερούαν τεμεῖν
αὐτῷ παῖδα Ἀρκίδα θυομένῳ ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα,
καὶ ἐπᾶραι αὐτὸν τοῖς ἱεροῖς τούτοις, πεπρᾶχθαι
δὲ ταῦτα νύκτωρ φθίνοντος ἤδη τοῦ μηνός. τοῦτο
δὲ τὸ κατηγορημα, ἐπειδὴ πολλῶς μείζον, μὴ
ἕτερόν τι παρ' ἐκεῖνο ἡγώμεθα, ὃ γὰρ λαμβανό-

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of accusation are unknown, because, since they CHAP
neither wrong one another nor are wronged, they X.X
stand in no need of law-courts. But I am come to
offer my defence, because I fear to be branded as a
traitor, for, if I ran away instead of staying and
defending myself those who are running risks on my
account would be brought to ruin. But I would have
you tell me what are the accusations against which I
have to defend myself."

XX

"The counts of the indictment," replied the CHAP
other, "are as varied as they are numerous for XX
your style of dress is assailed in them and your way
of living in general, and your having been worshipped
by certain people, and the fact that in Ephesus once
you delivered an oracle about the famine, and also
that you have uttered certain sentiments to the detri-
ment of the sovereign, some of them openly, some of
them obscurely and privately and some of them on
the pretence that you learned them from heaven.
But the charge which most appeals to the credulity
of the Emperor, although I cannot credit it in the
least, for I know that you are opposed even to shed-
ding the blood of victims, is the following: they say
that you visited Nerva in the country, and that you
cut up an Arcadian boy for him when he was con-
sulting the auspices against the Emperor, and that
by such rites as these you roused his ambitions, and
that all this was done by night when the moon was
already on the wane. This is the accusation as com-
pared with which we need not consider any other,

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

ΕΛΠ.
 XX. μενος τοῦ σχήματος καὶ τῆς διαίτης καὶ τοῦ προ-
 γυγνώσκειν ἐς τοῦτο δῆποι ξυντείνει, καὶ ταῦτά γε
 καὶ τὴν παρανομίαν τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν δοῦναί σοί φησι
 καὶ τὸ ἐς τὴν θυσίαν θείσας. χρηὴ οὖν παρσκευά-
 σθαι τὴν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀπολογία, ἔστω δέ σοι ὁ
 λόγος μὴ ὑπερορῶν τοῦ βασιλέως." καὶ ὁ
 Ἀπολλωνιος, " τοῦ μὲν μὴ ὑπερορᾶν ἔστω τεκμή-
 ριον σοι τὸ ὑπὲρ ἀπολογίας ἀφ᾽ ἑχθαί με, εἰ δὲ καὶ
 θρασέως οὕτω τὰμὰ εἶχαν, ὥς ὑπὲρ τιραυνίδας
 αἶρεσθαι, ἰλλὰ σοί γε ὑπέσχον ἐμαυτὸν ταιῶδε
 ὄντι καὶ ἀγαπῶντί με. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐχθρῷ ποιηρὸν
 δόξαι δεινὸν οὐπω, οἱ γὰρ ἐχθροὶ μισοῦσιν οὐκ
 ἀφ' ὧν δημοσίᾳ διαβέβληται τις, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ὧν
 ἰδίᾳ προσκέκρουκε, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἀνδρὸς φίλου
 λαβεῖν αἰτίαν, ὥς κακὸς φαινυιτο, βαρύτερου
 τοῦτο ἢ τὰ ἐχθρῶν ὁμοῦ πάντα, οὐ γὰρ ἂν
 διαφυγοί τοι μὴ οὐ καίκενοις, δι' ἧ κακὸς ἦν,
 ἀπηχθῆσθαι."

XXI

ΕΛΠ.
 XXI. Ἐδόκει τῷ Λίλιανῳ εὐ λέγειν, καὶ παρακελευ-
 σάμενος αὐτῷ θαρρεῖν ἑαυτοῦ ἐλάβετο ὥς μὴ ἂν
 ἐκπλαγέντος τοῦ ἀνδρος, μηδ' ἂν εἰ Γοργεῖν
 κεφαλὴ ἐπ' αὐτὸν αἵροίτο. καλέσας οὖν τοὺς

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because it far outweighs them all. For if the accuser CHAP XX attacks your dress and your mode of life and your gift of foreknowledge, it is only by way, I assure you, of leading up to this charge, and it was moreover these peculiarities which prompted you to commit the crime of conspiring against the Emperor, so he says, and emboldened you to offer such a sacrifice. You must then be prepared to defend yourself upon these counts, and I would only ask you to want you say to show great respect for the sovereign." And Apollonius replied: "That I shall show no disrespect, you may clearly gather from the fact that I am come here to justify myself, and even if my circumstances were such as to embolden me to treat a despot in a haughty manner, I should anyhow submit myself to a man like yourself who also loves me. For though it does not so much matter if you merely fall into the bad graces of an enemy,—for your enemies will hate you not for reasons which make you an object of public suspicion, but for private causes of offence which you have given them, nothing so grave as to give a friend reason to think ill of you: this is worse than all your enemies put together can effect for no man can avoid being disliked even by his enemies for his bad qualities."

XXI

THESE words impressed Aelian as very sensible, CHAP XXI and he bade him be of good courage, while he himself formed the conviction that here was a man whom nothing could terrify or startle, and who would not flinch even if the head of the Gorgon were brandished over him. He accordingly summoned the

ΟΛΑΡ
 ΧΧ προσηταγμένους γὰρ τοιαῦτα, "κελεύω," ἔφη.
 "ξυνέχεω τούτου, ἔστ' ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡκαντά τε
 αὐτὸν μάθῃ καὶ λέγοντα ὅπουσα εἴρηκε," καὶ
 ἐφόκει τοῖς μίλα ὠργισμένοις. παρελθὼν δὲ ἐς τὰ
 βασιλεια τὰ προσήκοντα τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐπραττεν.

Ἐνταῦθα ὁ Δάμις ἀπομνημονεύει ἔργου ὁμοίου
 τε καὶ ἀνομοίου τῷ ἐπ' Ἀριστείδου ποτὲ Ἀθηνησιν·
 ὑστρίως μὲν γὰρ τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἐλαυνειν ἐπ'
 ἀρετῇ, ἔξω δὲ τείχους ἤδη ὄντι πρυσελθόντα τῶν
 ἀγροίκων τινὰ δεῖσθαι αὐτοῦ γραφεῖν τι αὐτῷ ἐπ'
 Ἀριστείδην δοτρακὸν· ἐκαῖνος μὲν οὔτε τοῖν ἄνδρα
 εἰδὼς οὔτ' αὐτὸ τὸ γράφειν, ἀλλὰ μόνον τὸν ὑπὲρ
 τοῦ δικαίου φθόνον, χιλιάρχος δὲ τῶν σφόδρα
 γιγνωσκόντων τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον προσειπὼν αὐτὸν
 ἤρετο κατὰ ὕβριν, ὑπὲρ ὅτου κινδυνεύοι, τοῦ δὲ
 οὐκ εἰδέναι φήσαντος, "ἄλλ' ἐγώ," ἔφη, "οἶδα· το
 γὰρ προσκυνεῖσθαί σε ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων δια-
 βέβληκεν ὥς ἴσων ἀξιούμενον τοῖς θεοῖς." "καὶ
 τις," εἶπεν, "ὁ προσκυνήσας ἐμέ;" "ἐγώ," ἔφη,
 "ἐν Ἐφέσῳ παῖς ἔτι ὢν, ὅποτε ἡμᾶς ἰάσω τοῦ
 λοιμοῦ." "καλῶς παιῶν," εἶπεν, "αὐτός τε σὺ
 καὶ ἡ σωθεῖσα Ἐφεσίων πόλις." "διὰ ταῦτ'
 οὖν," ἔφη, "καὶ ἀπολογίαν ὑπὲρ σοῦ παρεσκεύακα,
 ἥ σε ἀπαλλάξει τῆς αἰτίας· ἴωμεν γὰρ ἔξω τείχους,

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jailors who had charge of such cases and said: "My orders are to detain this man until the emperor be informed of his arrival and learn from him how he has said to me." And he said this with the air of a man very much enraged, and then he went into the palace and began to attend to the duties of his office.

At this point Darius records an incident which in a way resembles and in a way is unlike the episode related of Aristides long ago at Athens. For they were imprisoning Aristides because of his virtue and he had no sooner passed the gates of the city than a rustic came up to him and begged him to fly up his voting tablet against Aristides. This rustic knew no more to whom he was speaking than he knew how to write; he only knew that Aristides was detested because he was so just. Now on this occasion a tribune who knew Apollonius perfectly well, addressed him and asked him in an innocent manner, what had brought him to such a pass. Apollonius replied that he did not know. "Well," said the other, "I can tell you for it is allowing yourself to be worshipped by your fellow men that has led you to be accused of setting yourself on a level with the gods." "And who is it," asked the other, "that has paid me this worship?" "I myself," said the other, "when I was still a boy in Ephesus, at a time when you staved our epidemic." "Lucky it was both for you," said Apollonius, "and for the city of Ephesus that was saved." "Well this is a reason," said the other, "why I have prepared a method of defence for yourself, which will rid you of the charge against you. For let us go outside

CHAP.
XXI

This stuffing
is there

καὶ ἦν μεν ὑποκυνῶ σοι τὸν αὐχένα τῷ ξίφει,
 διαβέβληται ἡ αἰτία καὶ ἀφείσαι, ἦν δὲ ἐκπλήξης
 με καὶ μεθῶ τὸ ξίφος, θεῖόν τε ἀνάγκη νομίζεσθαί
 σε καὶ ὡς ἐπ' ἀληθέσι κρίνεσθαι." τοσῶδε μὲν
 δὴ ἀγροικότερος οὗτος τοῦ τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἐλαύ-
 νοντος, ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦτα μασώμενός τε καὶ ξυν-
 γέλωτι, ὁ δ' οὐκ ἀκηκούτι ὁμοίως διελέγετο πρὸς
 τὸν Δάμιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Δέλτα, περὶ ᾧ φασι τὸν
 Νεῖλον σχίζεσθαι.

XXI

Ἐπεὶ δὲ καλέσας αὐτὸν ὁ Λίλιανος ἐκέλευσε τὸ
 ἐλευθέριον οἰκεῖν δεσμωτήριον, "ἔστ' ἂν γένηται
 σχολή," ἔφη, "τῷ βασιλεῖ, ξυγγανέσθαι γάρ
 σοι ἰδίᾳ πρότερον βούλεται," ἀπήλθε μὲν τοῦ
 δικαστηρίου, καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον
 "διαλεγώμεθα," ἔφη, "Δαμι, τοῖς ἐν-αῦθα τί γὰρ
 ἂν ἄλλο πρῶττοι τις εἰς τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον, θν
 διαλέξεταί μοι ὁ τύραννος ὑπὲρ ὧν δεῖται,"
 "ἀδολέσχας," εἶπεν, "ἡγησονται ἡμᾶς, ἦν ἐκ-
 κρούωμεν αὐτοὺς ὧν ὑπολογήσονται, καὶ ἄλλως
 ἄτοπον περιπατεῖν εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἀθύμως
 ἔχοντας." "καὶ μὴν τούτοις μάλιστα δεῖ," ἔφη,
 "τοῦ διαλεξομένου τε καὶ θεραπεύουσιντος· εἰ γὰρ
 ἀνθυμηθείης τὰ τοῦ Ὀμήρου ἔφη, ἐν οἷς Ὀμηρος τὴν
 Ἑλένην φησὶ τὰ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου φάρμακα οἶνοχοεῖν

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

the gates, and if I cut your head off with my sword the accusation will have defeated itself and you will go scot free, but if you terrify me to such an extent that I drop my sword, you must needs be thought a divine being, and then it will be seen that there is a basis of truth in the charges made against you.' So much coarser and ruder was this fellow than the man who wished to banish Aristides, as he uttered his words with grimace and mocking laughter, but Apollonius affected not to have heard him, and went on with his conversation with Darius about the delta, about which they say the Nile is divided into two branches.

CHAR
XXI

XXII

ARTAN next summoned him and ordered him into the prison, where the captives were not bound, "until," he said, "the Emperor shall have leisure for he desires to talk with you privately before taking any further steps. Apollonius accordingly left the law court and passed into the prison, where he said "Let us talk, Darius with the people here. For what else is there for us to do until the time comes when the despot will give me such audience as he desires?" "What they not think us jabbire," said Darius, "and bores if we interrupt them in the preparation of their defence and moreover, it is a mistake to talk philosophy with men so broken in spirit as they." "Nay," said Apollonius, "they are just the people who most want someone to talk to them and comfort them. For you may remember the verses of Homer in which he relates how Helen

CHAR
XXI
Apollonius proceeds to converse with his fellow prisoners

Odyss. 4
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881 ἄ' ἐς τὸν κρατῆρα, ὡς τὰ ἄχῃ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποβρέ-
 χαιτο, δοκῶ μοι τὴν Ἑλευνην λόγους Λίγυπτιους
 ἐκμαθοῦσαν ἐπιδείν τοις ἀθύμοις ἐν τῷ κρατῆρι,
 ἰωμένῃν αὐτοὺς λόγῳ τε ἀναμίξ καὶ οἴνῳ." "καὶ
 εἰκὸς μὲν," εἶπεν, "εἴπερ ἐς Λίγυπτόν τε ἦλθε
 καὶ ὠμίλησε τῷ Πρωτέϊ, ἢ ὡς Ὀμήρῳ δοκεῖ,
 Πολυδιδίμῃ ξυνεγένετο τῇ τοῦ Θῆτιος νυνὶ δὲ
 ἀναβεβλήσθων οὗτοι, δεσμαι γάρ τι ἐρέσθαι σε,"
 "οἶδα," ἔφη, "ὃ με ἐρήσῃ, τοὺς γάρ ται λίγους,
 οἳ γεγόνασί μοι πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ ἅττα εἶπε, καὶ
 εἰ φοβερός ἦν ἡ πρῆξις, βούλει ἀκυῦσαί μου." καὶ
 διήλθε πάντας προσκυνήσας οὖν ὁ Δαίμων,
 "οὐκ ἀπιστῶ," ἔφη, "καὶ τὴν Λεικοθέαν ποτὲ
 κρήδεμνον τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ δοῦναι μετὰ τὴν ναῦν, ἣς
 ἐκπεσὼν ἀνεμέτρει ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ χερσὶ τὸ πέλαγος·
 καὶ γὰρ ἡμῶν ἐς ἀμήχανόν τε καὶ φοβερά ἐμβεβη-
 κύτων, θεῶν τις ὑπερέχει, οἶμαι, χεῖρα, ὡς μὴ
 ἐκπέσοιμεν σωτηρίας πύσης." ἐπιπλήττων δ' ὁ
 Ἀπολλωνίος τῷ λόγῳ, "ποῖ παρατενεῖς," ἔφη,
 "δεδιὼς ταῦτα καὶ μήπω γυγνώσκων, ὅτι σοφία
 μὲν τὰ ξυνιέντα ἑαυτῆς ἐκπλήττει πάντα, αὐτὴ δ'
 ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἐκπλήττεται;" "ἄλλ' ἡμεῖς," εἶπε,
 "παρὰ ἄξύνετον ἤκομεν, καὶ οὐ μόνον οὐκ
 ἐκπληττομενον ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀξιούντα εἶναί τι,
 ὃ ἐκπλήτξει αὐτόν." "ξυνίης οὖν," ἔφη, "ὦ Δαίμι,

mingled in the bow if we certain drops from HAR
XXI
 Egypt in order to drown the heart ache of the
 horses we I think that Heaven must have picked
 up the lore of the Egyptians, and have sung up to
 over the dejected horses the song their bow of wing,
 so leading them by a blending of words and wine.
 "And that is likely enough," said Darius, "seeing
 that we came to Egypt and conversed with Proteus,
 or I was prior to Homer's account was we have conversed
 with Polydorus the daughter of Ilium. He never
 let us discuss these topics for the moment for I
 want to ask you something." "I know," said HAR
XXII
 Apollonius, "what you are going to ask me for I am
 sure you wish me to tell you what my conversations
 was about with the counsel, and what he said, and
 whether he was formidable and severe or gentle to
 me." And forthwith he told Darius all that had
 passed. Thereupon Darius prostrated himself before
 him and said, "Now I am ready to swear that
 Ixionides had really once give her veil to Odysseus,
 after he had fallen out of his ship and was paddling HAR
XXIII
 himself over the sea with his hands. For we are
 reduced to just an awful and impossible plight,
 when some god as it seems to me stretches out his
 hand over us that we are not away from all hope of
 salvation. But Apollonius approved of the way he
 spoke, and said, "How long will you continue to
 cherish those fears as if you could never understand
 that wisdom amazes and that is sensible of her but is
 herself not amazed by anything." But we, said
 Darius, "are brought here before one who is quite
 insensible and who not only cannot be amazed by us,
 but would not know anything in the world to amaze
 him." "Seest thou not," said Apollonius, "O

Λ' ^{XXII} ὅτι τετύφωται καὶ ἀνοήτως ἔχει," " ξυνίημι, τί δ' οὐ μέλλω," εἶπε. " καὶ σοὶ δέ," ἔφη. " καταφρονητέα τοῦ τυράννου τοσαύτη μᾶλλον, ὅση καὶ γινώσκεις αὐτόν."

XXIII

CAP. ^{XXIII} Διαλεγόμενοις δ' αὐτοῖς ταῦτα προσελθὼν τις, οἶμαι, Κίλιξ, " ἐγώ," ἔφη, " ἄνδρες, ὑπὲρ πλούτου κινδυνεύω." καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, " εἰ μὲν ἀφ' ὧν οὐ θεμιτόν," ἔφη, " πλουτῶν, οἶον ληστείας ἢ φαρμίκων, ἃ δὴ ἀνδροφίνα, ἢ τάφους κινήσας, ὅσοι τῶν πύλαι βασιλέων εἰσὶν, οἱ πολύχρυσοί τε καὶ θησαυρώδεις, οὐ κρινεσθαί σε χρεὴ μόνου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπολωλέναι, ταυτὶ γὰρ πλοῦτος μὲν, ἀλλ' ἐπίρρητός τε καὶ ὀμός. εἰ δὲ κληρονομήσας ἢ διδούσης ἐμπορίας ἐλευθερίου τε καὶ μὴ καπήλου, τίς οὕτω βαρύς, ὥς ἀφελέσθαι σε νόμον σχήματι τὰ κτηθέντα σοι κατὰ νόμους," " τὰ μὲν ὄντα μοι παρὰ πλειόνων," ἔφη, " ξυγγενῶν ἔστιν, ἐς μίαν δ' οἰκίαν τὴν ἐμὴν ἦκει. χρωμαι δ' αὐτοῖς οὐθ' ὥς ἐτέρων, ἐμὰ γάρ, οὐθ' ὥς ἐμοῖς, κοινὰ γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἐστὶ μοι διαβῆλλουσι δ' ἡμᾶς οἱ συκοφίνται μὴ ἐπ' ἀγαθῇ τῆς τυραννίδος ἐκτῆσθαι τὸν πλοῦτον, ἐμοῦ τε γὰρ νεώτερα πειρωμένου πρίντευν ἐφόδιον ἀνγενέσθαι αὐτόν, ἑτέρῳ τε, ὅτῳ προσθείμην, ροπήν ἀν οὐ σμικρὰν τὰμὰ εἶναι. μεμαντευμέναι δ' ἤδη

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

Darius, that he is maddened with pride and vanity?" CHAP. XXI.
 "I see it how can I not?" said the other. "Well,"
 said Apollonius, "you have got to despise the
 despot just in proportion as you get to know him."

XXIII

THEY were talking like this, when someone, a CHAP. XXIII.
 Cilician I think, came up and said "I gentlemen, story of
 am brought to this pass by my wealth.' And Cilician
 Apollonius replied "If your wealth was acquired by
 other than he y methods, for example by piracy and
 administration of deadly drugs or by disturbing the
 tombs of ancient kings which are full of gold and
 treasure, you deserve not only to be put on your
 trial, but also to forfeit your life, for these things
 are wealth no doubt, but of an infamous and
 inhuman kind. But if you acquired your wealth by
 inheritance or by trade dealings of a fair description
 and not by usury, who would be so cruel as to
 deprive you under colour of law of what you have
 acquired with its venerable sanction?" "My
 property," said the other, "has accrued to me from
 several of my relations and has centred itself in
 my single household, and I use it, not as if it
 belonged to other people, for it is my own, yet not
 as my own, for I share it freely with all good men.
 But the informers accused me of having acquired my
 wealth to the prejudice of the despot, for they say
 that, if I attempted a revolution, it would supply me
 with resources, while if I attacked myself to
 another as his accomplice, my wealth would weigh
 heavily in his favour. And there is actually an

CAΠ.
XXIII

καθ' ἡμῶν αἰτίαι, ὡς ὕβριν μὲν τίκτει πᾶς ὁ ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον πλοῦτος, ὁ δ' ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς τὴν αὐχένα ἴσσησι, καὶ τὸ φρύγμα ἐγείρει, νόμοις τε οὐκ ἐὰ πείθεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας, οἳ ἐς τὰ ἔθνη φοιτῶσι, μόνον οὐκ ἐπὶ κόρῃς παιεὶ δαυλουμένους τοῖς χρήμασιν ἢ ὑπερορῶντας αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῦ πλούτου.

Ἐγὼ δὲ μαιρίκιον μὲν οἶν, πρὶν οὐσίαν ἑκατὸν ταλάντων ἐκτήσθαι, κατὰ γλῶσσαν ἡγνύμην πίνοντα, καὶ σμικρὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡντων ἐδεδίδειν, ὅπῃ δὲ τάλαντά μοι πενταकुσια ἐπὶ μιᾷς ἡμέρας ἐγένετο τελευτήσαντος ἐπ' ἐμοὶ τοῦ πρὸς πατρὸς θείου, τοσοῦτον ἡ γυνὴ μετέβαλεν, ὅσον οἱ καταρτίζοντες τῶν ἵππων καὶ μεταβάλλοντες τοῦ ἡπαιδεύοντος τε καὶ ἀκολούστου ἡθους. ἐπιδιδόντος δὲ μοι τοῦ πλούτου, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐκ γῆς, τὰ δὲ ἐκ θαλάττης φέροντος, οὕτω τε ἐδουλώθη ὑπὸ τοῦ περὶ αὐτὸν δέους, ὡς ἀπαντλεῖν τῆς οὐσίας τὸ μὲν ἐς τοὺς συκοφάντας, οὓς ἄδει μαιλίττεσθαι τῇ ἀπομαγδαλιᾷ ταυτῇ, τὸ δὲ ἐς τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ὡς ἰσχυρὸς πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας εἶη μοι, τὸ δὲ ἐς τοὺς ξυγγενεῖς ὡς μὴ φθονοῖεν τῷ πλούτῳ, τὸ δὲ ἐς τοὺς δούλους, ὡς μὴ κακίους γίγνομαιτο ἀμελεῖσθαι φάσκοντες, ἐβουκολεῖτο δὲ μοι καὶ ἀγέλη φίλων λαμπρῇ προορῶντες γὰρ οὗτοί μου τὰ μὲν αὐτοὶ ὑδρῶν, τὰ δὲ μοι προὔλεγον.

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orbicular air about the charges made against us, such as that all excess of wealth engenders insolence, or that more than ordinary wealth makes its owner carry his head too high and rouses in him a spirit of pride, and that it prevents him from being a good subject and obeying the laws and rulers who are sent to the provinces, they say indeed that it is very nearly tantamount to giving them a box in the ears, because they grovel to wealthy men or connive at their crime, on account of the influence which wealth gives.

CHAP
XX II

"Now when I was a stripling, before I had as much as a hundred talents to call my own. I used to think such apprehensions as these ridiculous and I had small anxiety on the score of my property, but when my paternal uncle died and in a single day I came in for a reversion of five hundred talents, my mind underwent such a change as those who break horses effect, when they cure them of being unruly and intractable. And as my riches increased and flowed in to me by land and by sea, I became so much the slave of anxiety about them, that I poured out my substance, partly upon sycophants whom I had to flatter in order to stop their mouths by means of such blackmail, and partly upon governors whose influence I wished to enlist on my side against those who plotted against me, and partly on my kinsmen to prevent them being jealous of my wealth, and partly on my slaves for fear they should become worse than they were and complain of being neglected. And I also had to support a magnificent flock of friends, for the latter were full of solicitude for me, and some insisted on helping me with their own hands, and

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

ΟΔΥ.
XXIII

ἀλλ' ὅμως οὕτω μὲν χαρακώσαντες τὸν πλοῦτον, οὕτω δὲ ἀσφαλῶς τειχισάμενοι, κινδυνεύομεν περὶ αὐτῷ νῦν, καὶ οὐπω δῆλον οὐδ' εἰ τὸ σῶμα ἀθῶαι μενούμεν." καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "θάρρει," ἔφη, τὸν γὰρ πλοῦτον τοῦ σώματος ἐγγυητὴν ἔχεις· δέδουσαι μὲν γὰρ δι' αὐτόν, ἀνήσει δέ σε ἀπολυόμενον οὐ μόνον τοῦ δεσποτηρίου τοῦδε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ θεραπεύειν τοὺς συκαφάντας τε καὶ τοὺς δούλους, οἷν δι' αὐτὸν ὑπέκειςσας."

XXIV

ΟΔΥ.
XXIV

Ἐτέρου δ' αὖ φήσαντος γραφὴν φείγεται, ἐπειδὴ θύων ἐν Τάραντι, οὗ ἤρχετο, μὴ προσέθηκε ταῖς δημοσίαις εὐχαῖς, ὅτι Δουσιτιανὸς Ἀθηναῖς εἶη παῖς, "σὺ μὲν φήθης," ἔφη, "μὴ ἂν τὴν Ἀθηναῖν τεκεῖν, παρθένον οὖσαν τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον, ἠγνόεις δ', οἶμαι, ὅτι ἡ θεὸς αὕτη Ἀθηναίῳις ποτὲ δριάκοντα ἔτεκε."

XXV

ΟΔΥ.
XXV

Καθεῖρκτό τις καὶ ἐπὶ τοιαῦδε αὐτίφ' χωρίον ἐν Ἀκαρνανίᾳ περὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Ἀχελφίου ἔχων περιέπλει τὰς Ἐχινάδας ἐν ἀκατίφ' μικρῷ, διασκεψαμένος δὲ αὐτῶν μίαν, ἥ ξυνήπτεν ἤδη τῇ

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others with their warnings and advice. But although I thus fenced my wealth about, and surrounded myself so securely with fortifications, I now am imperilled by it, and I am not yet sure that I shall escape with my life." And Apollonius answered, "Take heart for you have your wealth to go surety for your life, for if it is your wealth which has led to your being confined in bonds, it is your wealth also which, when it is dissipated will not only release you from this prison, but from the necessity of cherishing and flattering those sycophants and slaves whose yoke it has imposed upon your neck."

CHAP.
XXIII

XXIV

Another man came and said that he was being prosecuted, because at a public sacrifice in Tarentum, where he held office, he had omitted to mention in the public prayers that Domitian was the son of Athens. Said Apollonius, "You imagined that Athens could not possibly have a son, because she is a virgin for ever and ever; but you forgot methinks, that this goddess once on a time bore a dragon to the Athenians."

CHAP.
XXV
Domitian
the son
of Athens

XXV

Another man was confined in the prison on the following charge. He had a property in Acarnania near the mouth of the Achelous; and he had been in the habit of sailing about the islands called the Echinades in a small boat, and he noticed that one of them was already joined to the mainland,

CHAP.
XXV
Story of
the union
from the
Achelous

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XXV ἡπείρω, δένδρεσί τε ὠραίοις διεφύτευσε καὶ ἀμπέ-
λοις ἡδυνάινουσιν, διαιτάν τε ἰκανὴν τῷ σωματι κατε-
σκευάσαστο ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ γὰρ τι καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκ τῆς
ἡπείρου ἐσήγετο ἀποχρῶν τῇ νήσῳ· ἐκ τούτου
ἀνέφνυ γραφή, μὴ καθαρὸς εἶναι ὁ Ἀκαρνὰν οὗτος,
ἔργα δὲ αὐτῷ ξυνειδὼς οὐ φορητά, τῆς μὲν ἄλλης
γῆς ἐξίσταθαί τε καὶ ἀποφοιτῶν ὥς μεμασμένης
ἐαυτῷ, τὴν δ' Ἀλκμαίωνα τοῦ Ἀμφιάρεω λύσειν,
δι' ἣν τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Ἀχελώου μετὰ τὴν μητέρα
ῥέκησεν, ῥῆσθαι αὐτὸν, εἰ μὴ καὶ ἐφ' ὁμοίοις,
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σχετλίοις ἴσως καὶ οὐ πύρρῳ ἐκείνων· ὁ
δ' οὐ τοῦτ' ἔφασκεν, ἀλλὰ ἀπραγμοσύνης ἄρῳν ἐκαῖ
αἰκῆσαι, το δὲ ἄρα εἰς δικὰς αὐτῷ περιστῆναι, δι'
ἧς καὶ εἰρχθαι αὐτόν.

XXVI

CAP.
XXVI Προσιόντων δὲ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ πλειόνων ἔνδον
καὶ ὀλοφύρομένων τοιαῦτα, πεντηκοντα γὰρ πού
εἶναι οἱ ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ τούτῳ, καὶ οἱ μὲν νοσεῖν
αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ ἀθύμως παρεῖσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἐγκαρτερεῖν
τὸν θάνατον, οἱ δ' ἐπιβοᾶσθαι τέκνα καὶ γονέας
τοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ γάμον, "ὦ Δίμι," ἔφη, "δοκοῦσί
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and he planted it all over with pleasant trees and vines, producing sweet wine. So he made in it a convenient habitation for himself, for he also brought in water in sufficient quantities for the island from the mainland. In consequence, an accusation was trumped up against him, that he had a guilty conscience, and that it was because he was conscious of having committed crimes of an intolerable description, that he transported himself and quitted his own land, feeling that he polluted it, and at the same time had chosen for himself the same form of release as Alcmaeon the son of Amphiaraus had done, when after his mother's murder he went and lived on the delta of the Achelous. Even if he had not committed the same crime as Alcmaeon, he must yet, they said, have on his conscience horrible deeds, not falling far short of his. Although he denied these insinuations, and declared that he only went to live there for the sake of peace and quiet, he had nevertheless, he said, been accused and brought to justice, and for this reason he was now cast into prison.

CHAP.
XXV

XXVI

SEVERAL prisoners, for there were about fifty of them in this prison, approached Apollonius inside it, and uttered such lamentations as the above. Some of them were sick, some of them had given way to dejection, some of them expected death with certainty and with resignation, some of them bewailed and called upon their children and their parents and their wives. Whereupon, "O Damis," said Apol-

CHAP.
XXV.

Apollonius
counselled the
prisoners

μοι τοῦ φαρμάκου δεῖσθαι οἱ ἄνδρες, οὐ καταρχὰς ἐπεμνησθην, εἴτ' οὖν Αἰγύπτιον τοῦτο, εἴτ' ἐν πάσῃ γῇ γῆ φύεται, ῥιζοτομούσης αὐτὰ σοφίας ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτῆς κήπων, προσδῶμεν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀθλίοις τούτοις, μὴ προανέλῃ σφᾶς ἡ γνώμη." "προσδῶμεν," ἢ δ' ὅς ὁ Δάμης, "εἰκόλασι γὰρ δεομένοις." ξυγκαλέσας οὖν αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ἄνδρες," εἶπεν, "οἱ κοινωνοῦντες ἐμοὶ ταυτησὶ τῆς στέγης, ἐλαῶ ὑμᾶς, ὥς ὑφ' αὐτῶν ἀπόλλυσθε, οὐπω εἰδότες, εἰ κατηγορία ἀπολεῖ ὑμᾶς· δοκεῖτε γάρ μοι προαποκτινύντας αὐτοὺς τοῦ καταψηφισθέντος ἂν ὑμῶν, ὡς οἴεσθε, θανάτου, καὶ θαρρεῖν μὲν ἂ δέδιτε, δεδιέναι δ' ἂ θαρρεῖτε. οὐ μὴν προσήκει γὰρ, ἀλλ' ἐνθυμηθευτας τὸν Ἀρχιλόχου τοῦ Περσίου λόγον, ὅς τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς λυπηροῖς καρτερίαν τλημοσύνην καλῶν, θεῶν αὐτὴν φησιν εἶναι εὖρημα ἀναφέρειν τῶν σχετλίων τούτων, ὥσπερ οἱ τέχνη τοῦ ῥοθίου ὑπεραίροντες, ἐκείδαν τὸ κύμα ὑπὲρ τὴν ναῦν ἰστῆται, μηδ' ἠγγεῖσθαι χαλεπὰ ταῦτα, ἐφ' ἃ ὑμεῖς μὲν ἄκουτες, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκὼν ἤκω.

Ἴδ' μὲν γὰρ ξυντίθεσθε ταῖς αἰτίαις, ὀλοφυρτέα ἢ ἡμέρα μᾶλλον, ἐν ᾗ ὁ λογισμὸς ἐς ἄδικά τε καὶ ὤμᾳ ὀρμήσας ὑμᾶς ἔσφηλει, εἰ δ' οὔτε σὺ τὴν ἐν

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

house affected by the spectacle "it seems to me ^{CHAR} that these poor wretches need the drug which I alluded to ^{XXVI} when I first entered. Whichever it be an Egyptian remedy, or whether it grows in every land and only needs wisdom enough to cut it from its root out of her own gardens, let us administer some of it to these poor people lest their own feelings destroy them before Dionysius can do it. "Let us do so," said Dionysius, "for they seem in need of it." Accordingly Apollonius called them all together and said, "Gentlemen, who are sharing with me the hospitality of this poor roof, I am wrung with pity for you because I feel that you are undoing yourselves before you know in the east whether the answer will smite you. For it seems to me that you are ready to put yourselves to death and as to quote the death sentence which you expect to be pronounced against you, and so you show actual courage where you should feel fear and fear where you should be courageous. This could not be, but you should bear in mind the words of Archimedes of Paros who says that the patience under adversity which he called endurance was a veritable discovery of the gods, for it would bear you up in your misery just as a skilful pilot carries the bow of his ship aloft. The wash of the sea, whenever the billows are raised higher than his mark. Nor should you come set as desperate this situation into which you have been brought against your wish, but I myself of my own accord.

For if you admit the charges brought against you, you ought rather to die ere the day when your judgment and impulses betrayed you into unjust and cruel courses of action. But if you my friend yourself, deny that you took up your residence

ΓΑ
ΣΧΛ

τῷ Ἀχελφίῳ νῆσον ὑπὲρ ᾧ ὁ κατήγαρός φησιν
 ἔρεῖς ῥοπήκεναι, οὔτε σὺ τὸν σεαυτοῦ πλοῦτον
 ἔφεδράν ποτε τῇ βασιλείᾳ στησασθαι, οὔθ' ἐκὼν
 σὺ τοῦ μὴ πρὸς Ἀθηνᾶς δοκεῖν ἀφῆρησθαι τὸν
 ἄρχοντα, οὔθ' ὑπὲρ ᾧ ἀφίχθε κινδυνεύων ἕκαστος.
 ἀληθῆ ταῦτα εἶναι φησιν, τί βούλεται," φησιν.
 "ὁ ὑπὲρ τῶν οὐκ ὄντων θρήνους οὔτος; ὕσθι γάρ,
 τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους ἐπιβυῖσθε, τοσφδε χρὴ ἐρρῶσ-
 θαι μᾶλλον. ἄθλα γάρ που τῆς τλημοσύνης ταύτης
 ἐκείνα. ἢ τὸ καθεῖρχθαι δεῦρο δεινὸν εἶναι φατε
 καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ δεσμωτηρίῳ ζῆν; ἢ ἀρχὴν ᾧ
 πείσεσθαι ἡγεῖσθε; ἢ καὶ καθ' αὐτὸ τιμωρίαν, εἰ
 καὶ μηδὲν ἐπ' αὐτῷ πείθοιτε; ἀλλ' ἔγωγε τὴν
 ἀνθρωπείαν εἰδὼς φύσιν, ἀναδιδιάξω λόγον ὑμᾶς
 οὐδὲν ἰοικότα τοῖς τῶν λατρῶν σιτίοις, καὶ γὰρ
 ἰσχὺν ἐντίθησι καὶ ἀποθανεῖν οὐκ ἐμσει· οἱ
 ἄνθρωποι ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ ἔσμεν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον,
 δεῖ δὲ ὠνόμασται βίος· αὕτη γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ σωματι
 φθαρτῇ ἐνδεθεῖσα πολλὰ μὲν καρτερεῖ, δουλεύει
 δὲ πᾶσιν, ὅπόσα ἐπ' ἄνθρωπον φοιτᾷ, οἰκία τε οἷς
 ἐπενεόηθη πρῶτον, ἄγνωσθαί μοι δοκοῦσιν ἄλλο
 δεσμωτήριον αὐτοῖς περιβάλλοντες, καὶ γὰρ δεῖ
 καὶ ὅπόσοι τὰ βασιλεία οἰκοῦσιν, ἀσφαλῶς ἐν
 αὐτοῖς κατεσκευασμένοι, δεδέσθαι μᾶλλον τούτους
 ἡγώμεθα ἢ οὓς αὐτοὶ δήσουσι.

in the island of the Arctulones for the reason which
 your answer suggests, and yet there, that you ever
 raised your wealth to the peril and endangering of
 the sovereignty, and you again that you of set pur-
 pose deprived the sovereign of his pretension to be
 called the son of Neptune. If I say you can prove
 that the serious reasons alleged for your being each
 of you here in such particular places are unsound, what
 then is the meaning of our testament?—about
 things which have no existence or reality? For
 instead of crying after your friends and relatives,
 you ought rather to feel just as much courage as you
 now feel despair, for such language are the rewards
 of the endurance I have described. But perhaps
 you would argue that to die is not here and life in a
 prison are hard to bear in themselves? Or do you
 look upon them as the more beginning of what you
 expect to suffer? Or do you think that they are
 punishment sufficient in themselves, even if you are
 exposed to nothing else in the way of penalty? Well,
 I understand human nature, and I will preach you a
 sermon which is very unlike the prescriptions of
 physicians, for it shall impart strength to you and
 will avert death from you. We are in a prison
 and that time which we call life. For this
 one of ours being bound and fettered in a perishable
 body, has to endure many things, and be the slave of
 all the affections which visit humanity, and the men
 who first invented a dwelling seem to me not to
 have known that they were only surrounding their
 kind in a frost prison: for to tell you the truth all
 those who inhabit palaces and have castled about them-
 selves securely in them are, I consider, in easier bonds
 to them than any whom they may throw into bonds.

CAP.
XXVI

Πόλεις δ' ἐνθυμουμένω μοι καὶ τείχη δοκεῖ ταῦτα δεσποτήρια εἶναι καινὰ, ὥς δεδέσθαι μὲν ἀγορίζον-
τας, δεδέσθαι δὲ ἐκκλησιάζοντας καὶ θεωμένους
αὐ καὶ πομπὰς πέμποντας. καὶ Σκυθῶν ὅποσοι
ἀμαξεύουσιν, οὐ μείον ἡμῶν δέδενται, Ἰστροὶ τε
γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὀρίζουσι καὶ θερμώδοντες καὶ Ταναῖδες
οὐ ῥάδιοι ποταμοὶ ὑπερβῆναι, ἦν μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ
κρυμοῦ στῶσιν, οἰκίας τε ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμαξῶν πέπαινται
καὶ φέρονται μὴ ἀλλ' ἐν αὐταῖς ἐπτηχύτες. εἰ
δὲ μὴ μαιρακιώδης ὁ λόγος, φασὶ καὶ τὸν Ὀλκαστὸν
δεσμοῦ ἕνεκα τῇ γῇ περιβεβλησθαι. ἴτε, ὦ
ποιηταί, ταυτὶ γὰρ ὑμέτερα, καὶ ῥαψωδεῖτε πρὸς
τούτους τοὺς ἀθύρους, ὥς Κρόνος μὲν ποτὶ ἐδέσθη
βουλαῖς τοῦ Διὸς, Ἄρης δὲ ὁ πολεμικώτατος ἐν
οὐρανῷ μὲν ὑπὸ Ἡφαίστου πρύτερον, ἐν γῇ δὲ
ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Ἀλφείως. ταῦτ' ἐνθυμούμενοι καὶ
πολλοὺς τῶν σοφῶν τε καὶ μακαρίων ἀνδρῶν,
οὓς δῆμοι ἀσελγεῖς ἔδησαν, τυραννίδες δὲ πρού-
πηλάκισαν, δεχόμεθα καὶ ταῦτα, ὥς μὴ τῶν
δεξαμένων αὐτὰ λειποίμεθα." οὕτω τοὺς ἐν τῇ
δεσποτηρίῳ τὰ ῥηθέντα μετέβαλεν, ὥς σίτου τε οἱ
πολλοὶ ἄψασθαι καὶ ἀπελθεῖν τῶν δακρύων, βῆναι
τε ἐπ' ἐλπίδος μὴδ' ἂν παθεῖν μὴδὲν ἐκείνῳ
ξυνόντες.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

And when I think of cities and walls it seems CHAP 2251
 to me that these are common prisons so that the
 merchants are in chains, in chains no less the
 members of the Assembly and the frequenters also
 of spectacles, as well as those who organise public
 processions. Then there are the Sythians who go
 about upon waggons, they are just as much in
 chains as ourselves, for rivers like the Ister and the
 Thermodon and the Tanais, hem them in, and they
 are very difficult to cross, except when they are
 hard froze, and then fix up their houses on
 their waggons, and they imagine they are driving
 about, when they are merely cowering in them.
 And if you don't think it too silly a thing to say,
 there are those who teach that the ocean also
 encumbers the earth in order to chain it in. Come,
 O ye poets, for this is your domain. Recite your
 rhapsodies to this despondent crowd and tell them
 how Kronos was once put in bonds by the wiles of
 Zeus, and Ares the most warlike of the gods was
 first enslaved in heaven by Hephaestus, and later
 upon earth by the wiles of Aphrodite. When we think of
 these things and reflect on the many wise and
 blessed men who have been thrown into prison by
 wretched mobs or persecuted by despots, let us accept
 our fate with resignation. That we may not be found
 inferior to those who have excelled the same before
 us. Such were the words which he addressed to
 his companions in the prison, and they had such an
 effect upon them that most of them took their
 food and wiped away their tears, and walked in
 hope, believing that they could never come to
 harm as long as they were in his company.

CAP.
XXVII

Τῆς δ' ὑστεραιας διελέγετο μὲν ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν νοῦν ξυντείνων, ἀσπένπεται δέ τις ἀκροατῆς τῶν διαλέξεων ὑπὸ τοῦ Διομετιανοῦ καθειμένος· τὸ μὲν δὴ σχῆμα αὐτοῦ κατηφῆς ἐδύκει, καὶ κινδυνεύειν τι, ὥς ἔφασκε, μέγα, γλωττῆς τε οὐκ ἀνεπιτηδευτῶς εἶχει, οἷοι τῶν συκοφαντικῶν οἱ συνειλοχότες ὑκτιῶ ῥήματα ἢ δέκα, ὃ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ξινεῖς τῆς τέχνης διελέγετο, ἃ μὴ ἐκείνη προῦφαινε, πατιμῶν τε γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐμέμνητο καὶ ὕρῶν, καὶ θηρία διρεῖ καὶ δένδρα, ὑφ' ὧν οἱ μὲν διήγοντο, ὃ δ' οὐδὲν ἐπέραιεν. ὥς δὲ καὶ ἀπαίγειν αὐτὸν ἐν λοιδωρίας τοῦ τυράννου ἐπειρᾶτο, "ὦ τᾶν," ἔφη, "σὺ μὲν, ὅ τι βούλει, λέγε, οὐ γὰρ διαβεβλήσῃ γὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ἐγὼ δὲ ὅπουσα μεμφομαι τὸν βασιλέα, πρὸς αὐτὸν λέξω."

CAP.
XXVIII

Ἐγένετο καὶ ἕτερα ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ τούτῳ ἐπεισόδια, τὰ μὲν ἐπιβεβουλευμένα, τὰ δέ, ὥς ξυνέπεσεν, οὐκ ὡς μεγάλα, οὐδ' ἀξία ἐμοὶ σπουδᾶσαι. Δάμις δέ, οἶμαι, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παραλελοιπέναι τι αὐτῶν ἐπεμνήσθη, τὰ δὲ λογιῶν ἐχόμενα· ἐσπέρα μὲν ἦν, καθεῖρκετο δὲ ἡμέραν ἤδη πέμπτην, παρελ-

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

XXVII

ON the next day he was haranguing them in a discourse of the same tenor, when a man was sent into the prison privately by Domitian to listen to what he said. In his deportment this person had a downcast air, and, as he himself admitted, looked as if he ran a great risk. He had great fluency of speech, as is usually the case with sycophants who have been chosen to draw up eight or ten informations. Apollonius saw through the trick and talked about themes which could in no way serve his purpose, for he told his audience about rivers and mountains, and he described wild animals and trees to them, so that they were amused, while the informer gained nothing to his purpose. And when he tried to draw him away from these subjects and get him to abuse the tyrant, "My good friend," said Apollonius, "you say what you like, for I am the last man in the world to inform against you, but if I find anything to blame in the Emperor, I'll say it to his face."

CHAP.
XXVII
His
repartee
to an
informer

XXVIII

TITUS followed other episodes in this prison, some of them maliciously contrived, and others of mere chance, and not of sufficient importance to merit my notice. But Dams, I believe, has recorded them in his anxiety to omit nothing, I only give what is to the point. It was evening, and it was already the fifth day of his imprisonment, when a certain person entered the prison, who spoke the

CHAP.
XXVIII
A list of many
of Adrian's
inquiries
the
emperor's
inquiries

CAP. XXV. ὧν δέ τις ἐς τὸ δεσμοτήριον, Ἑλληνικὸς τὴν
 φωνήν, "ποῦ," ἔφη, "ὁ Τυανεύς;" καὶ ὑπολαβὼν
 αὐτὸν, "αὔριον," ἔφη, "διαλεξεταί σοι ὁ βασιλεύς." ¹
 Λίλιανου δὲ ταῦτα ἀκηκοέναι ἐδόκει. "ξυνήμ,"
 ἦ δ' ὤς, "τοῦ ὑπορρήτου, μόνου γὰρ δὴ ἐκείνου
 εἰδέναι αὐτό." "καὶ μὴν καὶ τῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ δεσ-
 μοτηρίου προσείρηται," ἔφη, "πᾶν, εἰ τι βούλοιο,
 ἐπιτηδείῃ σοι εἶναι." "καλῶς μὲν ποιοῦντες
 ἱμεῖς," εἶπεν, "ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἑνταῦθα βίον καὶ
 τὸν ἄξιον ταύτῃ πρυττω, διαλέγεμαι μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ
 τῶν παραπιπτόντων, δεσμαι δ' οὐδενός." "οὐδὲ
 τοῖς ξυμβουλευσόντος," ἔφη, "Ἀπολλώνιος, ὡς
 διαδόξῃ τῷ βασιλεῖ;" "νὴ Δί," εἶπεν, "εἰ μὴ
 κολακεύειν πείθοι." "τί δ', εἰ μὴ ὑπερορᾷν," ἔφη,
 "μὴδ' ὑπερφρονεῖν αὐτοῦ," "ἄριστα," εἶπε,
 "ξυμβουλευσει καὶ ὡς ἑμαυτὸν πεπεικα." "ὑπὲρ
 τούτων μὲν ἤκω," ἔφη, "καὶ χαίρω παρσκευα-
 σμένον σε ὁρᾷν ξυμμέτρως, δεῖ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ
 φθέγμα τοῦ βασιλέως παρσκευευσθαι σε καὶ
 πρὸς τὸ δύστροπον τοῦ πρυσώπου, φθέγγεται μὲν
 γὰρ βαρὺ, καὶν πρῶτος διαλέγεται, ἡ δ' ὀφρὺς
 ἐπίκειται τῷ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ ἥθει, μαστὴ δ' ἡ
 παρεὶὰ χολῆς, τουτὶ γὰρ μάλιστα ἐπιφαίνει
 ταῦτα, ὦ Τυανεῦ, μὴ ἐκπληττώμεθα, ἔστι γὰρ
 φύσεως μᾶλλον καὶ αἰὲς ὅμοια." καὶ ὁ Ἀπολ-

¹ Καὶ οὗτος τοῖς δακτύλοις, καὶ ποιεῖ τὴν ἀργὴν κινήσιν ἐκτετακτὴν
 φαί.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

Hellenic tongue and said "Where is the man of ^{our} Tyana?" And taking Apollonius aside he said XXVIII
 "It is to-morrow that the Emperor will give you an audience. And this he appeared to have heard direct from Arcan. "I will keep your secret," said Apollonius, "for it is only Aelian, I think, who can know so much. "Moreover," said the other, "word has been given to the chief jailer to supply you with everything which you may want." "You are very kind," said Apollonius, "but I know exactly the same life here as I would outside, for I converse about casual topics, and I do not need anything." "And do you not, O Apollonius, need someone to advise you how to converse with the Emperor?" "Yes by heaven," he replied, "if only he will not try to get me to flatter him." And what if he merely advised you not to do it him nor flout him?" "He could give me better advice," said Apollonius, "and it is what I have made up my own mind to do." "Well it was about this that I am come," said the other, "and I am delighted to find you so sensibly disposed, but you ought to be prepared for the way in which the Emperor speaks, and also for the disagreeable quality of his face, for he looks to a deep vice: even if he is ~~now~~ engaged in a gentle conversation, and his eyebrows overhang the sockets of his eyes and his cheeks are so bloated with bile that this distinguishes him more than any thing else. We must not be frightened O man of Tyana by these characteristics for they rather belong to nature than to anything else and they always are the same. And Apollonius replied

CAP.
XXVIII

Λώνιος, "Ὅδυσσεὺς μέντοι," ἔφη, "παριὼν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Πολυφήμου αὐτρου, καὶ μήτε ὀπόσος ἐστὶ προακηκοῶς πρότερον, μηδ' οἷα σιτεῖται, μηδ' ὡς βροντᾷ ἢ φωνῇ, ἐθάρρησέ τε αὐτὸν καίτοι ἐν ἡρχῇ δείσας, καὶ ἀνῆλθε τοῦ αὐτρου ἀνὴρ δοξας, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐξελθεῖν αὐταρκες ἐμαυτὸν τε σώσαντα καὶ τοὺς ἑταίρους, ὑπὲρ ὧν κινδυνεύω." τοιαῦτα διαλεχθεὶς πρὸς τὸν ἥκοντα καὶ ἀπαγγείλας αὐτὰ πρὸς τὸν Δάμνυ ἐκύθευδεν.

XXIX

CAP.
XXIX

Περὶ δὲ ὄρθρον γραμματεῖς τις ἦκων τῶν βασιλείων δικῶν, "κελεύει σε ὁ βασιλεὺς," ἔφη, "ὦ Ἀπολλωνιε, περὶ πλήθουσιν ἡγορὰν ἐς τὴν αὐλήν ἔκειν, οὐπω ἀπολογησόμενον, ἀλλ' ἰδεῖν τέ σε, ὅστις ὧν τυγχάνεις, βούλεται καὶ ξυγγενέσθαι μόνῳ." "τί οὖν," εἶπεν, "ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐμοὶ διαλέγη," "οὐ γὰρ σύ," ἔφη, "Ἀπολλώνιος;" "νὴ Διός," εἶπεν, "ὁ Τυανεύς γε." "πρὸς τίνα οὖν," ἔφη, "ταῦτα εἶπω;" "πρὸς τοὺς ἄξοντίς με," εἶπε, "χρὴ γάρ που ὡς ἐκ δεσμωτηρίου φοιτᾶν." "προστέτακται," ἔφη, "προτέροις γε ἐκείνοις ταῦτα, κινῶ δὲ ἀφίξομαι τοῦ καιροῦ, νυνὶ δὲ παραγγελῶν ἦλθον, ταυτὶ γὰρ μῦθα ἐσπέρας προστέτακται."

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

"If Odysseus could go into the cave of Polyphemus CHAP XXXVIII
without having been informed beforehand either of
the giant's size, or what he ate, or of how he
thundered with his voice, and yet did not lose his
presence of mind, though he was in some trepidation
to begin with, and if he left his cave after acquitting
himself like a man, I too shall be quite satisfied if I
get off with my own life and with that of my
companions, in whose behalf I incur this risk.
Such were the words that passed between him and
his visitor, and after reporting them to Dainis he
went to sleep.

XXIX

AND about dawn a notary came from the Royal CHAP XXIX
court, and said: "It is the Emperor's orders, O
Apollonius, that you should repair to his court at the
time when the market-place is full, not indeed as yet
to make your defence, for he wants to see you and find
out who you are, and to talk with you alone." "And
why," said Apollonius, "do you trouble me with
these details?" "Are you not then Apollonius?"
said the other. "Yes, by Heaven," he said, "and
of Tyana too." "To whom then," said the other,
"should I give this message?" "To those who will
take me thither," he replied, "for I suppose that I
shall have to get out of this prison somehow."
"Orders have already been given," replied the
other, "to them, and I will come here in good time,
and I only came to give you the message now,
because the orders were issued late last night."

CAP.
XXX

Ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀπῆλθεν, ὁ δ' Ἀπολλώνιος ἀναπαύσας
 ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης. "ὕπνου," ἔφη, "δέομαι,
 Δαμί, χαλεπὴ γάρ μοι ἡ νύξ γέγονεν ἀναμνησθῆναι
 βουλομένῳ ὧν Φραώτου ποτὲ ἤκουσα." "καὶ μὴν
 ἐγρηγορεῖναι τε," εἶπεν, "ἐχρῆν μᾶλλον καὶ ξυνηϊύ-
 τειν ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὸ παρηγγελμένον μέγα οὔτιος οὐν."
 "καὶ πῶς ἂν ξυνταττοίμην;" ἔφη, "μηδὲ, τί
 ἐρήσεται, εἰδώς;" "αὐτοσχεδίασεις οὖν," εἶπεν,
 "ὑπὲρ τοῦ βίου," "ὦ Δί," ἔφη "ὦ Δίμι, αὐτο-
 σχεδίῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ χρῶμαι. ἄλλ' ὅ γε ἀνεμνήσθην
 τοῦ Φραώτου βούλομαι διελθεῖν πρὸς σέ, χρηστὸν
 γὰρ ἐς τὰ παρόντα καὶ σοὶ δοῖται τοὺς λέοντας,
 οὓς τιθασεύουσιν ἄνθρωποι, κελεύει Φραώτης
 μήτε παῖειν, μνησικακεῖν γὰρ αὐτούς, εἰ παίοιντο,
 μήτε θεραπεύειν, ἀγερῶχους γὰρ ἐκ τούτου γίγνε-
 σθαι, ξὺν ἀπειλῇ δὲ μᾶλλον καταψῶντας ἐς
 εὐάγωγα ἤθη ἄγειν. τοῦτο δὲ οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν
 λεόντων εἶπεν, αὐτὰρ ὑπὲρ θηρίων ἀγωγῆς
 ἰσπουδιάζομεν, ἀλλ' ἡμίαν ἐπὶ τοὺς τυράννους
 διδοῦς, ἢ χρωμένους οὐκ ἂν ἐκπεσεῖν ἡγεῖτο τοῦ
 ξυμμέτρου." "ἄριστα μέν," ἔφη, "ὁ λόγος αὐτός
 ἐς τὰ τυράννων ἤθη εἴρηται, ἀλλ' ἔστι τις καὶ
 παρὰ τῷ Δισώπῳ λέων ὁ ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ, φησι δ'

XXX

He accordingly went away; but Apollonius after resting himself a little while on his bed said, "Damon I need sleep for I have had a bad night trying to remember what Phrotos once told me." "Well," said the other, "if you had to keep awake, you had much better have occupied yourself in preparing for so great an occasion as now is announced to you." "And how could I prepare myself," said Apollonius, "when I do not even know what questions he will ask of me?" "Then are you going to defend your life, extempore?" said Damon. "Yes," he replied, "for it is an extempore life that I have always led." But I want to tell you what I could remember of the conversation of Phrotos, for I think you will find it very profitable under the circumstances. Phrotos enjoined the teachers of lions not to strike them, for he said that they bear you a grudge if they are struck, but also not to flatter them because that tends to make them proud and fierce, but he advised them rather to stroke them with the hand at the same time that they threatened them as the best way of reducing them to obedience and docility. Well, he made these remarks not really about lions, for we were not interested about how to keep lions and wild beasts; but he was really supplying a curb and rein for tyrants of such a kind as he thought would in practice keep them within the lines of good sense and moderation. "This story," said Damon, "is indeed most apposite to the manners of tyrants, but there is also a story in Aesop about a certain lion

CHAP.
XXX.
The solution
of the problem
is not
impossible

CAP
XXX αὐτον ὁ Αἴσωπος οὐ νοσεῖν μὲν, δοκεῖν δέ, καὶ τῶν
θηρίων, ἃ ἐφοίτα παρ' αὐτόν, ἅπτεσθαι, τὴν δὲ
ἀλώπεκα, τί τοῦτω χρῆσόμεθα, εἰπεῖν, παρ' οὗ
μηδὲ ἀναλύει τις, μηδὲ δείκνυται τι τῶν ἐξιόντων
ἴχνος ;" καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ἀλλ' ἐγώ," ἔφη,
"σοφωτέραν τὴν ἀλώπεκα ἡγούμην εἶναι, εἰ παρ-
ελθοῦσα ἔσω μὴ ἤλω. ἀλλ' ἐξῆλθε τοῦ σπηλαίου
τὰ ἴχνη τὰ ἐαυτῆς δεικνῦσα."

XXXI

CAP
XXXI Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὕπνου Ἰσπασε κομιδῇ βραχὺ καὶ
ὅσον ἐπ' ὀφθαλμοὺς ἦλθεν, ἡμέρα δ' ὡς ἐγένετο,
προσευξίμενος τῷ Ἡλίῳ, ὥς ἐν δεσμοτηρίῳ
εἰκός, διελέγετο τοῖς προσιούσιν, ὅπόσα ἡρώτων,
καὶ οὕτως ἀγορᾷς πληθούσης ἀφικνεῖται γραμ-
ματεὺς, κελεύων ἐπὶ θύρας ἤδη εἶναι, "μὴ καὶ
θάττον," ἔφη, "ἐσκληθῶμεν." ὁ δὲ εἰπὼν, "ἴω-
μεν," ξὺν ὁρμῇ προῆλθε παρευομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ
δορυφόροι ἐπηκολούθουν τέτταρες, πλῆθον ἀπέχον-
τες ἢ οἱ φυλακῆς ἕνεκα ὁμαρτοῦντες, ἐφείπετο δὲ
καὶ ὁ Δάμις δεδιὼς μὲν, ξυννοοῦντι δ' ὁμοίως.
εἰώρων μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἅπαντες, αὐτοῦ
τε γὰρ τοῦ σχήματος ἀπεβλέπετο, καὶ θεία ἐδόκει
ἢ περὶ τῷ εἶδει ἐκπληξίς, καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἦκειν

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

who lived in a cave, and Aesop says that he was not sick, but only pretended to be so, and that he seized on other wild animals who went to visit him, and accordingly the fox made the remark 'What are we to do with him, for no one ever quits his residence, nor are any tracks to be seen of his visitors going out again?' 'And Apollonius remarked "Well, as for myself I should have regarded your fox as a cleverer animal, if he had gone in to see the lion, and instead of being caught had issued from the cave safely and left clear tracks behind him."

XXXI

After making this remark he took a short nap, just enough to close his eyes, and when day came he offered his prayers to the Sun, as best he could in prison, and then he conversed with all who came up and asked him questions, and so about the time when the market held a notary came and ordered him to repair at once to the court, adding "Lest we should not get there in time for the summons into the presence. And Apollonius said "Let us go, and eagerly went forth. And on the way four body-guards followed him, keeping at a greater distance from him than would an escort appointed merely to guard him. And Dams also followed in his train, in some trepidation indeed, but apparently pained in thought. Now the eyes of all were turned upon Apollonius, for not only were they attracted by his dress and bearing, but there was a godlike look in his eyes, which struck them with astonishment, and moreover the fact

CHAP
XXX

CHAP
XXXI
Apollonius
is carried
to the
palace

ὑπὲρ ἀνδρῶν κινδυνεύοντα καὶ τοὺς βασκαίνοντας αὐτῷ πρότερον ἐπιτηδείους ἐποίει τότε. προσεστὼς δὲ τοῖς βασιλείοις καὶ τοὺς μὲν θεραπευομένους ὁρῶν, τοὺς δὲ θεραπεύοντας, ἐσιόντων τε καὶ ἐξιόντων κτύπον, "δοκεῖ μοι," ἔφη, "ὦ Δάμι, βαλανεῖς ταῦτα εἰκίσθαι, τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἔξω ἔσω ὁρῶ σπεύδοντας, τοὺς δὲ ἔσω ἔξω, παραπλῆσται δὲ εἰσιν οἱ μὲν ἐκλελουμένοις, οἱ δ' ἀλαύτοις." τὸν λόγον ταῦτον ἄστυλον κελεύω φυλάττειν καὶ μὴ τῷ δεῖνι ἢ τῷ δεῖνι προσγριφεῖν αὐτῶν, οὕτω τι Ἀπολλωνίου ὄντα, ὥς καὶ ἐς ἐπιστολὴν αὐτῇ ἀναγεγράφθαι. ἰδὼν δὲ τῶα μίλα πρεσβυτην ἐπιθυμοῦντα μὲν ἄρχειν, δι' αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀρχόμενον καὶ θεραπεύοντα τὸν βασιλέα, "ταῦτα," ἔφη, "ὦ Δάμι, οὐδὲ Σόφοκλῆς ποῦ πέπεικε τὸν λυττῶντά τε καὶ ἄγριον δεσπότην ἰποφυγεῖν." "ὦν ἡμεῖς," εἶπεν, "Ἀπολλώνιε, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡρήμεθα ταῦτα τοι καὶ προσεστήκαμεν θύρας τοιαύτας." "δοκεῖς μοι," ἔφη, "ὦ Δάμι, καὶ τὸν Λιακόιν, ὥσπερ ἐν Αἰῖδου λέγεται, φρουρὸν ἡγεῖσθαι τουτωνι τῶν πυλῶν εἶναι, τεθνεῶτι γὰρ δὴ ἔοικας." "οὐ τεθνεῶτι," ἔφη, "τεθνηξομένῳ δέ." καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ἀφυῆς," εἶπεν, "ὦ Δάμι, πρὸς τὸν θάνατον εἶναί μοι φαίνῃ, καί τοι ξυνών μοι χρόνον, ἐκ μειρακίου φιλοσοφῶν. ἐγὼ δὲ ᾤμην παρσκευέ-

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

that he had come to Rome to risk his life for his friends conciliated the good wishes even of those who were formerly disposed to him before. When he halted at the Palace and beheld the throng of those who were either being courted or were courting their superiors, and heard the din of those who were passing in and out, he remarked: "It seems to me, O Dams, that this place resembles a bath: for I see people outside hastering in, and those within, hastering out, and some of them resemble people who have been thoroughly well washed, and others those who have not been washed at all. This saying is the inviolable property of Apollonius, and I wish it to be reserved to you and not ascribed to this man and that, for it is so thoroughly and genuinely his that he has repeated it in one of his letters. There he saw a very old man who was trying to get an appointment and in order to do so was groveling before the Emperor and fawning upon him. 'Here is one,' he said: 'O Dams, whom not even Sophocles so far has been able to persuade to run away from a master with a raging mad.' " Yes, a master," said Dams: "that we ourselves, Apollonius, have chosen for our own, for that is why we are standing here at such gates as these." "It seems to me, O Dams," said the other, "that you imagine Aeacus to be warden of these gates, as he is said to be of the gates of Hades, for verily you look like a dead man." "Not dead yet," said Dams, "but shortly to be so." And Apollonius answered: "O Dams, you do not seem to me to take very kindly to death, although you have been with me many times, and have studied philosophy from your first youth. But I had imagined that you were prepared

714P
3341

Thucydides
ii. 104. 1000
note 67

Plato, Rep.
113b

Apollonius
to Dams
action = 113b
note 100
113b
concordance

CAP
 XXXI σθαι τέ σε πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ τὴν ἐν ἐμοὶ τακτικὴν
 εἰδέναι πῶσαν. ὥσπερ γὰρ τοῖς μαχομένοις καὶ
 ὀπλιτεύουσιν οὐκ εὐψυχίας δεῖ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 γιάξεως ἐρμηνευούσης τοὺς καιροὺς τῆς μάχης,
 οὕτω καὶ τοῖς φιλοσοφοῦσιν ἐπιμελητέα τῶν
 καιρῶν, ἐν οἷς ἀποθανοῦνται, ὥς μὴ ἄτακτοι,
 μηδὲ θανατῶντες. ξὺν ἀρίστη δ' αἰρέσει ἐς αὐτοὺς
 φέρωνται. ὅτι δὲ ἄριστα τε καὶ κατὰ τὸν προσ-
 ῆκοντα φιλοσοφίῃ καιρὸν εἰλόμην ἀποθνήσκειν,
 εἴ τις ἀποκτείνειν βούλωιτο, ἐτέροις τε ἀπολελύ-
 γημαι σοῦ παρόντος, αὐτὸν τε σὲ διδύσκων
 ἀπείρηκα."

XXXII

CAP
 XXXII Ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον μὲν δὴ ταῦτα, ἐπεὶ δὲ σχολὴ τῷ
 βασιλεῖ ἐγένετο, τὰ ἐν ποσὶ διωσαμένοι πάντα, ἐν
 λόγους ἀφικέσθαι τῷ ἀνδρί, παρήγον μὲν αὐτὸν
 ἐς τὰ βασιλεια οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν τοιούτων, οὐ
 ξυγχωρήσαντες τῷ Δάμιδι ἐπισπένεσθαι αἰ. θαλλοῦ
 δὲ στεφάνον ἔχων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄρτι μὲν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ
 τεθυκῶς ἐτύγγχανεν ἐν αὐλῇ Ἀδώνιδος, ἣ δὲ αὐλὴ
 ἀνθέων ἐτεβήλει κήποις, οὗς Ἀδώνιδι Ἀσσύριοι
 ποιοῦνται ὑπὲρ ὀργίων, ὁμωροφίους αὐτοὺς φυτεύ-
 οντες. πρὸς δὲ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὡν μετεστράφη, καὶ
 ἐκπλαγεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ εἵδους τοῦ ἀνδρός, "Αἴλιανέ,"

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

for it, and had also acquainted yourself with all the strategy and tactical resources that I have at my command; for just as men in battle, no matter how heavily armed they be, require not merely pack, but also a knowledge of tactics to interpret to them the right opportunities of battle, so also philosophers must wait for the right opportunities when to die; so that they be not taken off their guard nor like suicides rush into death, but may meet their enemies upon ground of their own good choosing. But that I made my choice well of a moment to die in and found an occasion worthy of a philosopher, supposing anyone wants to kill him, I have both proved to others before whom I defended myself in your presence, and am tired of teaching yourself the same.

CHAP
XXX

XXXII

So far these matters then, but when the Emperor had leisure, having got rid of all his urgent affairs, to give an audience to our sage, the attendants whose office it was conducted him into the palace, without allowing Dams to follow him. And the Emperor was wearing a wreath of green leaves, for he had just been offering a sacrifice to Athene in the hall of Adonis and this hall was bright with baskets of flowers, such as the Syrians at the time of the festival of Adonis make up in his honour, growing them under their very roofs. Though the Emperor was engaged with his religious rites, he turned round, and was so much struck by Apollonius' appearance, that he said. "O Aelian, it

CHAP
XXIII
Is an
interview
with
Emilian

εἶπε, “δαίμονί μοι ἐπεσήγαγες” ἄλλ’ οὔτε ἐκπλαγείς ὁ Ἀπολλωνιοι, καθαπτόμενός τε ὦν ἤκουσεν, “ἐγὼ δέ,” ἔφη, “τὴν Ἀθηναίων ῥῆσιν ἐπιμεμελησθαί σου, βασιλεῦ, τρόπον, ὃν καὶ τοῦ Διομήδους ποτὲ ἐν Τροίᾳ, τὴν γάρ τοι ἀχλὺν, ὑφ’ ἧς οἱ ἄνθρωποι χεῖρον βλέπουσιν, ἰφελούσα τῶν τοῦ Διομήδους ὀφθαλμῶν, ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ θεοὺς τε διαγυγνώσκειν καὶ ἄνδρας, σέ δ’ οὐπω ἢ θεοὺς ἐκίθηρεν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὴν καθαρεῖν ταύτην ἢ μὴν ἔδει γὰρ, ὡς αὐτὴν τὴν Ἀθηναίων ὕψους ἄμεινον τοὺς τε ἄνδρας μὴ ἐς τὰ τῶν δαιμόνων εἶδη τάττοις.” “σὺ δέ,” εἶπεν, “ὦ φιλόσοφε, πότε τὴν ἀχλὺν ἐκαθηρῶ ταύτην;” “πῶλαι,” ἔφη, “καὶ ὅτου φιλοσοφῶ” “πῶς οὖν,” εἶπε, “τοὺς ἐμοὶ πολεμιοτάτους ἄνδρας θεοὺς ἐνόμισας,” “καὶ τίς,” ἔφη, “πρὸς Ἱερχάν σοι πόλεμος ἢ πρὸς Φραάτην τοῖς Ἰνδοῦς, οἷς ἐγὼ μόνους ἀνθρώπων θεοὺς τε ἡγοῦμαι καὶ ἀξίους τῆς ὑπὸνυμίας ταύτης,” “μὴ ἄπαγε ἐς Ἰνδοῦς,” εἶπεν, “ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τοῦ φιλτάτου σοι Νερούα καὶ τῶν κοινωνούντων αὐτῷ τῆς αἰτίας λέγε” “ἀπολογῶμαι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ,” ἔφη, “τι ἢ—” “μὴ ἀπολογοῦ,” εἶπεν, ἰδίκων γὰρ εἰληπται, ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὡς αὐτὸς ἀδικεῖς ξυνειδὼς ἐκείνῳ τοιαῦτα, τοῦτό με ἀναδίδασκε.” “εἰ, ὦ ξύννοδα,” ἔφη, “ἀκοῦσαι βούλει, ἄκουε, τί γὰρ ἂν τάληθὴ κρύπτοιμι,” ὁ μὲν δὴ βασιλεὺς

is a demon that you have introduced to me. But Apollonius, without losing his composure, made free to comment upon the Emperor's words, and said, "As for myself, I imagined that Athene was your tutelary goddess, O sovereign in the same way as she was Demeter's long ago in Troy, for she removed the mist which dims the eyes of men from those of Demeter, and clove way with the faculty of distinguishing gods from men. But the goddess has not yet purged your eyes as she did his, my sovereign, yet it were well if Athene did so, that you might behold her more clearly and not confuse mere men with the forms of deities." "And you," said the Emperor, "O philosopher, when did you have this mist cleared away from your eyes?" "Long ago," said he, "and ever since I have been a philosopher." "How comes it then," said the Emperor, "that you have come to regard as gods persons who are most hostile to myself?" "And what hostility?" said Apollonius, "is there between yourself and Archias or Phraotes, both of them Indians and the only human beings that I regard as gods and meriting such a title?" "Don't try to put me off with Indians," said the Emperor, "but just tell me about your darling Nereus and his accomplices." "Am I to plead his cause," said Apollonius, "or . . . ?" "No, you shall not plead it," said the Emperor, "for he has been taken red-handed in guilt, but just prove to me, if you can, that you are not yourself equally guilty as being privy to his designs." "If," said Apollonius, "you would hear how far I am in his counsel, and privy to his designs, please hear me for why should I conceal the truth?" Now the Emperor imagined that he

ΟΔΙ
XXXI

ἀπορρητων τε λαμπρῶν ἀκροασασθαι ὅτε, καὶ ἐν τῷ ξυντεῖνον τῆς ἀπωλείας τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἦκει πάντα.

XXXIII

ΟΔΙ
XXXIII

‘Ο δ’ ὥς μετέωροι αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς δόξης ταύτης εἶδεν, “ἐγὼ,” ἔφη, “Νερούαν σωφρονίστατον ἀνθρωπῶν οἶδα καὶ πρῶτατον καὶ σὺ ἐπιτηδειότατον, καὶ ἄρχοντα μὲν ἀγαθύν, εὐλαβῇ δ’ ὑπὸ πρὶν ὄγκον πραγμάτων, ὥς καὶ τὰς τιμὰς δεδιέναι. οἱ δὲ ἀμφ’ αὐτόν, ‘Ροῦφον γάρ που λέγεις καὶ ‘Ορφεῖον, σώφρονες μὲν καὶ οἶδε οἱ ἄνδρες, ὅποσα οἶδα, καὶ διαβεβλημένοι πρὸς πλοῦτον, νωθροὶ δὲ πρίν τε καὶ ὅποσα ἔξεστι, νεώτερα δὲ οὗτ’ αἱ αὐτοὶ ἐνθυμηθεῖεν οὗτ’ ἂν ἐπεὶ ἐνθυμηθέντι ξυνύραιντο.” ἀνοιδήσας δ’ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑφ’ ὧν ἤκουσε, “συκοφάντην με οὖν,” εἶπεν, “ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς εἴληφας, ἵν’ οὕς ἐγὼ μαρτυρούμενος ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐπιτηδῶντας εὖρον, σὺ δ’, ὥς χρηστοὶ τέ εἴσι λέγεις, καὶ νωθοί, καὶ γὰρ ἂν κἀκείνους ἡγοῦμαι, ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἐρωτωμένους, μήθ’ ὥς γόης εἶ φάναι, μήθ’ ὥς ἱτης, μήθ’ ὥς ἰλαζών, μήθ’ ὥς φιλοχρημάτος, μήθ’ ὥς φρονῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς νόμους. οὕτως, ὦ μαρὰ κεφαλαί, κακῶς ξυντέταχθα. ἐλέγξει δ’ ἡ κατηγορία πάντα καὶ γὰρ ὅποσα ἐμύμοται ὑμῖν

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was going to hear Apollonius confess very important ^{chap} secrets, and that whatever transpired would conduce ^{XXXI} to the destruction of the persons in question.

XXXIII

But Apollonius seeing him on tip-toe with expectation, merely said "For myself I know Nerva to ^{chap} be the most moderate of men and the gentlest and ^{XXXII} the most devoted to yourself as well as a good ruler, though he is so averse to meddling in civil matters of State, that he shrinks from office. And as for his friends, for I suppose you refer to Rufus and Orphitus, these men also are discreet so far as I know, and averse from wealth, somewhat sluggish to do all they lawfully may, wary as for revolution, they are the last people in the world either to plan it or to take part with another who should do so." But the Emperor was inflamed with anger at what he heard and said "Then you mean to say that I am guilty of slander in their cases. Since you assert that they are good men, only sluggards, whom I have ascertained to be the vilest of mankind and usurpers of my throne. For I can imagine that they too, if I put the question to them about you, would in their turn deny that you were a wizard and a hot-head and a braggart and a miser, and that you looked down on the laws. And so it is, you accursed rascals, that you all hold together like thieves. But the accusation shall unmask everything. For I know, as well as if I had been present and taken part in everything, all the oaths which you took, and the objects for

CAP.
XXXIII

καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ ὑπό τε καὶ τί θύσασιν, οὐδὲν μείον οἶδα, ἢ εἰ παρενγγχανύν τε καὶ ἐκοινώνουν." ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἐκπλαγεῖς, "αἰσχρόν," ἔφη, "βασιλεῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τῶν νομῶν ἢ δικάζειν ὑπὲρ ὧν πέπεισαι ἢ πεπεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ ὧν μὴ ἐδίκασακ. εἰ δ' οὕτως ἔχει, ξυγγχώρησον ἐνθένδε μοι τῆς ἀπολογίας ἄρξασθαι κακῶς, ὡς βασιλεῦ. περὶ ἐμοῦ φρονεῖν, καὶ πλεῖον με ἀδικεῖν ἢ ὁ συκυφάντης. ἢ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος διδάξειν ἔφη, σὺ πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι πέπεισαι" "τῆς μὲν ἀπολογίας," εἶπεν, "ὑπόθεν βούλει, ἄρχου, ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἐς ὅ τι παύσομαι οἶδα, καὶ ὁπόθεν ἤδη προσήκει ἄρξασθαι."

XXXIV

CAP.
XXXIV

"Ἀρχεται τὸ ἐνθένδε τῆς ἐς τὸν ἄνδρα ὕβρεως, γενεῶν τε ἀποκείρας αὐτοῦ καὶ χαίτης, ἃν τε τοῖς κακουργοτάτοις δῆσας. ὁ δ' ὑπάρ μὲν τῆς κουράς, "ἐλελήθειν, ὦ βασιλεῦ," ἔφη, "περὶ ταῖς θριξὶ κινδυνεύων." ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν δεσμῶν, "εἰ μὲν γοητὰ με ἤγῃ," ἔφη, "πῶς δῆσεις; εἰ δὲ δῆσεις, πῶς γόητα εἶναι φήσεις;" "καὶ ἀνήσω γε οὐ πρότερον," εἶπεν, "ἢ ὕδωρ γενέσθαι σε ἢ τι θηρίον ἢ δένδρον." "ταυτὶ μέν," ἔφη, "οὐδ' εἰ δυναίμην, γενοίμην ἄν,

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which you took them, and when you did it, and what was your preliminary sacrifice." At all this Apollonius did not even blench, but merely remarked. "It is not creditable to you, O sovereign, nor is it congruous with the law, that you should either pretend to try a case affecting persons about whom you have already made up your mind, or should have made it up before ever you have tried them. But if you will have it so, permit me at once to begin and plead my defence. You are prejudiced against me, my sovereign, and you do me a greater wrong than could any false informer, for you take for granted before you hear then, accusations which he only offers to prove." "Begin your defence," said the Emperor, "at any point you like, but I know very well where to draw the line, and with what it is best to begin."

CHAP.
XXXIII

XXXIV

From that moment he began to insult the sage, by cutting off his beard, and hair, and confining him among the vilest felons, and as regards his hair being shaved, Apollonius remarked "I had forgotten, O sovereign, that it was treasonable to wear long hair." And as regards his imprisonment in bonds, he remarked "If you think me a wizard, how will you ever fetter me? And if you fetter me, how can you say that I am a wizard?" "Yes," replied the Emperor, "for I will not release you until you have turned into water, or into some wild animal, or into a tree." "I will not turn into these things," said Apollonius, "even if I could, for I will

CHAP.
XXXIV
The
Emperor
persecutes
the Sage

CAP.
XXXIV

ὥς μὴ προδοίην ποτὲ τοὺς αὐδεμῖα δίκη κινδυνεύοντας, ὧν δ', ὅσπερ εἰμί, πᾶσιν ὑποθήσω ἑμαυτὸν οἷς ἂν περὶ τὸ σῶμα τουτὶ πρίττης, ἔστ' ἂν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπολογήσωμαι " ὑπὲρ δὲ σοῦ," εἶπε, " τίς ὁ ἀπολογησόμενος ἔσται, " " χρόνος," ἔφη, " καὶ θεῶν πνεῦμα καὶ σοφίας ἔρως, ἧ ξύνειμι."

XXXV

CAP.
XXXV

Τὸν μὲν δὴ προύγνωα τῆς ἀπολογίας, ὃν ἐγένετο αὐτῷ πρὸς Δομετιανοὺς ἰδίᾳ, τοιοῦδε διαγράφει ὁ Δάμις, οἱ δὲ βασκίως ταῦτα ξυνθευτες ἀπολελογήσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν φασὶ πρότερον, δεδέσθαι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα, ὅτε δὴ κείρασθαι, καὶ τινα ἐπιστολὴν ἐνέπλασαι ξυγκειμένην μὲν ἰωνικῶς, τὰ δὲ μήκος ἄχαρι, ἐν ᾗ βούλονται τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἰκέτην τοῦ Δομετιανοῦ γυγνεσθαι, παραιτούμενον ἑαυτὸν τῶν δεσμῶν. Ἀπολλωνίος δὲ τὰς μὲν διαθήκας τὰς ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Ἰώνιον ἐρμηνεύει τρόπον, ἐπιστολῇ δὲ ἱαστὶ ξυγκειμένην οὕτω Ἀπολλωνίου προσέτυχον, καί τοι ξυνεισχωὺς αὐτοῦ πλείστας, οὐδὲ μακρηγορίαν πω τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐν ἐπιστολῇ εὖρον, βραχεῖαι γὰρ καὶ ἀπὸ σκυτάλης πᾶσαι. καὶ μὴν καὶ νικῶν τὴν αἰτίαν ἀπῆλθε τοῦ δικαστηρίου, καὶ πῶς ἂν ποτε ἐδέσθῃ μετὰ τὴν ἀφείσαι ψήφον, ἀλλὰ μήπω τὰ ἐν τῇ δικαστηρίῳ ἔτι καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ κουρᾷ καὶ ἅττα διελέχθη, λεγέσθω πρότερον, ἅξια γὰρ σπουδαῖσαι.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

not ever betray men who, in violation of all justice, stand in peril, and what I am, that I will remain, but I am ready to endure all you can inflict upon my vile body, until I have finished pleading the cause of these persons." "And who," asked the Emperor "is going to plead your cause?" "Time," replied Apollonius, "and the spirit of the gods, and the passion for wisdom which animates me."

XXXV

Such was the prelude of his defence which he made in private to Domitian, as Domitian ordered it. But some have, out of malice, perverted the facts, and say that he first made his defence, and only then was imprisoned, at the same time that he was also arraigned, and they have forged a certain letter in the Ionic dialect, of tedious prolixity, in which they pretend that Apollonius went down on his knees to Domitian and besought him to release him of his bonds. Now Apollonius it is true, wrote his testament in the Ionic style of language, but I never met with any letter of his composed in that dialect, although I have come across a great many of them, nor did I ever find any verbosity in any letter of the sage's, for they are laconically brief as if they had been unwound from the seraic of a herald. Moreover, he won his cause and quitted the court, so how could he ever have been imprisoned after the verdict was given? But I must defer to relate what happened in the law court. I had best narrate first what ensued after he was shaved and what he said in his discourses, for it is worthy of notice.

CAP.
XXXVI

Δυσὸν γὰρ ἡμέραιν δεδεμένον τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἰφικνεῖται τις ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον, τὸ προσελθεῖν αὐτῷ ἐωνῆσθαι φάσκων, ξύμβουλος δὲ σωτηρίας ἦκειν· ἦν μὲν δὴ Σύρακούσιος οὗτος, Δομετιανοῦ δὲ νοῦς τε καὶ γλῶττα, καθεῖτο δ', ὥσπερ ὁ πρῶτος, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ πιθανοτέρων οὔτως. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πόρρωθεν, ὁ δ' ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐλὼν, "οἱ θεοί," ἔφη, "τίς ἂν ῥήθῃ δεσθῆναι Ἀπολλώνιον;" "ὁ δήσας," εἶπεν, "οὐ γὰρ ἔν, εἰ μὴ ῥήθῃ, ἔδῃσε." "τίς δ' ἂν τὰς ἀμβροσίας ποτὲ ἀποτυμηθῆναι χαίτας," "ἐγώ," εἶπεν, "ὁ κομῶν." "φέρεις δὲ πῶς ταῦτα;" "ὥς γε εἰκός," εἶπε, "τὸν μήθ' ἐκουσίως μίτ' ἀκουσίως ἐς αὐτὰ ἤκοντα." "τὸ δὲ σκέλος πῶς," ἔφη, "καρτερεῖ;" "οὐκ οἶδα," εἶπεν, "ὁ γὰρ νοῦς πρὸς ἑτέροις ἐστί." "καὶ μὴν πρὸς τῷ ἀλγοῦντι," ἔφη, "ὁ νοῦς." "οὐ μὲν οὖν," εἶπε, "νοῦς μὲν γὰρ ὁ γ' ἐν ἀνδρὶ τοιῷδε ἢ οὐκ ἀλγήσει ἢ τὸ ἀλγοῦν παύσει." "τί δὲ δὴ ἐνθυμεῖται ὁ νοῦς;" "αὐτό," εἶπε, "τὸ μὴ ἐννοεῖν ταῦτα." πάλιν δ' αὐτοῦ τὰς χαίτας ἀνακαλοῦντος καὶ περιεύγοντος ἐς αὐτὰς τὸν λόγον, "ῶνησαι,"

XXXVI

Then after the king had been confined for two days
 in prison, some one came to the prison, and said
 that he had purchased the right to visit him, and
 that he was come to advise him how to save his life.
 This person then was a native of Syracuse, and was
 mild and mouthpiece of Demetrius, and he had
 been suborned by the earlier one, by him. But he
 had a more plausible mission, for whereas the first
 one beat about the bush, this one took up his
 parable straight from what he saw before him, and
 said, "Heaven's who would ever have thought of
 Apollonius being thrown into chains?" "The
 person who threw him," said Apollonius, "for sure, y
 he would not have done so if he had not thought of
 it." "And who ever thought that his abundant
 locks could be cut off?" "I myself," said Apollonius,
 "who wore them." "And how can you endure it?"
 said the other. "As a man well may bear it who is
 brought to this pain neither with nor without his
 will." "And how can you leg under the weight
 of the fetters?" "I don't know," said Apollonius,
 "for my mind is intent upon other matters." "And
 yet the mind," said the other, "must attend to what
 causes pain." "Not necessarily," said Apollonius,
 "for if you are a man like myself your mind will
 either not feel the pain, or will order it to cease."
 "And what is it that occupies your mind?" "The
 necessity," answered Apollonius, "of not noticing
 such things. Then the other reverted to the
 matter of his locks and led the conversation round
 to them again, whereupon Apollonius remarked

1117
 XXXVI
 The person
 who threw
 him into
 prison

ἔφη, " νεανίσκε, μὴ τῶν ἐν Τροίᾳ ποτὲ Ἀχαιῶν εἰς γενόμενος, ὡς σφόδρα ἂν μοι δοκεῖς τὰς Ἀχιλλείους κόμας ὀλοφύρασθαι Πατρώκλῳ τμηθεῖσας, εἰ δὴ ἐτμήθησαν, καὶ λειποθυμῆσαι δ' ἂν ἐπ' αὐταῖς. δε γὰρ τὰς ἐμῆς, ἐν αἷς πολλαί τε ἦσαν καὶ ἀνχμός, ἐλπεῖν φύσκεις, τί οὐκ ἂν πρὸς ἐκείνας ἔπαθες τὰς ἡσκημένας τε καὶ ξανθίῃς, "

Τῷ δὲ ἄρα ξὺν ἐπιβουλῇ ταῦτα ἐλέγετο, ἵν' ὑπὲρ ὧν ἰλγεί μάθῃ, καὶ νῆ Δίῃ, εἰ λοιδορεῖται τῇ βασιλεῖ ὑπὲρ ὧν πέπονθεν· ἀνακοπεῖν δ' ὑφ' ὧν ἤκουσε, " διαβέβλησαι, " ἔφη, " πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα περὶ πλειόνων, μάλιστα δ' ὑπὲρ ὧν οἱ περὶ Νερούαν ὡς ἰδικοῦντες φεύγουσιν. ἀφικοντο μὲν γάρ τινες ἐς αὐτὸν διαβολαὶ καὶ περι τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ λόγων, οὓς ἀντιξως τε αὐτῇ καὶ ἀπηχθμένως εἶπας, καταφρονεῖ δὲ τούτων, ὥς φασιν, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὰ μείζω παρώξυνται, καίτοι τοῦ κάκεινα διαβιάλλοντος ἄνδρὸς ὑψοῦ προήκοντος τῆς δόξης. " " οἶον, " ἔφη, " Ὀλυμπιονίκην εἰρηκας, εἰ δόξης φησὶν ἄπτεσθαι διαβολαῖς ἰσχύων. ξυνήμι δ', ὡς ἔστιν Ἡύφρατης, ὃν ἐγὼ οἶδα πάλιν ἐπ' ἐμε πρᾶττοντα, ἡδίκημαι δ' ὑπ αὐτοῦ καὶ μείζω ἕτερα αἰσθόμενος γάρ ποτε φοιτήσῃν μέλλοντα παρὰ τοὺς ἐν Λιβυοσίᾳ Ἰνμνούς, ἐς

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

"It is lucky for you young man, that you were not CHAP.
XXV. one of the Achæans long ago in Troy, for it seems to me that you would have raised a terrible hubbub over the locks of Achilles when he cut them off in honour of Patroclus, supposing he really did so, and you would at least have witnessed at such a spectacle. For if as you say you are full of pity for my locks which were all grey and frosty, what would you not have felt over the loss of Achilles which were nicely curled and auburn?"

The other of course had only made his remarks out of malice in order to see what would make Apollonius wince, and by Heaven, to see whether he would reproach his sovereign on account of his sufferings. But he was so shut up on this score he got that he said: "You have accused the royal dispensers on several grounds but in particular on two for which Syria and his friends are being prosecuted, namely of injuring the government. For certainly in formations have been conveyed to him about your words: I know when you spoke of him in hostile and enlattered tones. But they say that he attaches little importance to that matter, because his anger is whetted by the greater charges, and this although the informers from whom he learnt those first charges is a very distinguished person of great reputation."

"A new sort of Olympic winner is this you tell me of," said Apollonius, "that pretends to win distinction by the weightiness of his slanders. But I quite realise that he is hypocritical, who, I know does everything against me which he can, and these are far from being the worst injuries which he has done me. For being ignorant once on a time that I was about to visit the naked sages of Ethiopia, he set himself to poison

CAP.
XXXVI

διαβολαίς μου πρὸς αὐτοὺς κατέστη, καὶ εἰ μὴ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ξυνήκα, τάχ' ἂν ἀπῆλθον μὴδ' ἰδὼν τοὺς ἄνδρας." θαιμίσας οὖν ὁ Συρακούσιος τὸν λόγον, "εἴτ'," ἔφη, "τοῦ διαβληθῆναι βασιλεῖ μεῖζον ἡγῆ τὸ τοῖς Γυμνοῖς μὴ χρηστὸς ἂν εἴη ὦν Εὐφράτης καθίει δόξαι;" "νὴ Δί," εἶπεν, "ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ μαθησόμενος ἦα, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὑπὲρ διδασκαλίας ἤκω." "τῆς τί," ἔφη, "διδασκούσης;" "τὸ εἶναί μοι," εἶπε, "καλὸν κίναθύν, ταῦτι δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐπω οἶδεν." "ἀλλ' ἔστιν," ἔφη, "τὰ σεαυτοῦ εὖ θέσθαι διδαξαμένω αὐτόν, ἃ καὶ πρὶν ἐνταῦθα ἤκειν λέξας οὐδ' ἂν ἐδέθης." ξυνιελὺς οὖν τοῦ Συρακουσίου ξυνελαύνοντος αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν ὁμοῖον τῷ βασιλεῖ λόγον, οἰομένου τε, ὡς ἀπογορεύων πρὸς τὰ δεσμὰ ψεύσεται τι κατὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, "ὦ βέλτιστε," εἶπεν, "εἰ τᾶληθῇ πρὸς Δομετιανὸν εἰπὼν ἐδέθην, τί πείσομαι μὴ ἀληθεύσας; ἐκείνῳ μὲν γὰρ τᾶληθές δοκεῖ δεσμῶν ἕξιον, ἐμοὶ δὲ τὸ ψεῦδος."

XXXVII

CAP.
XXXVII

Ὁ μὲν δὴ Συρακούσιος ἀγασθεὶς αὐτὸν ὡς ὑπερφίλοσοφούντα, ταυτὶ γὰρ εἰπὼν ἀπῆλθεν, ἐχώρει

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

their minds against me, and if I had not seen CHAP XXXVI through his malignant designs, I should probably have gone away without even seeing their company. The Syracusan then, much astonished at this remark, said: "Then you think it a much lesser thing to be traduced to the Emperor than to forfeit your good repute in the eyes of the naked sages owing to the imputations dropped against you by Euphrates?" "Yes by Heaven," he said "for I was going there as a learner, whereas I am come here with a mission to teach." "And what are you going to teach?" said the other. "That I am," said Apollonius, "a good and honorable man, a circumstance that of which the Emperor is not yet aware." "But you can," said the other "get out of your scrape if you only will teach him things, which if you had told him before you came here you would never have been cast into prison." Now Apollonius understood that the Syracusan was trying to drive him into some such admission as the Emperor had tried to get out of him, and that he imagined that out of sheer weariness of his imprisonment he would tell some falsehood to the detriment of his friends, and accordingly he answered: "My excellent friend if I have been cast into prison for telling Dion than the truth, what would happen to me if I refrained from telling it? For he apparently regards truth as something to be punished with imprisonment, just as I regard falsehood."

XXXVII

THE Syracusan accordingly was so much struck with the superiority of his philosophical talent, (for after CHAP XXXVII

CAP.
XXKVI

ἐκ τοῦ δεσμοτιρίου, ὁ δ' Ἀπολλώνιος ἰδὼν ἐς τὸν Δάμιον, "ξυνίης," ἔφη, "τοῦ Πύθωνος τούτου;" "ξυνίημι μὲν," εἶπε "ὑποκαθημένου τε καὶ ὑπαγομένου σε, τί δ' ὁ Πύθων βούλεται σοι καὶ τίς ὁ τοῦ ὀνόματος νοῦς, οὐκ οἶδα." "ἐγένετο," ἔφη, "Πύθων ὁ Βυζάντιος ἀγαθός, φασί, ῥήτωρ τὰ κακὰ παίθειν· οὗτος ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου πρεσβεύων παρὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὑπὲρ τῆς δουλείας αὐτῶν, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους εἶα· ἀλλ' ἐν Ἀθηναίοις γε αὐτοῖς, ὅτε δὴ μάλιστα γε ῥητορικῇ ἔρρωσται, ἀδικεῖσθαι γε ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἔφασκε τον Φίλιππον καὶ δεινὰ πράττειν Ἀθηναίους τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐλευθεροῦντας. ὁ Πύθων ταῦτα πολλὸς ῥέων, ὥς φασιν, ἀλλὰ Δημοσθένης ὁ Παιανιεὺς ἀντειπὼν θρασυνομένῳ μόνος, τὸ ἀνασχεῖν αὐτὸν ταῦται ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἄθλοις. ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ μὴ ὑπαχθῆναι ἐς τὸ ἰδόκει ταύτῳ οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἄθλον ἑμαυτοῦ φαίην, Πύθωνι δ' αὐτὸν ταύτῳ πρώττειν ἔφη, ἐπειδὴ τυράννου τε μισθωτὸς ἀφίκετο καὶ ἐτόπων ξύμβουλος."

XXKVIII

CAP.
XXKVIII

Διαλέγεσθαι μὲν δὴ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον πλείω τοιαῦτα, ἑαυτὸν δὲ ὁ Δάμις ἀπορεῖν μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων φησί, λύσειν δὲ αὐτῶν ὁρᾶν οὐδεμίαν πλὴν ὅσαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὐξαμέναις τισὶ κύκ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

saying this he went away, that he promptly left the prison, but Apollonius glancing at Darius said "Do you understand this Python?" "I understand," said he, "that he has been suborned to trip you up; but what you mean by Python, and what is the sense of such a name, I do not know." "Python," replied Apollonius, "of Byzantium was, they say, a rhetor skilful to persuade men to evil courses. He was sent in the interests of Philip, son of Amyntas, on an embassy to the Hellenes to urge their enslavement, and though he passed by other states, he was careful to go to Athens, just at a time when rhetoric most flourished there. And he told them that they did a great injury to Philip, and made a great mistake in trying to liberate the Hellenic nation. Python delivered these sentiments, as they say, with a flood of words, but no one save Demosthenes of the Paeanian deme spoke to the contrary and checked his presumption; and he reckons it amongst his achievements that he bore the brunt of his attack unaided. Now I would never call it an achievement that I refused to be drawn into the arguments which he wanted. Nevertheless I said that he was employed on the same job as Python because he was come here as a despot's henchman to tender me monstrous advice."

ΟΡΑΡ
XXXVI
Apollonius
not aware
the spy to
Python

XXXVIII

Darius says then that though Apollonius uttered many more discourses of the same kind, he was himself in despair of the situation, because he saw no way out of it except such as the gods have vouchsafed to some in answer to prayer, when they were in even

ΟΡΑΡ
XXXVII.

CAP.
XXXVIII

πολλῶ χαλεπωτέρων ἦλθον, ὀλίγον δὲ πρὸ μεσημβρίας, "ὦ Τυανεύ," φάναι, σφοδρὰ γὰρ δὴ χαίρειν αὐτὸν τῇ προσήσει, "τί πεισόμεθα;" "ὃ γε ἐπάθομεν," ἔφη, "πέρα δ' οὐδέν, οὐδὲ ἀποκτενεῖ ἡμᾶς οὐδεὶς." "καὶ τίς," εἶπεν, "οὕτως ἄτρωτος; λυθήσῃ δὲ πύτε," "τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ δικάσαντι," ἔφη, "τῆμερον, τὸ δὲ ἐπ' ἔμοι ἄρτι." καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐξήγαγε τὸ σκέλος τοῦ δεσμοῦ, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Δάμιν ἔφη, "ἐπιδειξὶν πεποίμημά σοι τῆς ελευθερίας τῆς ἑμαυτοῦ καὶ θάρρει." τότε πρῶτον ὁ Δάμις φησὶν ἀκριβῶς ξυνεῖναι τῆς Ἀπολλωνίου φύσεως, ὅτι θεὰ τε εἴη καὶ κραίττων ἀνθρώπου, μὴ γὰρ θύσαντα, πῶς γὰρ ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ, μὴδ' αὐξάμενόν τι, μὴδὲ εἰπόντα καταγεγλίσαι τοῦ δεσμοῦ, καὶ ἐναρμόσαντα αὐτὸ τὸ σκέλος τὰ τοῦ δεδεμένου πρίττειν.

XXXIX

CAP.
XXXIX

Οἱ δὲ εὐηθέστεροι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐς τοὺς γόητας ἀναφέρουσι ταῦτα, πεπύνθασι δ' αὐτὰ ἐς πολλὰ τῶν ἀνθρωπειῶν δέονται μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν τῆς τέχνης ἀθληταί, δέονται δὲ ἀγωνισταί πάντες διὰ τὸ νικᾶν γλίχεσθαι, καὶ ξυλλαμβάνει μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν νίκην οὐδέν, ἀ δὲ ἀπὸ τύχης νικῶσι, ταῦθ' οἱ κακοδαίμονες αὐτοὺς ἀφελόμενοι, λογίζονται τῇ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

worse straits. But a little before mid-day, he tells us that he said: "O man of Tyana, —for he took a special pleasure, it appears, in being called by that name,—“what is to become of us?” “Why what has become of us already,” said Apollonius, “and nothing more, for no one is going to kill us.” “And who,” said Damis, “is so invulnerable as that? But will you ever be liberated?” “So far as it rests with the verdict of the court,” said Apollonius. “I shall be set at liberty this day but so far as depends upon my own will, now and here.” And with these words he took his leg out of the fetters and remarked to Damis “Here is proof positive to you of my freedom, so cheer up.” Damis says that it was then for the first time that he really and truly understood the nature of Apollonius, to wit that it was divine and superhuman, for without any sacrifice,—and how in prison could he have offered any?—and without a single prayer, without even a word, he quietly laughed at the fetters, and then inserted his leg in them afresh, and behaved like a prisoner once more.

CHAP
XXXVIII
Apollonius miracu-
lously strikes the
fetter off his
leg

XXXIX

Now simple-minded people attribute such acts as this to wizardry, and they make the same mistake in respect of many purely human actions. For athletes resort to this art, just as do all who have to undergo a contest in their eagerness to win, and although it contributes nothing to their success, nevertheless these unfortunate people, after winning by mere chance as they generally do, rob themselves of the credit and attribute it to this art of wizardry. Nor

CHAP
XXXIX
A discourse on Magic
and Magicians

τέχνη ταύτη, ἀπιστοῦσι δ' αὐτῇ. οὐδ' οἱ ἡττώ-
μενοι σφῶν, "εἰ γὰρ τὸ δεῖνα ἔθυσα καὶ τὸ δεῖνα
ἐθυμίασα, οὐκ ἂν διέφυγέ με ἡ νίκη," τοιαῦτα
λέγουσι, καὶ τοιαῦτα οἶονται. φοιτᾷ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ
θύρας ἐμπόρων κατὰ ταῦτά, καὶ γὰρ δὴ κἀκείνους
εὐροιμεν ἂν τὰ μὲν εὐτυχήματα τῆς ἐμπορίας
λογιζομένους τῷ γόητι, τὰ δὲ ἄτοπα τῇ αὐτῶν
φειδοῖ καὶ τῷ μὴ ὀπόσα ἔδει θῆσαι. ἀνῆπται δὲ
ἡ τέχνη τοὺς ἐρῶντας μάλιστα, νοσοῦντες γὰρ
εὐπαρώγων οὕτω νόσον, ὥς καὶ γραιδίως ὑπὲρ
αὐτῆς διαλέγεσθαι, θαυμαστὸν, οἶμαι, οὐδὲν
πράττουσι προσιόντες τοῖς σοφισταῖς τούτοις
καὶ ἀκροώμενοι σφῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα, οὐ καστὸν τε
αὐτοῖς φέρειν διδοῦσι καὶ λίθους, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν
τῆς γῆς ἀπορρήτων, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ σελήνης τε καὶ
ἀστέρων, ἐρώματά τε ὀπόσα ἡ Ἰνδικὴ κηπεύει,
καὶ χρήματα μὲν αὐτοὺς λαμπρὰ ὑπὲρ τούτων
πράττονται, ξυνδρῶσι δὲ οὐδέν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ
παθόντων τι τῶν παιδικῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἐρῶντας ἡ
δώροις ὑπαχθέντων προβαίνει τὰ ἐρωτικά, ὑμνεῖται
ἡ τέχνη ὥς ἱκανὴ πάντα, εἰ δ' ἀποτυγχάνει ἡ
πεῖρα, ἐς τὸ ἐλλειφθῆν ἢ ἀναφορὰ, μὴ γὰρ τὸ δεῖνα
θυμιᾶσαι, μηδὲ θῆσαι ἢ τηξαι, τουτὶ δὲ μέγα εἶναι
καὶ ἄπορον. οἱ μὲν οὖν τρόποι, καθ' οἷος καὶ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

dum any amount of failure in their enterprises shake
 their faith in it. They were y ou such to sign as this. CHAP.
XIII
 " If I had only offered this sacrifice or that, if I had
 only burnt that perfume in place of another, I should
 not have failed to win. And they really be lieve
 what they say. Magic can besiege the doors of
 merchants no less for we shal find them too
 attributing their successes in trade to the wizard or
 magician be fore than they ascribe their losses to
 their own parsimony and to their failure to sacrifice
 as often as they should have done. But it is
 especially wretches who are addicted to this art. For as
 the disease which they suffer from in any case
 renders them liable to be deceived so much so that
 they go to I know to talk about it. It is no wonder,
 I think, that they resort to these impostors and give
 ear to their quackeries. They will accept from them
 a box with stones in it which they are to wear, some
 of the bits of stone having come from the depths of
 the earth and others from the moon and the stars, and
 then they are given all the spices which the gardens
 of India yield, and the cheats exact vast sums of
 money from them for all this, and yet do nothing to
 help them at all. For let their favourites only give
 them the least encouragement, or let the attractions
 of the wretches prevail, adviser his suit in the very
 least, and he at once sets out to teach the art as
 able to achieve everything. whose if the experiment
 does not come off, he is as ready as ever to lay the
 blame on some omission, for he will say that he forgot
 to burn this spice, or to sacrifice a rooster up that,
 and that everything turned upon that and it was
 impossible to do without it. Now the various devices
 and artifices by which they work signs from heaven

ΟΑΡ.
XXIX

διοσημας καὶ ἕτερα πλείω τερατεύονται, καὶ ἀναγεγράφатаί τισιν, οἳ ἐγέλασαν πλατὺ ἐς τὴν τέχνην, ἐμοὶ δ' ὑποπεφαιθω μὴδ' ἐκείνοις ὀμιλεῖν τοὺς νεοὺς, ἵνα μὴδὲ παίζειν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐθίζουτο. ὑποχρῶσα ἡ ἐκτροπὴ τοῦ λόγου τί γὰρ ἂν πλείω καθαπτοίμην τοῦ πράγματος, ὃ καὶ φύσει διαβέβληται καὶ νύμφ;

XI.

ΟΑΡ.
XI.

Ἐνδειξαμένοι δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τῷ Δάμιδι ἑαυτὸν καὶ πλείω διαλεχθέντος, ἐπέστη τις περὶ μεσημβρίαν σημαίνων ἀπὸ γλώττης τοσαῦτα· “ἀφίησί σε ὁ βασιλεὺς, Ἀπολλώνιε, τούτων τῶν δεσμῶν Ἀδριανοῦ ξυμβουλευσάντος, τὸ δὲ ἐλευθέριον δεσμοτήριον ξυγχωρεῖ οἰκεῖν, ἔστ' ἂν ᾗ ἡ ὑπολογία, ἐς ἡμέραν δὲ ἴσως ἀπολογήσῃ πέμπτην.” “τίς οὖν,” ἔφη, “ὁ μετασκευάσων με ἐνθένδε;” “ἐγώ,” εἶπε, “καὶ ἄπου.” καὶ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν οἱ ἐν τῷ ἐλευθερίῳ δεσμοτηρίῳ, περιέβαλλον πάντες, ὥς οὐδ' οἰηθεῖσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπανήκοντα. ἔν γὰρ δὴ πόθον ἰσχοῦσι πατρὸς παῖδες, ἐς νοθετήσεις καθισταμένου σφίσιν ἡδείας τε καὶ ξυμμέτρους ἢ τὰ ἐφ' ἡλικίας ἀφερμηνεύοντος, τὸν αὐτὸν κάκεῖνοι τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου εἶχον, καὶ ὡμολόγουν ταῦτα, ὃ δ' οὐκ ἐπαύετο ἀεὶ τι ξυμβουλεύων.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

and all sorts of other miracles on a wide scale, ^{CHAP} have been actually recorded by certain authors, ^{XXIX} who laugh outright at the art in question. But for myself I would only denounce such arts in order to prevent young men from resorting to its professors, lest they become accustomed to such things even in fun. This digression has led me far enough from my subject, for why should I attack any further a thing which is equally condemned by nature and by law?

XL

After Apollonius had thus revealed himself to ^{CHAP} Damius, and held some further conversation, about ^{XI} mid-day some one presented himself to them and made the following citation verbally: "The Emperor, Apollonius, releases you from these fetters by the advice of Arrian, and he permits you to take up your quarters in the prison where criminals are not bound, until the time comes for you to make your defence, but you will probably be called upon to plead your cause five days from now." "Who then," said Apollonius, "is to get me out of this place?" "I," said the messenger, "so follow me." And when the prisoners in the free prison saw him again, they all flocked round him, as around one restored to them against all expectations: for they entertained the same affectionate longing for Apollonius as children do for a parent who devotes himself to giving them good advice in an agreeable and modest manner, or who tells them stories of his own youth, nor did they try to hide their feelings, and Apollonius continued incessantly to give them advice.

XLI

CAP.
XLI

Καλέσας δὲ τῆς υστεραίας του Δάμιν, “ἐμοὶ μὲν,” ἔφη, “τὰ τῆς ἀπολογίας ἐς τὴν προειρημένην ἡμέραν ἔσται, σὺ δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ Δικαιοarchίας βιάδιζε, λῆρου γὰρ πεζῇ ἵεναι, κὰν προσείπης Δημήτριον. στρέφου περὶ τὴν θύλατταν, ἐν ᾗ ἔστιν ἡ Καλινφούς νῆσος, ἐπιφανέστα γὰρ με ἐκεῖ ὄψει.” “ζῶντα,” ἔφη ὁ Δάμις, “ἢ τί;” γελῶσας δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ οἶμαι, ζῶντα.” εἶπεν, “ὥς δὲ συ οἶει, ἀναβεβιωκότα.” ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀπελθεῖν φησιν ἄκων, καὶ μὴτ’ ἀπογυγνώσκων ὡς ἀπολουμένοι μὴτ’ εὐελπίς ὡς οὐκ ἀπολαῖται. καὶ τριταῖος μὲν ἐλθεῖν ἐς Δικαιοarchίαν, ἀκοῦσαι δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος, δε περὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας ἐγένετο, ὅτι πνεῦμα ὑπομβρον καταρραγὲν τῆς θαλάσσης τὰς μὲν κατέδυσε τῶν νεῶν, αἱ ἐκεῖσε ἔπλεον, τὰς δὲ ἐς Σικελίαν τε καὶ τὸν πορθμὸν ἀπεωσατο, καὶ ξινεῖναι τότε ὑπὲρ ὅτου ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν πεζῇ κομίζεσθαι.

XLII

CAP.
XLII

Τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀναγράφει Δάμις ἐξ ὧν Ἀπολλωνίου φησὶν ἀκηκοέναι πρὸς Δημήτριον τε καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος. μενράκιον μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Μεσσηνίας τῆς ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ περίβλεπτον ὥρα ἀφικέσθαι ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἐρᾶν δ’ αὐτοῦ πολλοὺς μὲν, Δομετιανὸν δὲ παρὰ πάντας, τοὺς δ’ οὕτως ἐρᾶν,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

XLI

AND on the next day he called Damis and said "My defence has to be pleaded by me on the day appointed, so do you betake yourself in the direction of Dicæarchia, for it is better to go by land, and when you have saluted Demetrius, turn aside to the sea-shore where the island of Calypso lies, for there you shall see me appear to you." "Alive," asked Damis, "or how?" Apollonius with a smile replied "As I myself believe, alive, but as you will believe, risen from the dead." Accordingly he says that he went away with much regret, for although he did not quite despair of his master's life, yet so hardly expected him to escape death. And on the third day he arrived at Dicæarchia, where he at once heard news of the great storm which had raged during those days, for a gale with rain had burst over the sea, sinking some of the ships that were sailing thither, and driving out of their course those which were tending to Sicily and the straits of Messina. And then he understood why it was that Apollonius had bidden him go by land.

CHAP.
XLI

He sends
Damis on
to Dicæar-
chia

XLI

THE events which followed are related by Damis, he says, from accounts given by Apollonius, both to himself and Demetrius. For he relates that there came to Rome from Messene in Arcadia a youth remarkable for his beauty and found there many admirers, and above all Domitian, whose rivals even

CHAP.
XLI

An heroic
pouch

ε λ ρ
ΧΙ, Π

ὥς μηδὲ τὸ ἀντερᾶν ἐκείνῳ δεδιέναι. ἀλλ' ἐσωφρονεῖ
τὸ μεϊράκιον καὶ ἐφείδετο τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ὥρας. εἰ μὲν
δὴ χρυσοῦ κατεφρόνησεν ἢ χρημάτων ἢ ἵππων ἢ
τοιῶνδε δολασμάτων. οἷς ὑπάρχονται τὰ παιδικὰ
ἔνιοι, μὴ ἐπαινῶμεν, χρὴ γὰρ οὕτω παρεσκευάσθαι
τὸν ἄνδρα, ὃ δὲ μεζονων ἀξιώθεις ἂν ἢ ὑμῶν
πάντες, οὓς ὀφθαλμοὶ βασιλέων ἐσπίασαντο, οὐκ
ἡξίου ἑαυτὸν ὦν ἡξιοῦτο. ἔδεθη τοίνυν ταυτὶ γὰρ
τῷ ἑραστῇ ἔδοξε. καὶ προσελθὼν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίῳ,
βουλομένῳ μὲν τι λέγειν ἐφίκει, αἰδῶ δὲ ξύμβουλον
σιωπῆς ἔχων οὐπω ἐθάρρει. ξυνεῖς οὖν ὁ Ἀπολ-
λώνιος, "σὺ μὲν οὐδ' ἡλικίαν πω τοῦ ἀδικεῖν ἄγων
καθεῖρξαι," ἔφη, "καθάπερ ἡμεῖς οἱ δεινοί" "καὶ
ἀποθανοῦμαί γε," εἶπε, "τὸ γὰρ σωφρονεῖν θανάτου
τιμῶνται οἱ ἐφ' ἡμῶν νόμοι." "καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ θησέως,"
εἶπε, "τὸν γὰρ Ἰππολύτου ἐπὶ σωφροσύνῃ ἀπώλλυ
ὁ πατήρ αὐτός" "καί μέ," εἶπεν, "ὁ πατήρ Ἀπολλω-
λακεν. ὄντα γὰρ με Ἀρκίδα ἐκ Μεσσήνης οὐ τὰ
Ἑλλήνων ἐπαιδευσεν, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα ἔστειλε μαθη-
σόμενον ἥθη νομικά, καὶ με ὑπὲρ τούτων ἤκοντα
ὁ βασιλεὺς κακῶς εἶδεν." ὁ δ' ὥσπερ οὐ ξυνεῖς, δ
λέγει, "εἰπέ μοι," ἔφη, "μεϊράκιον, μὴ γλαυκὸν
ἡγεῖται σε ὁ βασιλεὺς καίτοι μελανόφθαλμον, ὥς
ὁρῶ, ὄντα, ἢ στρεβλὸν τὴν ῥῖνα καίτοι τετραγώνως
ἔχοντα, καθυπερ τῶν ἑρμῶν οἱ γογγυμασμένοι, ἢ
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LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

the former did not scruple to declare themselves, so ^{CHAR} strong was their attachment. The youth however ¹²¹ was too high principled and respected his honour. Now had it been gold that he scorned or possessions or horses or such other attractions and aces as sundry persons seek to corrupt young people with, we had no cas. to praise him for the seducer can hardly dispense with such preparations. But he was tempted with larger horrors than all those put together who ever attracted the gazes of sovereigns, yet disdained them all for himself. In consequence he was cast into prison by his own admirer's orders. He came up to Apollonius, and made as if he would speak to him but being conscious led by his modesty to keep silent did not venture to. Apollonius noticed this and said "You are confined here, and yet are not of an age to be a spectator at our selves who are hard-hearted sinners." "Yes, and I sh^d be put to death," said the other, "for by our latter day laws self respect is honoured with capital punishment." "So it was in the time of Theseus," answered Apollonius "for Hippolytus was murdered by his own sire for the same reason." "And a too," said the other, "and my own father's victim. For though I am an Arcadian from Messene he did not give me an Eleatic education but sent me here to study law and when I had come here for that purpose the Emperor cast an evil eye on me. But Apollonius found not to understand what he meant and said "Is not my lady sure y^e the Emperor does not imagine you have blue eyes, when you have as I see black ones? Or that you have a crooked nose whereas it is square and regular, like that of a well executed Hercules? or has he not made some

ΓΑΤ
ΧΙΙΙ

τὴν κόμην ἑτερόν τι περ' ὃ ἔστιν : ἔστι δ', οἶμαι, ἡλιώσά τε καὶ ὑποφαίνουσα, καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ στομα οὕτω ξυμμετρον, ὥς καὶ σιωπῇ πρέπειν καὶ λόγῳ, δερὴ τε οὕτως ἐλευθερὰ καὶ φρονούσα. τι οὖν ἕτερον τούτων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἤγησεται σε, ἐπειδὴ κακῶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λέγεις ὀφθῆναι, " αὐτό με τοῦτο ἀπολωλεκεν, ὑπαχθεὶς γὰρ μου ἔρᾶν οὐ φεῖδεται ὢν ἐπαιεῖ, ἀλλ' αἰσχύνειν διανοοῖταί με, ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐρωτες " ἀγασθεὶς δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀπολλωνεὺς το μὲν ξυγκαθειδεῖν ὃ τι ἤγοῖτο καὶ εἰ αἰσχρὸν τοῦτο ἦ μὴ, καὶ τα τοιαῦτα τῶν ἐρωτημάτων παρήκεν, ἐπειδὴ περ ἐρυθριῶντα ὥρα τὸν Ἀρκάδα καὶ κεκοσμημένως φθεγγυμένον, ἦρατο δ' αὐτὸν ὡδὲ " ἐκκτησαι τινας ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ δούλους, " " νῆ Δι' " ἔφη, " πολλοὺς γέ " " τούτων οὖν, " εἶπε, " τίνα ἡγῇ σεαυτοῦ, " " ὄνγε, " ἔφη, " οἱ κομοί, δεσπότης γὰρ αὐτῶν εἰμι, " " δεσποτῶν δ', " εἶπεν, " ὑπηκούους εἶναι δούλους χρή ἢ ἀπαξιούν, ἃ δοκεῖ τοῖς τοῦ σώματος κυριοῖς, " ὃ δ' ἐνθυμηθεὶς ἔς οἱ αὖ ἀποκρισὶν περιστοιχτο, " ἢ μὲν τῶν τυραννικῶν ἰσχύς, " ἔφη, " ὡς ἄμαχός τε καὶ χαλεπή, οἶδα. δι' αὐτὸ γὰρ πονεὶ καὶ δεσποζει τῶν ἐλευθέρων βουλονται, τοῦ δ' ἐμοῦ σώματος ἐγὼ δεσποτὴς καὶ φυλάξω αὐτὸ δούλον, " " πῶς, " εἶπε, " πρὸς ἐραστὴν γὰρ ὁ λόγος κωμίζοντα μετὰ ξίφους ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ ὥρᾳ " " τὸν τραχηλόν, " ἔφη, " ὑποσχῶν μᾶλλον, κτείνον γὰρ δεῖ τῇ ξίφει " ἐπαινεσας δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀπολλωνεὺς, " Ἀρκάδα σε, " ἔφη, " ὦρᾳ, " καὶ μὴν τοῖ μαιραλίον τούτου καὶ ἐν ἐπιστολῇ μέμνηται, καὶ διαγραφὰ αὐτὸ πολλὰ ἥδιον ἢ ἐγὼ ἐνταῦθα, σωφροσύνης τε ἐπαινῶν πρὸς

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

mistake about your hair? For, methinks, it is sunny and gleaming, and your mouth too is so regular that whether you are silent or talking it is equally comely, and you carry your head freely and proudly. Surely the Emperor must be mistaking all these traits for others or you would not tell me he cast an evil eye on you. "That is just what has ruined me," said the other, "for he has condescended to favour me and instead of sparing what he prizes is prepared to visit me as a woman's lovers might."

Apollonius advised the Arcadian too much to ply him with any further questions as he noticed that he blushed and was most decorous in his language, so he only put to him the question: "Have you any slaves in Arcadia?" "Why yes, many," replied the lad. "What relation to them," said Apollonius, "do you consider yourself as holding?" "That," he replied, "which the laws assign to me for I am their master." "And must slaves obey their masters or disdain the wishes of those who are masters of their persons?" The other discerned the drift of his question and answered: "I know indeed how resistibly and harsh is the power of tyrants, for they are the first to use it to overpower even free men; but I am master of my person, and shall guard it my life long." "How can you do that," said Apollonius, "for you have to do with an admiral who is prepared to run amuck at your youth, sword in hand?" "I shall simply hold out my neck, which is all his sword requires." Whereon Apollonius commended him and said: "I perceive you are an Arcadian. Moreover he mentions this youth in one of his letters, and gives a much more attractive account of him than I have done in the above, and while praising

CAP. XLII
 ὃν γράφει φησὶ τὸ μεράκιον τοῦτο μηδ' ἀπαθανεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου, θαυμασθὲν δὲ τῆς ῥώμης ἐπὶ Μαλέαν πλεῦσαι, ζηλωτὸν τοῖς ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ τὰς τῶν μαστίγων καρτερήσεις παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις νικῶντες.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

him for his high principles to his correspondent, adds that he was not put to death by the tyrant. CHAP. XIII
On the contrary, after exciting admiration by his firmness, he returned by ship to Malea, and was held in more honour by the inhabitants of Arcadia than the youths who among the Lacedæmonians surpass their fellows in their endurance of the scourge.



BOOK VIII

CAP. Ἰωμει ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον ἡκροασόμενοι τοῦ ἀν-
 δρος ἀπολογουμένου ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰτίας, ἡλίου γὰρ
 ἐπιτολαὶ ἤδη καὶ ἀνεῖται τοῖς ἐλλυγίμοις ἢ ἐς
 αὐτὰ πάροδος, τὸν βασιλέα τε οἱ ξυνδαιτώμενοι
 φασὶ μηδὲ σίτον ἄψασθαι, διορῶντα, οἶμαι, τὰ ἐν
 τῇ δίκῃ· καὶ γάρ τι καὶ βιβλίον πρῆχειρον ἔχειν
 αὐτὸν τὰ μὲν ξὺν ὕργῃ, τὰ δὲ ἥττον. ἀνατυπούσθαι
 δὲ χρη οἷον ἀχθόμενον τοῖς νόμοις, ἐπειδὴ εὖροι
 δικαστήρια.

CAP. Ἐντευξόμεθα δὲ καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ διαλέξεσθαι
 ἡγουμένῳ μᾶλλον ἢ δραμεῖσθαι τινα ὑπὲρ τῆς
 ψυχῆς ἀγῶνα, τουτὶ δ' ἂν τεκμηραίμεθα τοῖς γε
 πρὸ τοῦ δικαστηρίου· προῖδὼν γὰρ ἤρετο τὸν γραμ-
 ματέα, ὑφ' οὗ ἤγετο, οἱ βαδίζοιεν, τοῦ δὲ ἐς πρὸ

BOOK VIII

I

LET us now repair to the law-court to listen to the sage pleading his cause, for it is already sunrise and the doors are thrown open to admit the celebrities. And the companions of the Emperor say that he had taken no food that day, because, I imagine, he was so absorbed in examining the documents of the case. For they say he was holding in his hands a roll of writing of some sort, sometimes reading it with anger, and sometimes more calmly. And we must needs figure him as one who was angry with the law for having invented such things as courts of justice.

CHAP.
I
Conversation
between the
Emperor and the
secretary of the
tribunal

II

BUT Apollonius, as we meet him in this conjuncture seems to regard the trial as a dialectical discussion, rather than as a race to be run for his life, and this we may infer from the way he behaved before he entered the court. For on his way thither he asked the secretary who was conducting him, where they were going, and when the latter answered that he was leading him to the

CHAP.
II

CAP. II. Δικαστήριον ἰγγεῖσθαι αὐτῷ φήσαντος, "δικά-
 σμαι," ἔφη, "πρὸς τίνα;" "πρὸς γε τὸν σεαυ-
 τοῦ," εἶπε, "κατήγορον, δικαίσει δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς"
 "ἐμοὶ δέ," ἔφη, "καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τίς ὁ δικαίων,
 δείξω γὰρ αὐτὸν φιλοσοφίαν ἀδικοῦντα." "καὶ
 τίς," εἶπε, "βασιλεῖ φιλοσοφίας λόγος, κἂν ἀδι-
 κῶν ταύτην τύχη," "ἀλλὰ φιλοσοφία πολὺς,"
 ἔφη, "βασιλέως, ἢ ἐπιτηδεύας ἄρχῃ." ἐπαινέσας
 δὲ ὁ γραμματεὺς, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ μετρίως διέκειτο
 πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ὡς καὶ καταρχὰς ἐδείκνυ,
 "πόσῳ δέ," εἶπε, "τὸν λόγον διαμετρήσεις ὕδατι;
 τοῦτ' ἐγὼ με χρὴ πρὸ τῆς δίκης εἰδέναι." "εἰ
 μὲν ὁπόσῃ," ἔφη, "ἀπαιτεῖ ἡ δίκη, ξυγχωρεῖ μοι
 λέγειν, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοι διαμετρηθεὶς οὐδ' ὁ Θύμ-
 βρις, εἰ δὲ ὁπόσα ἐρήσεται, μέτρον τοῦ ἀποκρι-
 νομένου ὁ ἐρωτῶν." "ἐναντίας," εἶπεν, "ἀρετὰς
 ἐπήσκησας βραχυλογεῖν τε καὶ μακρηγορεῖν ὑπὲρ
 τῶν αὐτῶν φάσκων." "οὐκ ἐναντίας," ἔφη, "ἀλλ'
 ὁμοίας· ὁ γὰρ θύτερον ἱκανὸς οὐδὲν ἂν θατέρου
 λαίποιο. καὶ ξυμμετρία δὲ ἀμφοῖν ξυγκειμένη
 τρίτη μὲν, οὐκ ἂν φαίην, πρώτη δ' ἂν εἴη ἀρετῇ
 λόγου, ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὸ σιωπᾶν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ
 τετάρτην ἀρετὴν οἶδα." "ἀνόνητόν γε," εἶπε,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

court, he said "Whom am I going to plead CHAP
against?" "Why," said the other, "against your
accuser, of course and the Emperor will be judge."
"And," said Apollonius "who is going to be judge
between myself and the Emperor?" For I shall
prove that he is wronging philosophy." "And what
concern," said the other "has the Emperor for
philosophy, even if he does happen to do her
wrong?" "Nay not philosophy," said Apollonius,
"is much concerned about the Emperor, that he
should govern as he should." The secretary com-
mended this sentiment, for indeed he was already
favourably disposed to Apollonius, as he proved from
the very beginning. "And how long will your
pleading last by the water clock's reckoning?" For
I must know this before the trial begins." "If,"
said Apollonius "I am allowed to plead as long as
the necessities of the suit require me to the whole
of the day might run through the meter before I
should have done, but if I am only to answer all the
questions put to me then it depends on the exam-
iner how long I shall be making my answers."
"You have cultivated," remarked the other "con-
trary talents when you thus engage to talk about
one and the same matter both with brevity and
with prolixity." They are not contrary talents
said Apollonius. "that resemble one another, for
an expert in the one would never be far to seek
in the other." And moreover there is a mean com-
pared of the two, which I should not myself allege
to be a third but a first requisite of a pleader, and
for my own part I am sure that neither constitutes
a fourth excellence much required in a law court.
"Anyhow," said the other, "it will do you no good

CAP. II "σεαυτῷ καὶ παντὶ τῷ κινδυνεύειν μέλλουσι."
 "καὶ μὴν καὶ Σωκράτην," ἔφη, "τὸν Ἀθηναῖον
 μέγα ὠνήσεν, ὅτε ἔφυγε τὴν γραφὴν." "καὶ πῶς
 ὠνήσεν," εἶπε, "τόν, ἐπειδὴ ἐσιώπα, ἀποθανόντα,"
 "οὐκ ἀπέθανεν," ἔφη, "Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ᾤοντο."

III

CAP. III Ὡς μὲν παρεσκευάστο πρὸς τὰ ἐκ τοῦ τυριάν-
 νου πάντα, προστῶσι δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ δικαστηρίου
 προσελθὼν, ἕτερος γραμματεὺς, "ὦ Ἰουανεύ," ἔφη
 "γυμνὸς ἔσελθε." "λουσόμεθα οὖν," εἶπεν, "ἢ
 δικασομεθα;" "οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐσθῆτος," ἔφη, "ταῦτα
 προείρηται, ἀλλ' ἀπαγορεύει σοι ὁ βασιλεὺς μήτε
 περιὰπτον μήτε βιβλίον μητ' ἄλλο γραμματεῖον
 ὅλως μηδὲν ἐσφέρειν ἐνταῦθα." "μηδὲ νάρθηκα,"
 εἶπεν, "ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνοήτως αὐτὸν ταῦτα πείθοντας;"
 ἀναβοήσας δὲ ὁ κατήγορος, "ὦ βασιλεῦ,
 πληγὰς," ἔφη, "ἀπειλεῖ μοι ὁ γόης. ἐγὼ γὰρ σε
 ταυτὶ πέπεικα." "οὐκοῦν," εἶπε, "σί μᾶλλον γόης,
 ἢ γὰρ μὴ ἐγὼ πέπεικά πω τὸν Βασιλέα, ὡς οὐκ
 εἰμί, συ φῆς αὐτὸν ὡς εἶην πεπεικέναι." παρῆν
 δὲ τῷ κατηγάρῳ λαιδορουμένῳ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν
 Εὐφριάτου τις ἀπελευθέρων, ὃν ἐλέγετο Εὐφριάτης
 ἀγγελοῦ τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου διαλέ-
 ξεων στείλαι ὁμοῦ χρήμασιν, ἃ τῷ κατηγάρῳ
 ἐπεδόθη.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

nor anyone else who stands in great peril." "And yet," said Apollonius, "it was of great service to Socrates of Athens, when he was prosecuted." "And what good did it do him," said the other, "seeing that he died just because he would say nothing?" "He did not die," said Apollonius, "though the Athenians thought he did."

CHAP.
II

III

THIS was how he prepared himself to confront the despot's manoeuvres, and as he waited before the court another secretary came up and said "Man of Tyana, you must enter the court with nothing on you." "Are we then to take a bath," said Apollonius, "or to plead?" "The rule," said the other, "does not apply to dress, but the Emperor only forbids you to bring in here either an ulster, or book, or any papers of any kind." "And not even a cane," said Apollonius, "for the back of the idiots who gave him such advice as this?" Whereat his accuser burst into shouts "O my Emperor," he said, "this wizard threatens to beat me, for it was I who gave you this advice." "Then," said Apollonius, "it is you who are a wizard rather than myself, for you say that you have persuaded the Emperor of my being tort-witch so far I have failed to persuade him that I am not." While the accuser was indulging in this abuse, one of the freedmen of Euphrates was at his side, whom the latter was said to have sent from Ionia with news of what Apollonius had there said in his conversations, and also with a sum of money which was presented to the accuser.

CHAP.
II
Apollonius
is brought
into court

IV

CAP.
IV. Τοιαῦτα ἠκροβολίσαντο πρὸ τῆς δίκης, τὰ δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ κεκόσμητο μὲν τὸ δικαστήριον ὥσπερ ἐπὶ ξυνουσία πανηγυρικοῦ λόγου, μετεῖχον δὲ αὐτῆς οἱ ἐπίδηλοι πάντες, ἀγῶνα ποιουμένου τοῦ βασιλέως ὅτι ἐν πλείστοις ἐλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀνδρῶν αἰτίᾳ. ὁ δ' οὕτω γι ὑπερεώρα τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς μηδὲ ἐς αὐτὸν βλέπειν, ἐπηρεΐσαντος δὲ τοῦ κατηγοροῦ τὴν ὑπεροψίαν, καὶ κτελεύσαντος ὁρᾶν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν ἀπύκτων ἀνθρώπων θεόν, ἀνέσχει ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐς τὸν ὄροφον, ἐνδεικνύμενος μὲν τὸ ἐς τὸν Δία ὁρᾶν, τὸν δὲ ἀσεβῶς κολακευθέντα κυκίῳ τοῦ κολακεύσαντος ἡγούμενος. ἔβουα καὶ τοιαῦτα ὁ κατήγορος "ἤδη μέτρει, βασιλεῦ, ὕδιω, εἰ γὰρ ξυγχωρήσεις αὐτῷ μῆκος λόγων, ἀπάγξει ἡμᾶς. ἔστι δέ μοι καὶ βιβλίον τοῦτο ξυγγεγραμμένον τὰς αἰτίας, ὑπὲρ ᾧ χρή λέγειν αὐτόν, ἀπολογεῖσθαι δὲ κατὰ μίαν."

V

CAP.
V. Ὁ δ', ὡς ἀριστα ξυμβουλευσάντος ἐπαινέσας, ἐκέλευσε τὸν ἄνδρα κατὰ τὴν τοῦ συκοφάντου ξυμβουλίαν ἀπολογεῖσθαι, τὰς μὲν ἄλλας παρελθὼν αἰτίας, ὡς οὐκ ἄξίας καταστήσαι τινα ἐς
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IV

SUCH were the preliminary skirmishes which preceded the trial, but the conduct of the trial itself was as follows. The court was fitted up as if for an audience listening to a panegyrical discourse, and all the illustrious men of the city were present at the trial, because the Emperor was intent upon proving before as many people as possible that Apollonius was an accomplice of Nerva and his friends. Apollonius, however, ignored the Emperor's presence so completely as not even to glance at him, and when his accuser upbraided him for want of respect, and bade him turn his eyes upon the god of all mankind, Apollonius raised his eyes to the ceiling, by way of giving a hint that he was looking up to Zeus, and that he regarded the recipient of such profane flattery as worse than he who administered it. Whereupon the accuser began to bellow and spoke somewhat as follows: "Tis time, my sovereign, to spatter the water, for if you allow him to talk as long as he chooses, he will choke us. Moreover I have a roll here which contains the heads of the charges against him and to these he must answer, so let him defend himself against them one by one."

CHAP.
IV

The counts
of the in-
dictment
reduced to
four

V

THE Emperor approved this plan of procedure and ordered Apollonius to make his defence according to the informer's advice, however, he dropped out other accusations, as not worth discussion and confined himself to four questions which he thought were

CHAP.
V

CΑΓ
 V λόγον, ὑπὲρ τεττάρων δέ, ἵς ἀπόρους τε καὶ
 δυσασποκριτους ᾔετο, ὧδε ἐρωτησας· "τί γὰρ
 μαθών," ἔφη, "Ἀπολλώνιε, οὐ την αὐτὴν ἔχεις
 ἅπασιν στολήν, ἀλλ' ἰδίαν τε καὶ ἐξαίρετον," "ὅτι
 με," εἶπεν, "ἡ τρέφουσα γῆ καὶ ἀμφιέννυσι, ζῶα
 δὲ ἄθλια οὐκ ἐνοχλῶ." πάλιν ἤρετο, "τοῦ χάριν
 οἱ ἄνθρωποι θεοῦ σε ὀνομίζουσιν;" "ὅτι πᾶς"
 εἶπεν, "ἄνθρωπος ἀγαθὸς νομιζόμενος θεοῦ ἐπα-
 νυμῖν τιμᾶται." ὁ λόγος οὗτος ὑπὸθεν ἐφιλο-
 σοφίῃ τῷ ἄνδρὶ, διεδήλωκα ἐν τοῖς Ἰνδοῖν λόγοις.
 τρίτον ἤρετο ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐν Ἰ. φέσφ λαιμοῦ, "πόθεν
 γάρ," ἔφη, "ὀρμώμενος ἢ τῷ ξυμβαλλόμενος
 προσέπας τῇ Ἐφέσῃ νοσήσει αὐτούς," "λεπ-
 τοτέρῳ," εἶπεν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, διαιτη χρώμενος
 πρῶτος τοῦ δεινοῦ ἡσθόμην· εἰ δὲ βουλεῖ, λέγω
 καὶ λαιμῶν αἰτίας." ὁ δ', οἶμαι, δεισας μὴ τὴν
 ἀδικίαν καὶ τοὺς μὴ καθαρὸν γίμους καὶ υποῖα
 οὐκ εὐλόγως ἔπραττεν, ἐπιγρύψῃ ταῖς τοιαύταις
 νόσοις, "οὐ διομαί," ἔφη, "τοιᾷσδε ἀποκρισεως."
 ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν τετάρτην ἐρώτησιν ἐπέφερεν ἐς τοὺς
 ἄνδρας, οὐκ εὐθὺς ὥρμησεν, ἀλλὰ πολὺν μὲν
 χρόνον διαλιπὼν, πολλὰ δὲ ἐνθυμηθεὶς, ἐλιγγιῶντι
 δὲ ὁμοίως ἠρώτησεν οὐ κατὰ τὴν ὑπαντων δοξαν·
 οἱ μὲν γὰρ ᾔσαντο αὐτὸν ἐκπηδίσαντα τοῦ πλεί-
 σματος μήτε τῆς προσηγορίας ἀφέξεσθαι τῶν
 ἀνδρῶν, σχέτλιέ τε ὑπὲρ τῆς θυσίας βοησεσθαι,
 ὁ δὲ οὐχ ὧδε, ἀλλ' ὑφέρπων τὴν ἐρώτησιν,
 "εἰπέ μοι," ἔφη, "προελθὼν τῆς οἰκίας τῇ

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embarrassing and difficult to answer. "What induces ^{CHAP} you," he said, "Apollonius, to dress yourself differently from every body else, and to wear this peculiar and singular garb?" "Because," said Apollonius, "the earth which feeds me also clothes me, and I do not like to bother the poor animals." The Emperor next asked the question, "Why is it that men call you a god?" "Because," answered Apollonius, "every man that is thought to be good, is honoured by the title of god. I have shown in my narrative of India how this tenet passed into our heroic philosophy." The third question related to the plague in Ephesus, "What motivated," he said, "or suggested your prediction to the Ephesians that they would suffer from a plague?" "I said," he said, "O my sovereign, a lighter diet than others, and so I was the first to be sensible of the danger, and if you like, I will enumerate the causes of pestilences. But the Emperor fearful I imagine lest Apollonius should reckon among the causes of such epidemics his own wrong doing and his incestuous marriage, and his other scandalous and unbecoming practices. Oh, I do not want any such answer as that. And when he came to the fourth question which related to Nerva and his friends, instead of hurrying straight on to it, he allowed a certain interval to elapse, and after long reflection and with the air of one who felt dizzy, he put his question in a way which surprised them all, for they expected him to throw off all disguise and blurt out the names of the persons in question without any reserve, committing sig launt and blunder of an uneducated but instead of putting the question in this way he beat about the bush and said, "Tell me, you went out of your house on a certain day,

CAP. V. δεῖνι ἡμέρα καὶ ἐς ἀγρὸν πορευθεὶς τίνι ἐθύσω τὸν
 παῖδα, " καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ὥσπερ μεираκίῳ ἐπι-
 πλήττων, " εὐφήμει, " ἔφη, " εἰ μὲν γὰρ προῆλθον
 τῆς οἰκίας, ἐγενόμην ἐν ἀγρῷ, εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, καὶ
 ἔθυσσα, εἰ δὲ ἔθυσσα, καὶ ἔφαγον. λεγόντων δὲ
 αὐτὰ οἱ πίστεως ἄξιοι. " τοιαῦτα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
 εἰπόντος καὶ ἐπαίνου ἀρθέντος μείζανος ἢ βασιλίου
 ξυγχωρεῖ δικαστήριον, συμμαρτυρεῖν αὐτῷ νομισας
 ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς παρонтаς καὶ παθὼν τι πρὸς τὰς
 ἀποκρίσεις, ἐπειδὴ ἔρριωντὺ τε καὶ νοῦν εἶχον,
 " ἀφίγημί σε, " εἶπε, " τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, περιμενεῖς
 δέ, ἔστ' ἂν ἰδίῳ ξυγγανώμεθα. " ὁ δὲ ἐπιρρώσας
 ἑαυτόν, " σοὶ μὲν χάρις, ὦ βασιλεῦ, " ἔφη, " διὰ δὲ
 τοὺς ἀληθεύοντας τούτους ἀπαλώλασι μὲν αἱ πόλεις,
 πλήρεις δ' αἱ νῆσοι φυγάδων, ἡ δὲ ἡπειρος
 αἰμαγωγῆς, τὰ δὲ στρατεύματα δειλίας, ἡ δὲ ξύγ-
 κλητος ὑπονομίας. δός, εἰ βούλοιο, κάμοι τόπον, εἰ
 δὲ μή, πέμπε τὸν ληψόμενόν μου τὸ σῶμα, τὴν
 γὰρ ψυχὴν ἀδύνατον· μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδ' ἂν τὸ σῶμα
 πούμδν λάβεις,

οὐ γὰρ με κτενέεις, ἐπεὶ οὗτοι μόρσιμός εἰμι.

καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἠφανίσθη τοῦ δικαστηρίου, τόν
 τε παρόντα καιρὸν εὖ τιθέμενος ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐδ'
 ἀπλῶς ὁ τύραννος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ περιουσίας ἐρωτη-
 σων δῆλος ἦν—ἐμεγαλοφρονεῖτο γὰρ πού τῷ μὴ

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and you travelled into the country, and sacrificed the CHAP. I
 boy—I would like to know for whom?" And
 Apollonius as if he were rebuking a child replied The mort-
 fice of
 a boy
 "Good words, I beseech you, for if I did leave my
 house, I was in the country, and if this was so, then
 I offered the sacrifice and if I offered it, then I ate
 of it. But let these assertions be proved by trust-
 worthy witnesses." Such a reply on the part of the
 sage aroused louder applause than becometh the
 court of an Emperor, and the latter deriving the
 audience to have borne witness in favour of the
 accused, and also not a little impressed himself by
 the answers he had received, for they were both firm
 and sensible, said, "I acquit you of the charges, Apollonius
 acquitted
 but you must remain here until we have had a
 private interview. Thence Apollonius was much
 encouraged and said, "I thank you indeed, my
 sovereign, but I would fain tell you that by reason
 of these miscreants your cities are in ruin, and the
 islands full of exiles, and the mainland of lamenta-
 tions and your armies of cowardice, and the senate of
 suspicion. Accord me also, if you will, opportunity
 to speak, but if not, then send some one to take my
 body, for my soul you cannot take. Nay, you
 cannot take even my body,

"For thou shalt not slay me, since I tell thee I am libd 25. 10
 not mortal."

And with these words he vanished from the
 court, which was the best thing he could do under
 the circumstances, for the Emperor clearly intended
 not to question him sincerely about the case, but about
 all sorts of irrelevant matters. For he took great
 credit to himself for not having put Apollonius to

^{ΛΓ}_Υ ἀπεκτονέναι αὐτόν—τοῦ τε μὴ ἐς τὰ τοιαῦτα
 ὑπαχθῆναι προορῶν. τυχεῖν δ' αὖ τούτου ἄριστα
 ἡγεῖτο, εἰ μὴ ἠγνοοῖτο τῆς φύσεως, ἀλλὰ γυγνώ-
 σκοιτο, ὥς ἔχοι τοῦ μὴ ἂν ποτε ἀλῶναι ἄκων. καὶ
 γὰρ τὸ δέος τὸ περὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν εὖ ἤδη αὐτῷ
 εἶχεν, ὑπὲρ ὧν γὰρ μηδε ἐρέσθαι τι ὁ τύραννος
 ὥρμησε, πῶς ἂν τούτους ἐς τὸ πιθανὸν ἀπέκτεινεν
 ἐπὶ ταῖς οὐκ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ πεπιστευμέναις
 αἰτίαις ; τοιμίδε εὖρον τὰ ἐν τῇ δικῇ.

VI

^{ΛΓ}_{VI} Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ λόγος μὲν αὐτῷ ξυνεγράφη τις ὡς
 πρὸς ὕδωρ ἐς τὴν ὑπολογίαν ἀφήσονται, ξυνεΐλε δὲ
 αὐτὸν ὁ τύραννος ἐς ὧς εἴρηκε ἐρωτήσεις, ἀνηγε-
 γράφθω καὶ ὁ λόγος. οὐκ ἠγνοῶ μὲν γάρ, ὅτι
 διαβαλοῦσιν αὐτὸν οἱ τὰς βωμολόχους ἰδέας
 ἐπαινοῦντες, ὥς ἦττον μὲν, ἢ αὐτοὶ φασι δεῖν,
 κεκολασμένον, ὑπεραίρουτα δὲ τοῖς τε ὀνόμασι καὶ
 ταῖς γνώμαις. τὸν δὲ ἄνδρα ἐνθυμουμένῳ οὐ μοι
 δοκεῖ ὁ σαφὲς ἡγιῶς ἂν ὑπεκρίνεσθαι τὸ ἑαυτοῦ
 ἥθος πάρισα ἐπιτηδεύων καὶ ἀντίθετα, καὶ κροτά-
 λου δίκην κτυπῶν τῇ γλώττῃ, ῥητορικοῖς μὲν γὰρ
 πρὸς τρόπον ταῦτα, καὶ οὐδὲ ἐκείνοις δεῖ δεινότητος
 γὰρ ἐν δικαστηρίοις, ἢ μὲν φανερὰ καὶ διαβάλοι

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death, nor was the latter anxious to be drawn into ^{CHAP.} such discussions. And he thought that he would best ^V effect his end if he left no one in ignorance of his true nature, but allowed it to be known to all to be such that he had it in him never to be taken prisoner against his own will. Moreover he had no longer any cause for anxiety about his friends; for as the despot had not the courage to ask any questions about them, how could he possibly put them to death with any colour of justice upon charges to which, in court, he had accorded no credence whatever? Such was the account of the proceedings of the trial which I found.

VI

But inasmuch as he had composed an oration ^{CHAP.} which he would have delivered by the clock in ^{VI} defence of himself, only the tyrant confined him to the questions which I have enumerated, I have determined to publish this oration also. For I am well aware, indeed, that those who highly esteem the style of bullions will find fault with it, as being less chaste and severe in its style than they consider it should be, and as too bombastic in language and tone. However, when I consider that Apollonius was a sage, it seems to me that he would have unworthily concealed his true character, if he had merely studied symmetry of endings, and antithesis, clicking his tongue as if it had been a castanet. For these tricks suit the genius of rhetoricians, though they are not necessary even to them. For forensic art, if it be too obvious, is apt to

CAP
VI
τινὰ ὥς ἐπιβουλεύοντα τοῖς ψηφισμένοις, ἢ δ' ἀφανῆς κἂν ἀπέλθοι κρατοῦσα, τὸ γὰρ λαθεῖν τοὺς δικάζοντας, ὥς δεινός ἐστιν, ἡληθεστέρα δεινότης. σοφῶ δὲ ἀνδρὶ ἀπολογουμένῳ, οὐ γὰρ κατηγορήσει γε ὁ σοφός, ἃ ἐπιτιμᾶν ἔρρωται, ἥθους τε δεῖ ἑτέρου παρὰ τοῖς δικανικοῖς ἀνδράς, λόγου τε κατεσκευασμένου μέν, μὴ δοκοῦντος δέ, καὶ ὑπόσεμνος ἔστω καὶ μὴ πολὺ ἱποδεδῶν τοῦ ὑπερόπτης εἶναι, ἑλεός τε ἀπέστω λέγοντος· ὁ γὰρ μὴ ἀντιβολῆσαι ξυγχωρῶν τί ἂν οὕτως ἐπὶ ἐλέῳ εἴποι; τοιόσδε ὁ λόγος δόξει τοῖς γε μὴ μαλακῶς ἀκροασομένοις ἑμοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός· ξυνετέθη γὰρ αὐτῷ ὧδε·

VII

CAP
VII
"Ὁ μὲν ἀγὼν ὑπὲρ μεγάλων σοί τε, ὦ βασιλεῦ, κάμοι· σύ τε γὰρ κινδυνεύεις ὑπὲρ ὧν μήποτε αὐτοκράτωρ, εἰ πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν οὐδεμιᾷ ἐλκῇ διαβεβλήσθαι δόξεις, ἄγω τε ὑπὲρ ὧν μηδὲ Σωκράτης ποτὲ Ἀθήνησιν, ὃν οἱ γραψάμενοι τὴν γραφὴν καινὸν μὲν τὰ δαιμόνια ἡγοῦντο, δαίμονα δὲ οὔτε ἐκάλουν οὔτε ᾔσαντο. κινδύνου δὲ ἐφ' ἐκότερον ἡμῶν οὕτω χαλεποῦ ἤκουσας, οὐκ ἔκμησσω
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betray him who resorts to it as anxious to impose CHAP. VI
 upon the judges, whereas if it is well concealed, it
 is likely to carry off a favourable verdict, for true
 cleverness consists in concealing from the judges
 the very cleverness of the pleader. But when
 a wise man is defending his cause,—and I need
 not say that a wise man will not arraign another
 for faults which he has the will and strength to
 rebuke,—he requires quite another style than that of
 the hacks of the law-court, and though his oration
 must be well-prepared, it must not seem to be so,
 and it should possess a certain elevation almost
 amounting to scorn, and he must take care in
 speaking not to throw himself on the pity of his
 judges. For how can he appeal to the pity of others
 who would not condescend to solicit anything? Such
 an oration will my hero's seem to those who shall
 diligently study both myself and him, for it was
 composed by him in the following manner.

VII

(1) "My prince we are at issue with one another CHAP. VI
 concerning matters of grave moment, for you run
 such a risk as never actorat did before you, that Exuberia
 Pontian
 to be fair
 namely of being thought to be animated by a wholly
 unjust hatred of philosophy, while I am exposed
 to a worse peril than was ever Socrates at Athens,
 for though his accusers taxed him in their indictment
 with introducing new beliefs about demons, they
 never went so far as to call him or think him a
 demon. Since, however, so grave a peril besets us
 both, I will not hesitate to tender you the advice of

CAP.
VII

καὶ σοὶ συμβουλευεῖν, ὅποσα ἐμαυτὸν πέπεικα·
ἐπειδὴ γὰρ κατέστησεν ἡμᾶς ὁ κατήγυρος ἐς
τουτάνι τὸν μῆνα, ἐσῆλθε τοὺς πολλοὺς οὐκ
ἀληθῆς περὶ ἐμοῦ τε καὶ σοῦ δόξα· σέ μὲν γὰρ
ᾔδοντο συμβούλῃ τῆς ἀκροάσεως ὀργῇ χρήσεσθαι,
δὲ ἦν κἂν ἀποκτεῖναι με, ὃ τι ποτὲ ἔστι τὸ ἀπο-
κτεῖναι, ἐμὲ δ' ἐκποιήσῃν ἐμαυτὸν τοῦ δικαστηρίου
τρόποις, ὅποσοι τοῦ ἀποδρᾶναι εἰσιν, ἦσαν δ',
ὦ βασιλεῦ, μυριοί· καὶ τούτων ἀκούειν οὐκ ἐν τῷ
προκαταγιγνώσκειν ἦλθον· οὐδ' ἀκατεψήφισίμην
τῆς σῆς ἀκροάσεως ὥς μὴ τὸ εὖθι ἐχούσης, ἀλλὰ
ξυνθέμενος τοῖς νόμοις ἔσθηκα ὑπὸ τῷ λόγῳ·
τούτοι ξίμβουλος καὶ σοὶ γίγνομαι. δίκαιον γὰρ
τὸ μὴ προκαταγιγνώσκειν, μηδὲ καθῆσθαι πεπει-
σμένον, ὥς ἐγὼ τί σε κακὸν εἰργασμαι, μηδ' ὑπὲρ
μὲν τοῦ Ἀρμενίου τε καὶ Βαβυλωνίου καὶ ὅσοι
τῶν ἐκείνῃ ἄρχουσιν, οἷς ἵππος τε παμπύλλη ἐστὶ
καὶ τοξεία πάντα καὶ χρυσὴ γῆ καὶ ἀνδρῶν ὄχλος,
ὃν ἐγὼ οἶδα, ἀκούειν ξὺν γέλωτι τὸ πεισεσθαι τι
ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ὃ σε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ταυτὴν ἀφαιρή-
σεται, κατ' ἀνδρὸς δὲ σοφοῦ καὶ γυμνοῦ πιστεύειν,
ὡς ἔστι τούτῳ ὄπλον ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥωμαίων αὐτο-
κράτορα, καὶ προσδέχεσθαι ταῦτα Αἰγυπτίου
συκοφάντου λέγοντος, ἃ μηδὲ τῆς Ἀθηνῶς ποτὲ
ἤκουσας, ἦν σεαυτοῦ προορίων φήσ, εἰ μὴ, νῆ
Δία, ἣ κολακευτικὴ καὶ τὸ συκοφαντεῖν οὕτω

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whose excellence I am myself convinced. For since CHAP. VI
the accuser has plunged us into this struggle, the many have been led to form a false opinion of both myself and of you. They have come to imagine that in this audience you will listen only to the counsels of anger with the result that you will even put me to death whatever death means and that I in turn shall try to evade this tribunal in some of the many ways ~~there are~~ and they were my price of reward. I ~~keeping from it~~ Though these rumours have reached my ears, I have not contracted any prejudice against you nor have I done you the injury of supposing you will hear my cause otherwise than in accordance with the strictest principles of equity. for I am ~~convinced~~ with the laws I submit myself to their ~~provisions~~. And I would advise you also to do the same for justice demands that you should neither prejudge the case nor take your seat on the bench with your mind made up to the ~~use of~~ that I have done you any wrong. If you were told that the Arabian or the Babylonian and other foreign potentates were about to inflict some disaster on you, which must lead to the ~~loss~~ of your empire you would I am sure laugh outright although they have hosts of cavalry and thousands of archers, a gold-bearing soil and as I know full well, a teeming population. And yet you distrust a philosopher, naked of means of defence and are ready to believe he is a menace to the autonomy of the Romans. all this on the mere word of an Egyptian sycophant. Never did you hear such tales from Athens whom you allege to be your guardian spirit unless indeed, great Heavens! their faculty of flattering and falsely accusing others has so increased the influence of

CAP. VII. τι νῦν τοῖς ἀλιτηρίοις τούτοις ἐπιδέδωκεν, ὥς τοὺς θεοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν σμικρῶν καὶ ὅποσα ὀφθαλμῶναι τέ εἰσι καὶ τὸ μὴ πυρέξαι, μηδ' ἀνοιδῆσαι τι τῶν σπλώγχων, ἐπιτηδείους εἶναι σοι ξυμβούλους φάσκειν, ἱατρῶν δίκην ἐφαπτομένους καὶ θεραπεύοντας, ὅτου αὐτῶν πονήρως ἔχοις, περὶ δὲ τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ τῷ σώματι κινδυνεύοντί σοι μηθ' οὐς φυλίπτεσθαι χρή ξυμβουλεύειν μήθ' ὃ τι ἔσται σοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὕπλυν διδάσκειν ἤκοντας, ἀλλ' εἶναι σοι τοὺς συκοφάντας αἰγίδα Ἀθηνῶς καὶ Διὸς χεῖρα, εἰδέναι μὲν ὑπὲρ σοῦ φάσκοντας, ἃ μηδ' οἱ θεοί, προσεγγηγορότας δέ σου καὶ προκαθεύδοντας, εἰ δὴ καθεύδουσιν οὗτοι, κακοῖς, φασιν, ἐπαντλοῦντες κακὰ καὶ τὰς Ἀλκίδας ταύτας ἀεὶ ξυτιθέντες.

Καὶ το μὲν ἵπποτροφεῖν αὐτοὺς κάπι ζευγῶν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκκυκλεῖσθαι λευκῶν, καὶ ἡ ἐν ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ ὀψοφαγία καὶ μυριῶδων δύο καὶ τριῶν ἐωνημένα παιδικά, καὶ τὸ μοιχεύειν μὲν, ὃν λανθάνουσι χρόνοι, γαμῖν δέ, ἃς ἐμοιχευσαν, ὅταν ἐπ' αὐταῖς ληφθῶσι, καὶ οἱ κροτοῦντες αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς καλαῖς νίκαις, ἐπειδὰν φιλοσοφός τις ἢ ὑπάτος, ἀδικῶν οὐδέν, ἀλφ μὲν ὑπὸ τούτων, ἀπόληται δὲ ὑπὸ σοῦ,

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these miscreants, that you would pretend that ^{clear} whereas in insignificant matters, such as sore eyes, and ^{and} avoidance of fevers and inflammation of the bowels, the Gods are your apt advisers, manipulating and healing you after the manner of physicians of any one of these maladies you may be suffering from, they, nevertheless, in matters which impair your throne and your life, give you no counsel, either as to the persons you should guard against or as to the weapons you should employ against them; but, instead of coming to your aid, leave you to the tender mercies of false accusers, whom you regard as the Aegis of Athens or the hand of Zeus, just because they assert that they understand your welfare better even than do the gods, and that they ever watch over you in the hours of their waking and sleeping; if indeed these wretches can sleep after pouring out such wicked lies and conjuring ever and anon whole fables such as this one.

That they should keep horses and roll theatrically into the forum in chariots drawn by snowy teams, that they should gorge themselves off dishes of silver and gold, parade favourites that cost them two or three myriad sestercies, that they should go on committing adultery as long as they are not found out and then and not before, marry the victims of their lusts when they are caught red-handed, that their splendid successes should be hailed with applause, as often as some philosopher or consul, absolutely innocent, falls into their toils, and is put to death by yourself—all this I am warning to succumb to the licence of these accursed wretches and to their brazen indifference to the

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VII

δεδοσθαι τῇ τῶν καταράτων τρυφῇ καὶ τῇ μήτε νόμων αὐτοῖς ἔτι μήτ' ὀφθαλμῶν εἶναι φόβον, τὸ δ' οὕτω τι ὑπὲρ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις φρονεῖν, ὡς προγινώσκειν βούλεσθαι τῶν θεῶν, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐτ' ἐπαινῶ καὶ ακούων δέδισα, σὺ δ' εἰ προσδέξιοι, γρίψονται καὶ σε ἴσως ὡς διαβιάλλοιτα τὴν περὶ τοῦ θείου δόξαν, ἐλπὶς γὰρ καὶ κατὰ σοῦ ξυγκείσεσθαι τοιαύτας γραφάς, ἐπειδὴν μηδεὶς τοῖς συκοφάνταις λοιπος ἢ καὶ ξυνίημι μὲν ἐπιτιμῶν μᾶλλον ἢ ἰπολογούμενος, εἰρήσθαι δέ μοι ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων, οὓς εἰ μὴ ἄρχοντας ἡγοῶ, οὐκ ἄρξεις.

Τίς οὖν ξυνήγορος ἔσται μοι ἰπολογουμένῃ; εἰ γὰρ καλέσαιμι τὸν Δία, ὑφ' ᾧ βεβιωκὰς οἶδα, γοητεύειν με φησουσι καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἄγειν. διαλεγώμεθα οὖν περὶ τούτου ἀνδρί, ὃν τεθνῆναι μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ φασιν, ἐγὼ δέ οὐ φημι ἔστι δὲ οὗτος ὁ πατὴρ ὁ σοε, ᾧ ἐγὼ τοσούτου ἄξιος, ὅσοι περ ἐκείνοε σοί σέ μὲν γὰρ ἐποίησεν, ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ ἐγένετο. οὗτος, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ξυλλήπτωρ ἔσται μοι τῆς ἰπολογίας, πολλῶ τᾶμα βέλτιον ἢ συγινώσκων ἀφικετο μὲν γὰρ ἐς Αἴγυπτον οὐπω αὐτοκρίτωρ, θεοῖς τε τοῖς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ θύσων κἀμοὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς διαλεξομενοε ἐντιχῶν δέ μοι κομῶντί τε καὶ ᾧδε ἐσταλμενοε οὐδὲ ἤρετο οὐδὲ ἐν περὶ τοῦ σχήματος, ἡγούμενοε τὸ ἐν ἐμοὶ πᾶν εὖ ἔχειν, ἐμοῦ δ' ἐνεχ' ἦκειν ὁμολογίσας, ἀπῆλθεν

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public eye and to law but that they should give themselves the airs of superhuman beings and presume to know better than the gods, I cannot approve or allow, and the mere rumour of it fills me with horror. And if you allow such things to be, they will perhaps accuse even yourself of offending against established religion. For we may expect the sycophants to convert such accusations against yourself as soon as they have exhausted the rest of their other victims. I know that my tone is rather that of a censor than that of a defendant, if so you must pardon me for thus speaking up in behalf of the laws with the recognition of whose authority by yourself stands and falls that of your own.

(1) Who then will be my advocate while I am defending myself? For if I called upon *Zean* to help me, under whom I am conscious of having passed my life they will accuse me of being a wizard and of bringing heaven down to earth. Let us then appeal in this matter to one whom I deny to be deity, although the many assert it, I mean your own father, who held me in the same esteem in which you hold him: for he made you, and was in turn made by me. He my prince, shall assist me in my defence, because he knows my character much better than yourself: for he came to Egypt before he was raised to the throne as much to converse with me about the Future as to sacrifice to the gods of Egypt. And when he found me with my long hair and dressed as I am at this moment, he did not ask me a single question about my costume, because he considered that everything about me was well, but he admitted that he had come thither on my account,

CAP. VII. ἔπαυεσας καὶ εἰπὼν μὲν ἃ μὴ πρὸς ἄλλον, ἀκούσας δ' ἃ μὴ παρ' ἄλλοι, ἢ τε διάνοια, ἢ ἐς τὸ ἄρχειν ἐχρήτο, ἐρρώσθη αὐτῷ παρ' ἐμοῦ μάλιστα, μεθεσθηκυῖα ἤδη ὑφ' ἑτέρων, οὐκ ἀνεπιτηδείων μὲν, οὐ μὴν σοί γε δόξαι, οἱ γὰρ μὴ ἄρχειν αὐτὸν πείθοντες καὶ σὲ δήπου αὐτὸ ἠφηρεοῦντο τὸ μετ' ἐκείνων ταῦτ' ἔχειν, ἐμοῦ δὲ συμβουλεύοντος ἑαυτὸν τε μὴ ἀπαξιοῦν ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ θύρας αὐτῷ φοιτώσης, ὑμῖν τε κληρονόμους αὐτῆς ποιέσθαι, εὖ ἔχειν τὴν γνώμην φήσας, αὐτὸς τε μέγαν ἤρθη καὶ ὑμᾶς ἤρεν· εἰ δὲ γόητά με ᾤετο, οὐδ' ἂν ξυνῆψέ μοι κοινωνίαν φροντίδων, οὐδὲ γὰρ τοιαῦτα ἤκων διελέγετο, οἷον ἀνάγκασον τὰς Μοῖρας ἢ τοι Δία, τυραννον ἀποφῆναί με ἢ τεράττειν διοσημίας ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, δείξας τὸν ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας, δυόμενον δέ, ὅθεν ἄρχεται. οὐ γὰρ ἂν μοι ἐπιτήδειος ἄρχειν ἔδοξεν, ἢ ἐμὲ ἡγούμενος ἱκανὸν ταῦτα, ἢ σοφίσμασι θηρεύων ἀρχήν, ἣν ἀρεταῖς ἔδει κατακτᾶσθαι. καὶ μὴν καὶ δημοσίᾳ διελέχθην ἐν ἱερῷ, γοήτων δὲ ξυνουσίαι φεύγουσι μὲν ἱερὰ θεῶν, ἐχθρὰ γὰρ τοῖς περὶ τὴν τέχνην, νύκτα δὲ καὶ πᾶν, ὃ τι ἀφεγγές, αὐτῶν προβαλλόμενοι, οὐ ξυγχωροῦσι τοῖς ἀνοήτοις οὐδὲ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχειν οὔτε ὦτα. διελέχθη μοι καὶ ἰδία

ἄρ' ^{VI.1} μέν, παρετύγχανον δὲ ὁμῶς Εὐφράτης καὶ Δίῳ,
 ὁ μὲν πολεμιώτατά μοι ἔχων, ὁ δ' οἰκειύτατα,
 Δίωνα γὰρ μὴ παυσαίμην γράφων ἐν φίλοις, τίς
 ἂν οὖν ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν ἢ μεταποιουμένων γε
 σοφίας ἐς γόητας ἔλθοι λόγους; τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν
 παραπλησίως φυλάξαιτο καὶ ἐν φίλοις καὶ ἐν
 ἐχθροῖς κακὸς φαίνεσθαι; καὶ οἱ λόγοι ἦσαν
 ἐναντιούμενοι τοῖς γόησι· σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἴσως τὸν
 πατέρα ἡγῇ τὸν σεαυτοῦ βασιλείας ἐρῶντα γόησι
 μᾶλλον ἢ ἑαυτῷ πιστεῦσαι, καὶ ἀνάγκην ἐπὶ τοῖς
 θεοῖς, ἵνα τούτου τύχοι, παρ' ἐμοῦ εὐρέσθαι, ὁ δὲ
 τοῦτο μὲν καὶ πρὶν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἦκειν ἔχειν ᾔετο,
 μετὰ ταῦτα δ' ὑπὲρ μεϊζύνων ἐμοὶ διελέγετο, ὑπὲρ
 νόμων καὶ ὑπὲρ πλούτου δικαίου, θεοὶ τε ὡς θερα-
 πευτέοι, καὶ ὅποσα παρ' αὐτῶν ἀγαθὰ τοῖς κατὰ
 τοὺς νόμους ἄρχουσι, μαθεῖν ἦρα· οἷς πᾶσιν ἐναν-
 τίον χρῆμα οἱ γόητες, εἰ γὰρ ἰσχύοι ταῦτα, οὐκ
 ἔσται ἡ τέχνη.

Προσῆκει δὲ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, κύκεινα ἐπεσκέφθαι
 τέχναι ὅποσαι κατ' ἀνθρώπους εἰσὶ, πράττουσι
 μὲν ἄλλο ἄλλῃ, πᾶσαι δ' ὑπὲρ χρημάτων,
 αἱ μὲν σμικρῶν, αἱ δ' αὖ μεγάλων, αἱ δ' ἀφ' ὧν
 θρεφονται· καὶ οὐχ αἱ βάνανσοι μόνου, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τεχνῶν σοφαί τε ὁμοίως καὶ

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sation with me, but there were present at it beside CHAP
11
myself Euphrates and Dion one of them my bitter enemy, but the other my firmest friend, for may there never come a time when I shall not reckon Dion among my friends. Now I ask you, who would begin to talk wizardry in the presence of wise men or of men anyhow having claim to wisdom? And who would not be equally on his guard both among friends and among enemies of betraying his vanity? And moreover our conversation on that occasion was directed against wizards, for you surely will not suppose that your own father when he was aspiring to the throne set more confidence in wizards than in himself, or that he got me to put pressure upon heaven that he might obtain his object, when, on the contrary he was confident of winning the crown before ever he came to Egypt, and subsequently he had more important matters to talk over with me, namely the laws and the just acquisition of wealth, and how the gods ought to be worshipped and what blessings they have in store for those monarchs who govern their people in accordance with the laws. These are the subjects which he desired to learn about, and they are all the direct opposite of wizardry, for if they count for anything at all, there will be an end of the black art.

11. And there is another point, my prince which General
note. I
(General) note
merits your attention. The various arts known to mankind in spite of the difference of their functions and achievements, are yet all concerned to make money, some earning less some earning more, and some just enough to live upon, and not only the base mechanic arts, but of the rest those which

CΑΡ. VII ὑπόσοφοι, πλὴν ἀληθοῦς φιλοσοφίας. καλῶ δὲ
 σοφὰς μὲν ποιητικὴν μουσικὴν ἀστρονομίαν,
 σοφιστὰς καὶ τῶν ῥητόρων τοὺς μὴ ἀγοραίους,
 ὑποσόφους δὲ ζωγραφίαν πλαστικὴν ἀγαλματο-
 ποιоὺς κυβερνήτας γεωργούς, ἣν ταῖς ὥραις
 ἔπωνται, καὶ γὰρ αἶδε αἱ τέχναι σοφίας οὐ πολὺ
 λείπονται. ἔστι δέ τι, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ψευδόσοφοί
 τε καὶ ἀγείροντες, ὃ μὴ μαντικὴν ὑπολήβης,
 πολλοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἀξία, ἣν ἐληθεύῃ, εἰ δ' ἐστὶ τέχνη,
 οὐπω οἶδα, ἀλλὰ τοὺς γόητας ψευδοσόφους φημί·
 τὰ γὰρ οὐκ ὄντα εἶναι καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἀπιστεῖσθαι,
 πάντα ταῦτα προστίθῃμι τῇ τῶν ἐξαπατωμένων
 δόξῃ, τὸ γὰρ σοφὸν τῆς τέχνης ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν
 ἐξαπατωμένων τε καὶ [θυομένων] ἀνοίᾳ κεῖται,
 ἣ δὲ τέχνη φιλοχρήματοι πάντες, ἃ γὰρ
 κομψεύονται, ταύθ' ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ σφισιν εὖρηται,
 μαστεύουσι δ' ὑπερβολὰς χρημάτων, ὑπαγόμενοι
 τοὺς ὅτουδ' ἐρώντας ὥς ἱκανοὶ πάντα. τίνα οὖν,
 ὦ βασιλεῦ, πλοῦτον περὶ ἡμᾶς ἰδὼν ψευδοσοφίαν
 ἐπιτηδεύειν με οἶει, καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ σοῦ πατρὸς
 κρείττω με ἡγουμένου χρημάτων, ὅτι δ' ἀληθῇ

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are esteemed liberal arts as well as those which only chap
VI. ~~turner upon being liberal~~ and true philosophy is the only exception. And of liberal arts I mean poetry, music, astronomy, the art of the sophist and of the orator, the seven's forenamed kinds excepted, and by the arts which ~~turner upon~~ ~~arts~~ I mean those of the painter, ~~mechanic~~, ~~sculptor~~, navigator, agriculturist, in case the latter stands upon the seasons for these arts are not very intemperate to the others professions. And on the other hand on prime there are the pseudo liberal arts of jugglers, which I would not have you confuse with divination for this is highly esteemed if to be genuine and tell the truth, though whether it is an art I am not yet sure. But I somehow affirm wisdom to be professors of a pseudo liberal art for they get men to believe that the unreal is real and to distrust the real as unreal, and I attribute all such effects to the imaginative fancy of the dupes for the cleverness of this art is relative to the folly of the persons who are deceived by them, and who offer the sacrifices they prescribe and its professors are given up wholly to their ~~arts~~ ~~art~~ for all their parade of skill is directed by them in hope of gain, and they are always on the look out for big fortunes and they try to persuade people you are passionately attached to something or another that they are capable of getting something for them. Do you then find me so ignorant as to warrant me in supposing that I cultivate this sort of false and illiberal wisdom, the more so as your own father considered me to be above a pecuniary consideration? And to show you that

I repeat the same word ~~words~~ in this passage by ~~different~~ ~~new~~ and is so according to the context.

CAP.
VII λεγω, ποῦ μοι ἢ ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ γενναίου τε καὶ
θείου ἀνδρός ; ὅς με ἐν αὐτῇ ἔδει τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ
τὸ κένεσθαι ”

αὐτοκριτῶρ Οὔεσπασιανὸς Ἀπολλωνίῳ φιλο-
σόφῳ χαίρειν.

“ Εἰ πάντες, Ἀπολλώνιε, κατὰ ταῦτά σοι φιλο-
σοφεῖν ἤθελον, σφοδρὰ ἂν εὐδαιμόνως ἔπραττε
φιλοσοφία τε καὶ πενία· φιλοσοφία μὲν ἰδε-
καστως ἔχουσα, πενία δὲ αὐθαιρετως. ἔρρωσο ”

“ Ταῦθ’ ὁ πατήρ ὁ σὸς ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἀπολογείσθῳ,
φιλοσοφίας μὲν τὸ ἀδέκαστον, πενίας δὲ τὸ αὐθαι-
ρετον ἐμοὶ ὀρίζεσθαι. ἐμέμνητο γὰρ ποὺ καὶ τῶν
κατὰ τὴν Αἰγύπτου, ὅτ’ Εὐφράτης μὲν καὶ πολλοὶ
τῶν προσποιουμένων φιλοσοφεῖν προσιόντες αὐτῇ
χρήματα οὐδ’ ἀφανῶς ἦτουν. ἐγὼ δ’ οὐ μόνον οὐ
προσθεῖν ὑπὲρ χρημάτων, ἀλλὰ κίκείνουε ἐωθουν
ὥς οὐχ ὑγιαίνοντας, διεβεβλήμην δὲ πρὸς χρηματα
μειρακιον ὧν ἔτι τὰ γοῦν πατρῶα, λαμπρὰ δ’ ἦν
οὐσία ταῦτα, μίας μόνης ἰδὼν ἡμέρας, ἀδελφοῖν τε
τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ ἀφῆκα καὶ φίλοις, καὶ τοῖν ξυγγενῶν
τοῖς πένησι, μελετῶν ποὺ ἀφ’ Ἑστίας τὸ μηδενὸς
δεῖσθαι· εἰσθῶ δὲ Βασιλῶν καὶ Ἰνδῶν τὰ ὑπὲρ
Καυκασόν τε καὶ ποταμόν Ὑφασιν, δι’ ὧν ἐπο-
ρευόμην ἐμαυτῷ ὁμοίος· ἀλλὰ τῶν γε ἐνταῦθα καὶ
τοῦ μὴ πρὸς ἀργύριον βλέπειν ποιοῦμαι μιστυρα
τὸν Αἰγύπτιον τοῦτον· δεινὰ γὰρ πεπρῶχθαί τέ

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I speak the truth, here is a letter to me from that ^{cheap} noble and divine man who in it praises me more ^{VII} especially for my poverty. It runs thus

"The autocrat Vespasian to Apollonius the philosopher sends greetings.

Vespasian's
letter to
Apollonius

"If all men, Apollonius, were disposed to be philosophers in the same spirit as yourself, then the lot no less of philosophy than of poverty would be an extremely happy one; for your philosophy is pure and uninterested, and your poverty is voluntary. Farewell."

Let this be your siren pleading in my behalf, when he thus lays stress upon the disinterestedness of my philosophy, and the voluntariness of my poverty. For I have no doubt he had in mind the episode in Egypt, when Euphrates and several of those who pretended to be pious here approached him, and in no obscure language begged for money; whereas I myself not only did not solicit him for money, but repudiated them as impostors for doing so. And I also showed an aversion from money from my first youth. For realising that my patrimony and it was a considerable property, was at best but a transitory toy I gave it up to my brothers and to my friends and to the poorer of my relatives, so disciplining myself from my very home and hearth to want nothing. I will not dwell upon Babylon and the parts of India beyond the Caucasus and the river Hyphasis, through which I journeyed ever true to myself. But in favour of my life here and no less of the fact that I have never coveted money, I will invoke the testimony of this Egyptian here, for he accuses me of every sort of evil deed

μοι καὶ βεβουλεύσθαι φήσας, οὐθ' ὁπόσων χρη-
 μάτων ἐπανούργουν ταῦτα, εἴρηκεν, οὐθ' ὃ τι
 ἐνθυμηθεὶς κέρδος, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἀνόητος αὐτῷ δοκῶ
 τις, ὥς γοητεύειν μὲν, ἃ δ' ὑπὲρ πολλῶν ἕτεροι
 χρημίτων, αὐτος ἀδικεῖν οὐδ' ἐπὶ χρημασιν.
 ἀγορεύ, οἶμαι, προκηρύττων τοιαύτην· ἴτε ὃ
 ἀνόητοι, γοητεῖα γάρ, καὶ οὐδ' ὑπὲρ χρημάτων,
 ἀλλὰ προίκα, κερδανεῖτε δὲ ὑμεῖς μὲν τὸ ἀπελθεῖν
 ἕκαστος ἔχων, ὅτου ἐρῶ, ἐγὼ δὲ κινδύνους καὶ
 γραφάς.

Ἄλλ' ἵνα μὴ ἐς ἀνοήτους ἴωμεν λόγους, ἐρώμεθα
 τὸν κατηγοροῦν, ὑπὲρ ὅτου χρή λέγειν πρῶτον.
 καίτοι τί χρή ἐρωτᾶν, διήλθε γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς
 στολῆς τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ λόγου, καί, νῆ Δί', ὦν
 σιτοῦμαι τε καὶ οὐ σιτοῦμαι. ἰπολογοῦ δὴ ὑπὲρ
 τούτων, θεῖε Πυθαγόρα, κρινόμεθα γὰρ ὑπὲρ ὧν
 σὺ μὲν εὖρις, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπαινώ. ἀνθρώποις ἡ γῆ
 φύει, βασιλεῦ, πάντα, καὶ σπονδὰς ἄγειν πρὸς τὰ
 ζῶα βουλομένοις δεῖ οὐδενός, τὰ μὲν γὰρ δρέπονται
 αὐτῆς, τὰ δ' ἀροῦνται κουροτροφούσης, ὥς ταῖς
 ὥραις ἔοικεν, οἱ δ' ὥσπερ ἀνηκοοὶ τῆς γῆς μέλαι-
 ραν ἐπ' αὐτὰ ἔθηξαν ὑπὲρ ἐσθῆτός τε καὶ βρώσεως.
 Ἰνδοὶ τοιῦν Βραχμᾶνες αὐτοὶ τε οὐκ ἐπῆρουν
 ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς Γυμνοὺς Αἰγυπτίων ἐδίδασκον μὴ
 ἐπαινεῖν αὐτά· ἔνθεν Πυθαγορας ἐλὼν, Ἑλλήνων
 δὲ πρῶτος ἐπέμιξεν Αἰγυπτίοις, τὰ μὲν ἔμψυχα

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and design yet we hear nothing from him of how much money I made by these riddles, nor of how much gain I had in view. Indeed he thinks me such a simpleton as to practise my wizardry for nothing, and whereas others only commit their crimes for much money he thinks that I commit them for none at all. It is as if I offered my wares to the public on such terms as the following: Come, O ye Dupes, for I am a wizard, and I practise the art not for money, but free, gratis and for nothing, and so you shall earn a great reward, for each of you will go off with his heart's desire, while I shall get away with nothing but dangers and writs of accusation.

x. But without descending to such silly arguments, I would now to ask the accuser what of my counts I ought to take first. And yet why first I ask him? for at the beginning of his speech he brought up my dream, and he Zoned upon what I eat and what I do not eat. O divine Pythagoras do thou defend me upon these counts, for we are put upon our trial for a rule of life of which thou wast the discoverer, and of which I am the humble partizan. For the earth, my prince, grows everything for mankind, and those who are pleased to live at peace with the brute creation want nothing for some fruits they can cut from earth or ere they win from her furrows, for she is the nurse of men as suits the seasons. But these men, as it were deaf to the cries of mother-earth, whet their knife against her children in order to get themselves dressed and fed. Here then was a thing which the Brahmins of India thence recondemned and which they taught the naked sages of Egypt also to condemn, and from them Pythagoras took his rule of life, and he was the first of Hellenes

CHAP
VII

As to the name
of the first and
second

Rule of
Pythagoras

τῇ γῇ ἀνῆκεν, ἃ δ' αὐτὴ φύει, ἀκήρατα εἶναι
 φάσκων ἐστυεῖτο, ἐπιτήδεια γὰρ σῶμα καὶ νοῦν
 τρέφειν ἐσθῆτά τε, ἣν ἀπὸ θνησειδίων οἱ πολλοὶ
 φοροῦσιν, οὐ καθαρὰν εἶναι φήσας λίνον ἡμί-
 σχετο, καὶ τὸ ὑπόδημα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον
 βύβλου ἐπλέξατο. ἀπέλαυσέ τε τοῦ καθαρὸς
 εἶναι πολλὰ μὲν, πρῶτον δὲ τὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς
 αἰσθῆσθαι· γεγόμενος γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, οὐς
 ὑπερ τῆς Ἑλένης ἢ Τροίᾳ ἐμίχετο, καὶ τῶν τοῦ
 Πάμβου παίδων κάλλιστος ὢν καὶ κάλλιστα
 ἐσταλμένος, ἀπέθανε μὲν οὕτω νέος, ὥς καὶ Ὀμήρου
 παρασχεῖν θρήνον, παρελθὼν δ' ἐς πλείω σώματα
 κατὰ τὸν Ἀδραστείας θεσμόν, ὃν ψυχὴ ἐναλ-
 λᾷται, πάλιν ἐπανήλθεν ἐς ἀνθρώπου εἶδος καὶ
 Μνηστροχίδῃ ἐτέχθη τῷ Σαμίῳ, σοφὸς ἐκ βαρβάρου
 καὶ Ἴων ἐκ Τρώος, καὶ οὕτω τι ἀθάνατος, ὥς μὴδ'
 ὅτι Εὐφορβος ἦν ἐκλελησθαι. τὸν μὲν δὴ πρό-
 γονον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σοφίας εἶρηκα καὶ τὸ μὴ αὐτὸς
 εὐρών, κληρονομήσας δὲ ἐτέρου ταῦτ' ἔχειν. καὶ γὰρ
 μὲν οὐ κρίνω τοὺς τρυφῶντας ὑπὲρ τοῦ φοινικίου
 ὀρνιθοῦ, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐκ Φάσιδος ἢ Παιόνων, οὐς
 παιάνουσιν ἐς τὰς αὐτῶν δαῖτας οἱ τῇ γαστρὶ
 χαριζόμενοι πάντα, οὐδ' ἐγραψάμην πω οὐδενα

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who had intercourse with the Egyptians. And it was
 was its rule to give up and leave her animals to the
 earth, but all things which she grows, he declared,
 were pure and undefiled and ate of them ac-
 cordingly, because they were best adapted to nourish
 both body and soul. But the garments which most
 men wear made of the hides of dead animals he
 declared to be impure, and accordingly cast himself
 in linen and on the same principle had his shoes
 woven of hyblus. And what were the advantages
 which he derived from such purity? Many, and
 before all the power of recognizing his own soul.
 For he had existed in the age when Troy was
 fighting about Helen and he had been the fairest of
 the sons of Patroclus, and the best equipped of them
 all, yet he is still at so young an age as to exhibit
 the latent talent even of Homer. Well after that
 he passed into several bodies according to the
 decree of Adrasta, which transfers the soul from
 body to body and then he again retained the
 form of man and was born to Menarchides of
 Samos, this time a sage instead of a barbarian
 and an Ionian instead of a Trojan and so numerous
 from death that he did not ever forget that he
 was Euphorbus. I have then told you who was
 the begotten of my own wisdom and I have shown
 that it can discover if my own but an inheritance
 come to me from another. And as for myself
 though I do not condemn or judge those who make
 it part of their luxury to consume the red-plumaged
 fowl or the fowls from Phasis or the land of the
 Persians which are fattened up for their banquets by
 those who can deny nothing to their beliefs, and
 though I have never yet brought an accusation

CΑΤ
VII

ὕπὲρ τῶν ἰχθύων, οὓς ὠνοῦνται πλείονος ἢ τοὺς κοππατίας ποτὲ οἱ λαμπροί, οὐδ' αἰλουργίδος ἐβιάσκηνα οὐδενί, οὐδὲ Παμφύλου τινὸς ἢ μαλακῆς ἐσθῆτος, ἀσφοδέλου δέ, ὦ θεοί, καὶ τραγημάτων καὶ καθαρᾶς ὀψοφαγίας γραφὴν φεύγω.

Καὶ οὐδὲ ἡ ἐσθῆς ἄσυχλος, ἀλλὰ κεύκειν λωποδυτεῖ με ὁ κατήγορος ὥς πολλοῦ ἡξίαν τοῖς γόησι. καίτοι ἀφελόντι τὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμφύχων τε καὶ ἐνψύχων λαγον, δι' ὧν καθαρὸς τις ἢ μὴ δοκεῖ, τί βελτίων ἢ ὀθόνη τοῦ ἐρίου, τὸ μὲν γε πρῶτάτου ζῆλον ἐπέχθη καὶ σπουδαζόμενον θεοῖς, οἳ μὴ ἀπαξιούσι τὸ ποιμαίνειν καί, νῆ Δί, ἡξίωσάν ποτε αὐτὸ καὶ χρυσοῦ εἶδους ἢ θεοὶ ἢ λόγοι. λίνον δὲ σπειρεται μὲν, ὥς ἔτυχε, χρυσοῦ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐπ' αὐτῷ λόγος, ἀλλ' ὅμως, ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἀπ' ἐμφύχου ἐδρέφθη, καθαρὸν μὲν Ἰνδοῖς δοκεῖ, καθαρὸν δὲ Αἰγυπτίοις, ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ Πυθαγόρα διὰ τοῦτο σχῆμα γέγονε διαλεγόμενοις εὐχομένοις θύουσι, καθαρὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐκνυχεύειν ὑπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ γὰρ τὰ ὀνείρατα τοῖς, ὥς ἐγώ, διαιτωμένοις ἐτυμωτέρας τὰς αὐτῶν φήμας ἄγει.

Ἀπολογώμεθα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς οὔσης ποτὲ ἡμῖν κόμης, ἐπειδὴ τις γραφὴ καὶ αὐχμοῦ εὔρηται.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

against anyone, because they buy fish for their ^{char-}
 tables at greater prices than grand seignours ever ¹¹¹
 gave for their Cornithian chargers, and though I
 have never grudged anyone his purple garment nor
 his soft egypt and Pamphylian tissues, yet I am
 accused and put upon as true O to gods because I
 indulge in asphides and d sweet of dried fruits and
 pure delicacies of that kind.

7) Nor even is my mode of dress protected from ^{the charge}
 their calumnies, for the accuser is ready to steal ^{the name of}
 even that off my back, because it has such vast value ^{simple and}
 for wizards. And yet apart from my contention about
 the use of living animals and loticous things,
 according as he uses one or the other of which
 I regard a man as impure or pure in what way is
 linen better than wool? Was not the latter taken
 from the back of the goat? I imagine if a
 creature beloved of the gods who do not disdain
 themselves to be shepherds and, by Zeus, once held
 the fleece to be worthy of a golden form, if it
 was really a god that did so, and if it be not a mere
 story? On the other hand linen is grown and sown
 anywhere, and there is no talk of god in connection
 with it. Nevertheless, because it is not sucked
 from the back of a living animal the Indians regard
 it as pure and so do the Egyptians and I myself
 and Pythagoras on this account have adopted it as
 our garb when we are discoursing or praying or
 offering sacrifice. And it is a pure substance under
 which to wrap of a right for to those who live as I
 do dreams bring the truth of their revelations.

8) Let us next defend ourselves from the attack ^{the charge}
 occasioned by the hair which we formerly wore ^{the name of}
 for one of the counts of the accusation turns upon ^{long hair}

(ΑΓ
 VJ) κρίνεται δὲ μὴ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, ἀλλὰ τὰ ξανθὰ καὶ
 διεκτενισμένα μεϊράκια, τοὺς ἐραστὰς ἐξαψάμενα
 καὶ τὰς ἐταίρας, ἐφ' ὧς κωμάζει καὶ ἑαυτὰ μὲν
 εὐδαίμονα ἡγείσθω καὶ ζηλωτὰ τῆς κόμης καὶ τοῦ
 λειβομένου ἀπ' αὐτῆς μύρου, ἐμὲ δὲ ἀναφροδισίαν
 πᾶσαν καὶ ἐραστὴν τοῦ μὴ ἐρᾶν. εἰρήσεται γὰρ
 πρὸς αὐτά· ὦ κακοδαίμονες, μὴ συκοφαντεῖτε τὸ
 Δωριέων εὖρεμα, τὸ γὰρ κομᾶν ἐκ Λακεδαιμονίων
 ἦκει, κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους ἐπιτηδεύειν αὐτοῖς, ἐς
 οὓς μαχιμώτατα αὐτῶν εἶχον, καὶ βασιλεὺς τῆς
 Σπάρτης Λεωνίδας ἐγένετο κομῶν ὑπὲρ ἀνδρείας,
 καὶ τοῦ σεμνοῦ μὲν φίλοις, φοβεροῦ δὲ ἐχθροῖς
 φαίνεσθαι ταῦτά τοι καὶ ἡ Σπάρτη ἐπ' αὐτῷ
 κομᾶ μείον οὐδὲν ἢ ἐπὶ Λυκούργῳ τε καὶ Ἰφίτρῳ,
 σοφοῦ δὲ ἀνδρὸς κόμης φειδέσθω σίδηρος, οὐ γὰρ
 θεμιτὸν ἐπάγειν αὐτόν, οὐ πᾶσαι μὲν αἰσθητηρίων
 πηγαί, πᾶσαι δ' ὀμφαί, ὅθεν εὐχαί τε ἀναφαί-
 νονται καὶ σοφίας ἐρμηνεὺς λόγος. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς
 μὲν γὰρ καὶ στροφίον τῶν ἀλουργοτάτων περὶ
 αὐτὴν ἀρμόσας ἐσόβει περὶ τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων
 ἀγυῖας, ὕμνους ξυντιθείς, ὡς θεὸς ἐξ ἀνθρώπου
 ἔσοιτο, ἐγὼ δὲ ἡμελημένη κόμη χρώμενος, καὶ
 οὐπω τοιῶνδε ὕμνων ἐπ' αὐτῇ δεηθείς, ἐς γραφὰς
 ἀγομαι καὶ δικαστήρια. καὶ τί φῶ τὸν Ἐμπε-
 δοκλέα, πότερ' ἑαυτὸν ἢ τὴν τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ

THE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

the equal thereof. But surely the Egyptian is not
 entitled to ~~scold~~ ^{scold} me for this but rather the dandies
 with their veils and well-combed locks who work
 by means of them to inflame the hearts of their
 lovers and the mistresses of their revels. Let them
 congratulate and commend themselves upon their
 locks and on the tresses which drop from them. Let
 them not say anything that is unattractive, and if a
 word of ~~advice~~ ^{advice} of a sister comes from me. For I am
 not here to address them. They, O ye young wretches,
 do not take me as an imitation of the Thracians.
 For the wearing of your hair long has come down
 from the ~~Thracians~~ ^{Thracians} who affected it in the
 period when they reached the height of their
 manly fame and a king of Sparta, Leonidas,
 wore his hair long in token of his beauty and in
 order to appear ~~glorious~~ ^{glorious} to his friends yet terrible
 to his enemies. But these reasons Sparta wears her
 hair long no less in his honour than in that of
 Lycurgus and of Iphitus. And yet every age be
 careful that the iron knife does not touch his hair,
 for it is dangerous to ~~part~~ ^{part} it thereto so far forth as
 in his head are as the springs of his senses and
 all his intentions and it is the source from which his
 powers issue forth and aim his speed the inter
 preter of his wisdom. And whereas Empedocles
 fastened a fillet of deep purple around his hair and
 walked proudly about the streets of the Sicilians,
 comparing in this to prove that he had passed from
 humanity and was become a god, I only wear my
 hair dishevelled and I have never needed to sing
 such hymns about it yet am hailed before the law
 courts as a criminal. And what shall I say of
 Empedocles? Which had he most reason to praise,

may
 116

CAP. VI. ἀνθρώπων εὐδαιμονίαν ἴδειν, παρ' οἷς οὐκ ἔσυκοφαντεῖτο ταῦτα,

Μὴ πλείω διαλεγώμεθα ὑπὲρ τῆς κόμης, ἐτμήθη γὰρ καὶ προῦλαβε τὴν κατηγορίαν ὁ φθόνος, δι' ὃν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐτέρας αἰτίας χρή ἀπολογεῖσθαι χαλεπῆς οὔσης, καὶ οἷας, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μὴ σοὶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Διὶ παρασχεῖν φόβον φησὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους θεὸν ἠγγεῖσθαι με, καὶ δημοσίᾳ τοῦτ' ἐκφέρειν ἐμβρονημένους ὑπ' ἐμοῦ· καίτοι καὶ πρὸ τῆς αἰτίας ἐκεῖνα διδάσκειν ἔδει, τί διαλεχθεὶς ἐγώ, τί δ' οὕτω θαυμάσιον εἰπὼν ἢ πράξας ὑπηγαγόμεν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους προσεῦχεσθαι μοι οὔτε γάρ, ἐς ὃ τι ἢ ἐξ ὅτου μετέβαλον ἢ μεταβαλεῖ μοι ἡ ψυχὴ, διελεχθῆν ἐν Ἑλλησι, καίτοι γινώσκων, οὔτε δόξας περὶ ἐμαντοῦ τοιαύτας ἀπέστειλα, οὔτ' ἐς λογία καὶ χρησμῶν ῥήδας ἐξῆλθον, οἷα τῶν θεοκλυτούντων φορά, οὐδ' οἶδα πόλιν οὔδε μίαν, ἐν ᾗ ἔδοξε ξυνιόντας Ἀπολλωνίῳ θύειν, καίτοι πολλοῦ ἄξιος ἐκάστοις ἐγενόμην, ὅποσα ἐδέοντό μου, ἐδέοντο δὲ τοιαῦτα· μὴ νοσεῖν οἱ νοσοῦντες, ὀσιώτεροι μύειν, ὀσιωτεροὶ θύειν, ὕβριν ἀκτετμήσθαι, νόμους ἐρρῶσθαι. μισθὸς δ' ἐμοὶ μὲν τούτων ὑπήρχε τὸ βελτίους αὐτοὺς αὐτῶν φαί-

THE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

the man himself or his contemporaries for their hatred
 him, saying that they never saw and false accusations
 against him, for such a reason.

1418
 1419

But let us say no more about my hate for
 has been cut off and the accusations has been fur-
 stilled by the same hatred which inspires the most
 except a more more he was one from which I must
 now defend myself. I do not know what I can do
 only you are present but I am himself with the ap-
 propriate. He has learned that once regarded me as a
 god and that those who have seen the destruction
 and rendered stark mad by myself previous. This
 tempt to justice. And yet when according me there
 are things which are shown as well as of
 he is it is what is shown as is what is shown of
 wonder had a placed in a pen to me. I
 never looked among the crowd of the gods and long
 of my words, not my future transformations, though
 I knew full well what they were. But I did I ever
 discriminate such questions against myself. I was about
 a search of passages and now or strains as a the
 subject of carities for divine honours. Now do
 I know of a single city in which a decree was passed
 that the citizens should sacrifice and sacrifice in
 honour of Apollonius. And yet I have been much
 respected in the severe cities which asked for my
 aid, whatever the objects were for which they
 asked it and they were such as these that their
 sick might be healed of their diseases that both
 their institutions and their manners might be re-
 stored more honest that insolence and pride might
 be exterminated and the laws strengthened. And
 whereas the reward which I obtained in all this
 was that such were made much better than they were

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CAP. νισθαι, σοὶ δὲ ἐχαρίζομην ταῦτα· ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ
 τῶν βοῶν ἐπιστάται το μὴ ἀτακτεῖν αὐτάς· χυρί-
 ζονται τοῖς κεκτημέναις τὰς βοῦς, καὶ οἱ τῶν
 ποιμνίων ἐπιμεληταὶ πιαίνουσιν αὐτὰ ἐς τὸ τῶν
 πεπαμένων κέρδος, νόσους τε ἀφαιροῦσι μελιττῶν
 οἱ νομεῖς αὐτῶν, ὡς μὴ ἀπύλαιοτο τῇ δεσπότῃ
 τὸ σμήνος, οὕτω που καὶ ἐγὼ τὰ πολιτικὰ παυῶν
 ἐλαττωσιματα σοὶ διωρθαυμνῶ τὰς πόλεις, οἷσ' εἰ
 καὶ θεὸν ἰγχοῦντο με, σοὶ κέρδος ἢ ἀπύτι εἶχε,
 ξὺν προθυμίᾳ γὰρ που ἠκροῶντό μοι, δεδιυτες
 πρυττειν, ἢ μὴ δοκεῖ θεῷ. ἢλλ' οὐχί, τοῦτο ᾔοντο,
 ὅτι δ' ἐστὶ τις ἀνθρώπων πρὸς θεὸν ξυγγένεια, δι'
 ἣν μόνον ζῶων θεοὺς οἶδε, φιλοσοφεῖ δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ
 τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως καὶ ὅπῃ μετέχει τοῦ θείου.
 φησὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸ εἶδος αὐτὸ θεῷ ὁικέειν, ὡς
 ἀγαλματοποιία ἐρμηνεύει καὶ χρώματα, τὰς τε
 ἀρετάς· θεοθεν ἦκειν ἐπ' αὐτὸν πέπεισται, καὶ τοὺς
 μετεχοντας αὐτῶν ἀγγιθέους τε εἶναι καὶ θεοὺς.

Διδασκάλους δὲ τῆς διανοίας ταύτης μὴ
 Ἀθηναίους καλῶμεν, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς δικαίους καὶ
 τοὺς Ὀλυμπίους καὶ τὰς τοιμασθεῖς ἐπωνυμίας
 πρῶτοι ἔθεντο, θειοτέρας, ὡς τὸ εἶκος, αὔσας
 ἢ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων κείσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν
 ἐν τῇ Πυθοὶ ἀφίκετο μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν
 αὐτοῦ Λυκοῦργος ὁ ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης ἄρτι γεγραμ-
 μένων αὐτῷ τῶν νόμων, οἷς ἡ Λακεδαιμόνων τέ-
 τακται, προσεειπων δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀπόλλων βασα-
 νίζει τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ δόξαν, ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ χρησμοῦ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

before, they were all so many boons bestowed upon CHAP
 yourself by me. For as cow herds if they get the 11
 cows into good order earn the gratitude of their
 owners, and as shepherds fatten the sheep for
 the owner's profit and as bee keepers remove
 diseases from the hive so that the owner may not
 lose his swarm so also I myself, I think by correcting
 the defects of their politics improved the cities for
 your benefit. Consequently if they did regard me
 as a god the disputation brought profit to yourself,
 for I am sure they were the more ready to listen to
 me because they feared to do that which a god dis-
 approved of. But in fact they entertained no such
 notion, though they were aware that there is
 between man and God a certain kinship which
 raises him above of the animal creation to recognize
 the Gods and to speculate not about his own nature
 and the manner in which it participates in the divine
 substance. Accordingly man declares that his very
 form resembles God as it is interpreted by sculptors
 and painters and he is persuaded that his virtues
 come to him from God and that those who are
 endowed with such virtues are near to God and
 divine.

But we need not hail the Athenians as the
 teachers of this opinion because they were the first
 to apply to men the titles of just and Olympian beings
 and the like though they are too divine, in all
 probability, to be applicable to man, but we must
 mention the Apollo in the Prithan temple as their
 saviour. For when Lycurgus from Sparta came to
 his teacher, having just penned his code for the
 regulation of the affairs of Lacedæmon, Apollo
 addressed him and weighed and examined the repa-

(ΑΡ
 VII) φάσκων ἰσχυροῦν, πότερα χρὴ θεὸν ἢ ἄνθρωπον
 καλεῖν, προῖων δὲ ἀποφαίνεται καὶ ψηφίζεται τὴν
 ἐπωνυμίαν ταύτην, ὥς ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ. καὶ οὐδεὶς
 ἐπὶ τὸν Λυκοῖργον ἄγων ἦκεν, ἢ κίνδυνος ἐκ
 τούτων παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὥς ἠθανατίζοντα,
 ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐπέπληξε τῷ Πυθίῳ προσρηθεὶς ταύτοις,
 ἀλλὰ ξυετίθεντο τῷ μαντεῖϊ, πεπεισμένοι δὴπου
 καὶ πρὸ τοῦ χρησμοῦ ταῦτα.

Τὰ δὲ Ἰνδῶν καὶ Αἰγυπτίων ταῦτα· Ἰνδοὺς
 Αἰγύπτιοι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα συκοφαντοῦσι καὶ δια-
 βύλλουσιν αὐτῶν τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι δόξας.
 τὸν δὲ λόγον, δις ἐς τὸν δημιουργὸν τῶν ὕλων
 εἴρηται, οὕτω τι ἐπαινοῦσιν, ὡς καὶ ἑτέρους
 διδάξασθαι Ἰνδῶν ὄντα. ὁ λόγος δὲ τῆς μὲν
 τῶν ὄλων γενέσεώς τε καὶ οὐσίας θεὸν δημιου-
 ρὸν οἶδε, τοῦ δὲ ἐνθυμηθῆναι ταῦτα αἷτιον τὸ
 ἀγαθὸν εἶναι αὐτόν· ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ξυγγενῇ ταῦτα,
 ἔχομαι τοῦ λόγου καὶ φημὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τῶν
 ἀνθρώπων θεοῦ τι ἔχειν. κόσμος δὲ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ θεῷ
 δημιουργῷ κείμενος τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ νομιζέσθω καὶ
 τὰ ἐν θαλάττῃ καὶ γῇ πάντα, ὧν μετουσία ἴση
 ἀνθρώποις, πλήν τύχης. ἔστι δὲ τις καὶ ἐπ’
 ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ κόσμος οὐχ ὑπερβάλλων τὰ σοφίας
 μέτρα, ὅν που καὶ αὐτός, ὦ βασιλεῦ, φήσεις ἀνδρὸς

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

tation he enjoyed and at the commencement of his CHAP. VI
 oracle the god declares that he is puzzled whether
 to call him a god or a man but as he advances he
 decides in favour of the former appellation and assigns
 it to him as being a good man. And yet the
 Lacedæmonians never forced a lawsuit on this ac-
 count upon Lycurgus nor threatened him on the
 ground that he claimed to be immortal for he never
 named the Pythian god for so addressing him, but
 on the contrary the citizens agreed with the oracle,
 for I believe they were already persuaded of the
 fact before ever it was decreed.

And the truth about the Indians and the Egyptians
 is the following. The Egyptians falsely accuse
 the Indians of saying things and in particular find
 fault with their ideas of religion, but though
 they do so, they yet approve of the account which
 they have given of the creator of the Universe,
 and even have taught it to others though ori-
 ginally it belonged to the Indians. Now this ac-
 count recognises God as the creator of all things,
 who brought them into being and sustains them,
 and it declares further that his motive in desig-
 ning was his goodness. Since then these notions
 are kindred to one another I carry the argument The copy of
Apollonius
 further and declare that good men have in their com-
 position something of God. And by the universe
 which depends upon God the creator we must under-
 stand things in heaven and things in the sea and on
 earth which are equally open to all men to partake
 of though their fortunes are not equal. But there
 is also a universe dependent on the good man which
 does not transcend the limits of wisdom, which I
 imagine you yourself, my prince, will allow stands

CAP
VII
δεῖσθαι θεῷ εἰκασμένου· καὶ τί τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τοῦδε; αἱ ψυχαὶ ἀτακτοῦσαι μανικώτερον ἄπτονται παντὸς σχήματος, καὶ ἔωλοι μὲν αὐταῖς νόμοι, σωφροσύνη δ' οὐδαμοῦ, θεῶν δὲ τιμαὶ ἄτιμοι, λαλιᾶς δ' ἐρώσι καὶ τρυφῆς, ἐξ ὧν ἀργία φύεται πανηρὰ ξύμβουλος ἔργου παντός. αἱ δὲ μεθύνουσαι ψυχαὶ κηδῶσι μὲν ἐπὶ πολλά, τὸ δὲ σκίρτημα τοῦτο ἴσχει οὐδέν, οὐδ' εἰ πάντα πίνοιεν, ὅπῃσα, ὥσπερ ὁ μανδραγόρας, ὑπνῆλὰ ἐνομίσθη. ἀλλὰ δεῖ ἀνδρὸς, ὃς ἐπιμελησεται τοῦ περὶ αὐτὰς κόσμου, θεὸς ὑπὸ σοφίας ἤκων. οὐτοσὶ γὰρ ἀπόχρη αὐτὰς ἐρωτων τε ἀπάγειν, ἐφ' οὓς ἀγριώτερον τῆς ξυνήθους ὁμιλίας ἐκφέρονται, καὶ φιλοχρηματίας, δι' ἣν οὐπω πᾶν ἔχει φασίν, ἐπεὶ μὴ καὶ τὸ στόμα ὑπέχουσιν ἐπιρρέοντι τῷ πλούτῳ. φόβῳ γὰρ ἀνασχεῖν μὲν αὐτὰς μὴ προσάπτεσθαι οὐκ ἀδύνατον ἴσως ἀνδρὶ τοιούτῳ, ἀπονῆψαι δὲ οὔτε ἐμοὶ δυνατὸν οὔτε τῷ πάντων δημιουργῷ θεῷ.

Ἐστω, βασιλεῦ, κατηγορία καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἐφέσου, ἐπειδὴ ἐσώθη, καὶ κρινέτω με ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, ὥς ἔστι πρόσφορον τῇ γραφῇ. ἔστι γὰρ δήπου ἡ κατηγορία τοιαύτη· περὶ Σκύθας ἢ Κελτούς, οὓς ποταμὸν Ἰστρον ἢ Ῥήνον οἰκοῦσι, πόλεις φέκισται μείων οὐδέν Ἐφέσου τῆς ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ ταύτην ὀρμη-

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

in need of a man fashioned in the image of God CHAP. VII
 And what is the fashion of this universe? There are undisciplined souls which in their madness clutch at every fashion and they have laws which are out of date and vain and there is no good sense among them, but the honours which they pay to the gods really dishonour them and they are in love with idle chatter and luxury which breed idleness and sloth the worst of all practical advisers. And there are other souls which are dragged and rush in all directions at once, though their antics lead to nothing, nor could do so, even if they drank all the drugs accounted as the Mandragora is to be squibbe. Now you need a man to administer and care for the universe of such souls a god sent down by wisdom. For it is able to wear them from the joys and passions which they rush to satisfy with out intermission here for solitary joys etc. and then their aversion which is such that they deny they have anything at all unless they can hold their mouths open and have the stream of wealth flow into it. For perhaps such a man as I speak of could even restrain them from committing murder. however he tries I myself nor even the god who created all things, can wash off them the guilt of that.

xviii. Let me now my prisoner take the accusation which concerns Ephesus since the invasion of that city was gained and let the Egyptian be my judge according as it best suits his accusation. For this is the sort of thing the accusation is. Let us suppose that among the Germans or Celts, who are among the rivers later and Rhine a city has been founded every whit as important as Ephesus in Ionia. Here you have a silly sort of barbarians who refuse

CAP
 VII τήριον βαρβύρων οὔσαν, αἱ μὴ ἀκροῶνταί σου.
 λοιμὸς μὲν τις ἀπολεῖν ἔμελλεν. Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ
 ἰάσατο. ἔστι μὲν γάρ τις καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπολογία
 σοφῷ ἀνδρί, ἣν ὁ βασιλεὺς το ἀντίξουν ὄπλοις,
 ἀλλὰ μὴ νόσοις αἰρεῖν βούληται· μὴ γὰρ ἐξαλει-
 φθεῖη πόλις μηδεμία, μήτε σοί, βασιλεῦ, μήτε
 ἐμοί, μήτε ἴδοιμι πρὸς ἱεροῖς νόσον, δι' ἣν οἱ
 νοσοῦντες ἐν αὐτοῖς κείσονται. ἀλλὰ μὴ ἔστω
 ἐν σπουδῇ τὰ βαρβύρων, μηδὲ τίττωμεν αὐτοὺς
 ἕς τὸ ὑγιαῖνον, πολεμιωτάτους ὄντας καὶ οὐκ
 ἐνσπόνδους τῇ περὶ ἡμᾶς γένει, τὴν δὲ Ἐφεσοι
 τίς ἀφαιρήσεται τὸ σῶζεσθαι, βεβλημένην μὲν
 τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ γένους ἐκ τῆς καθαρωτικῆς
 Ἀτθίδος, ἐπιδεδωκυῖαν δὲ παρὰ πάσας, ὄπυσαι
 Ἰωνικαί τε καὶ Λύδιοι, προβεβηκυῖαν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν
 θάλατταν διὰ τὸ ὑπερήκειν τῆς γῆς, ἐφ' ἧς
 ἐκίσθη, μεστὴν δὲ φροντισμάτων οὔσαν φιλο-
 σόφων τε καὶ ῥητορικῶν, ὑφ' ὧν ἡ πόλις οὐχ
 ἴππῳ, μυριάσι δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἰσχύει, σοφίαν ἐπαι-
 νοῦσα, τίς δ' ἂν σοφὸς ἐκλινεῖν σοι δοκεῖ τὸν
 ὑπὲρ πόλεως ταιαύτης ἀγῶνα, ἐνθυμηθεὶς μὲν
 Δημόκριτον ἐλευθερώσαντα λοιμοῦ ποτε Ἀβδη-
 ρίτας, ἐννοήσας δὲ Σοφοκλέα τοῦ Ἀθηναίου, ὃς
 λέγεται καὶ ἀνέμους θέλξαι τῆς Ἰᾶρας πέρα
 πνεύσαντας, ἀκηκοὼς δὲ τὰ Ἐμπεδοκλέους, ὃς
 νεφέλης ἀνέσχεε φορὰν ἐπ' Ἀκραγαντίνους
 βραγείσης;

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to be subject to yourself let us then suppose that it was about to be destroyed by a pestilence and that Apollonius found a remedy and averted it. I imagine that a wise man would be able to defend himself even against such a charge as that, unless indeed the mischief desired to get rid of his advice carried with it some evil army sent by plague for I pray my people that no city may ever be which would put either to prison someone for to prison him nor may I ever believe in temples or in men to which those who are such should succumb in them. But granted that we are not interested in the affairs of foreigners and need not restore them to health, since they are our utter enemies and not at peace with our men, yet who would dare to deprive Syracuse of her women who with thanks are getting from that part of her age Athens and which grow in our land as other cities of Ionia and Lydia, and stretched herself out to the sea on the promontory over which she is built and is filled with statues of plague both pitiful and piteous thanks to whom the city owes her strength, not to her enemies but to the sons of thousands of her inhabitants to whom she encourages war? And do you think that there is any man who would dare to do his utmost to do such a thing when he reflects that Demetrius once liberated the people of Ascarum from just such and when he hears in mind the story of Siphacis of Athens who is said to have charmed the winds when they were blowing unseasonably and who has heard how Hannibal was stayed a cloud in its course when it would have burst over the heads of the people of Agragum?

CLAP
VII

Ἐπικόπτει με ὁ κατήγορος ἀκούεις γιέρ που καὶ σύ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ φησιν, οὐκ ἐπειδὴ σωτηρίας αἷτιος Ἐφεσίους ἐγενόμην, γράφεσθαί με, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ προεῖπον ἐμπεσεῖσθαι σφισι τὴν νόσον, τουτὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ σοφίαν εἶναι καὶ τερατώδες, τῆς δ' ἐπὶ τοσούτῃ ἀληθείας οὐκ ἂν ἐφικέσθαι με, εἰ μὴ γόης τε ἦν καὶ ἀπόρρητος. τί οὖν ἐνταῦθα ἐρεῖ Σωκράτης ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔφασκε τοῦ δαιμονίου μαυθάνειν, τί δὲ Ἑλληνος τε καὶ Ἀναξαγόρας, τῷ Ἰωνε, ὁ μὲν τὴν εὐφορίαν τὴν τῶν ἑλαιῶν, ὁ δὲ πολλὰ τῶν οὐρανίων παθῶν προειπόντε, ἡγοητεύοντε προειπεῖν ταῦτα; καὶ μὴν καὶ ὑπήχθησαν οὗτοι δικαστηριοῖς ἐφ' ἑτέραις αἰτίαις, καὶ οὐδαμοῦ τῶν αἰτιῶν εἴρηται γοητας εἶναι σφᾶς, ἐπειδὴ προγιγνώσκουσι καταγέλαστον γὰρ τοῦτο ἐδόκει, καὶ οὐδ' ἐν θηετταλίᾳ πιθανὸν κατ' ἀνδρῶν λέγεσθαι σοφῶν, οὐ τὰ γύναια κακῶς ἤκουεν ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς σελήνης ἑλξει.

Πόθεν οὖν τοῦ περὶ τὴν Ἐφεσον πάθους ἡσθύμην; ἤκουσας μὲν καὶ τοῦ κατηγόρου εἰπόντος, ὅτι μὴ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους διαιτῶμαι, κάμοι δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμαντοῦ σιτιῶν, ὥς λεπτὰ καὶ ἡδίω τῆς ἐτέρων συβάριδος, ἐν ἀρχῇ εἴρηται· τοῦτό μοι, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἐν αἰθρίᾳ τιπὲ ἀπορρήτῃ φυλάττει, κοῦκ ἐὰν θολερὰν περὶ αὐτὰς οὐδὲν εἶναι, διορᾶν τε, ὥσπερ ἐν κατόπτρου ἀνγῇ, πάντα γιγνόμενά τε καὶ ἐσύ-

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(ix) The accuser here interrupts me, you hear him CHAP.
 yourself do so my prince and he remarks that I am The charge
 not accused for having brought about the salvation of wisdom
 of the Ephesians but for having foretold that the
 plague would fall upon them for this, he says,
 transcends the power of wisdom and is miraculous,
 so that I could never have reached such a pitch of
 truth if I were not a wizard and an unspeakable
 wretch. What then did Socrates say here of the
 men which he declared he learned from his demonic
 genius? Or what would Ithaca and Anaxagoras,
 both Ionians say of whom one foretold a pernicious
 crop of olives, and the other not a few meteorologi-
 cal disturbances? That they foretold these things
 by dint of being wizards? Were it not a fact that
 they were brought before the law courts upon other
 charges but that no one ever heard among their
 accusations that of their being wizards because they
 had the gift of foreknowledge? For that would
 have been thought ridiculous and it would not have
 been a plausible charge to bring against men of
 wisdom even in Miletus, where the women had
 a bad reputation for drawing the moon down to
 earth.

How then did I get my sense of the coming
 disaster at Ephesus? You have listened to the
 statement made even by my accuser that instead of
 aving like other people I keep to a light diet of my
 own and prefer it to the luxury of others and I
 began by saying so myself. This diet, my king,
 grants my senses in a kind of indecipherable ether or
 clear air and forbids them to contract any foul
 or turid matter and allows me to discern, as in the
 sheet of a looking glass, everything that is happen-

CAP VII μενα. οὐ γὰρ περιμενεῖ γε ὁ σοφὸς γῆν τὴν
 ἀναθυμιῶσαι ἢ τον ἀέρα διεφθαρτότα, ἣν τὸ δεινον
 ἄνωγει ῥέγῃ, ἀλλὰ ξυνήσει αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ θύραις
 ὄντων, ὕστερον μὲν ἢ οἱ θεοί, θάττον δὲ ἢ οἱ πολ-
 λοί· θεοὶ μὲν γὰρ μελλόντων, ἄνθρωποι δὲ γυγνο-
 μένων, σοφοὶ δὲ προσιόντων αἰσθάνονται. λοιμῶν
 δ' αἰτίας ἰδίῃ, βασιλεῦ, ἐρώτα, σοφώτεραι γὰρ ἢ ἐς
 τοὺς πολλοὺς λέγεσθαι ἂρ' οὖν το οὕτως διαιτῶ-
 σθαι λεπτοτητα μόνον ἐργιζεται τοῖν αἰσθίσιων ἢ
 ἰσχυρὴ ἐπὶ τὰ μέγιστά τε καὶ θαυμασιωτάτα; θεωρεῖν
 δ' ἔξεστιν, ὃ λέγω, καὶ ἀπ' ἄλλων μὲν, οὐχ ἴκιστα
 δὲ κακ τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ περὶ τὴν νόσον ἐκείνην
 πραχθέντων· τὸ γὰρ τοῦ λοιμοῦ εἶδος, πτωχῷ δὲ
 γέροντι εἴκαστο, καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἰδὼν εἶλον, οὐ παύ-
 σας νόσον, ἀλλ' ἐξελῶν· ὅτῳ δ' εὐξάμενος, δηλοῖ
 τὸ ἰαρόν, ὃ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ὑπὲρ τούτου ἰδρισάμην,
 Ἡρακλέους μὲν γὰρ Ἀποτροπαίου ἐστί, ξυνεργὸν δ'
 αὐτὸν εἰλομένην, ἔπειδ᾽ ἂν σοφός τε καὶ ἀνδρεῖος ὢν
 ἐκαυθρε ποτε λοιμοῖ τὴν Ἥλιν, τὰς ἀναθυμιάσεις
 ἀποκλύσας, ἃς παρεῖχει ἡ γῆ κατ' Αὐγεαν τυραν-
 νεύοντα.

Τίς ἂν οὖν σοι, βασιλεῦ, δοκεῖ φιλοτιμού-
 μενος γοῆς φαίνεσθαι θεῷ ἀναθεῖναι, ὃ αὐτὸς
 εἰργαστο; τινὰς δ' ἂν κτήσασθαι θαυμαστάς τῆς

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ing or is to be. For the sage will not wait for the ^{CHAP} earth to send up its exhalations, or for the atmo-^{VI}sphere to be corrupted in case the evil is shed from above, but he will notice these things when they are impending, not so soon indeed as the gods, yet sooner than the many. For the gods perceive what lies in the future, and men what is going on before them, and wise men what is approaching. But I would have you, my prince, ask of me in private about the causes of such cases, for they are secrets of a wisdom which should not be divulged to the many. Was it then, my mode of living which alone develops such a subtlety and keenness of perception as can apprehend the most important and wonderful phenomena? I must answer in the positive question, not only from other considerations, but in part also from what took place. A plague is in connection with that plague. For the genius of the pestilence, and it took the form of a most old man, I with detected, and having detected took it captive, and I did not so much stay the disease as check it out. And who the god was to whom I had offered my prayers is shown in the statue which I set up in Ephesus to commemorate the event, and it is a temple of the Hercules who arrests disease, for I chose him to be my god, because he is the wise and courageous god, who once purged of the plague the city of Pisa by washing away with the river in the foul exhalations which the soil sent up under the tyranny of Augeras.

Who then do you think, my prince, being ambitious to be considered a wizard, would dedicate his personal achievement to a god? And whom would he get to admire his art, if he gave the credit of the miracle

ΟΑΡ
 VII τέχνης, θεῶ παρὲς τὸ θαυμάζεσθαι, τίς δ' ἂν
 Ἡρακλεῖ εὐξασθαι γόης ὦν, τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα οἱ
 κακυδαιμονες βόθροις ἀνατιθέασι καὶ χθονίους
 θεοῖς, ὦν τὸν Ἡρακλέα ὑποτακτέον, καθαρὸς γὰρ
 καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὖνους. ἡϋξάμην αὐτῇ καὶ
 ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ποτέ, λαμίας γάρ τι φάσμα
 κάκει περὶ τὴν Κύρυνθον ἦλυσ, σιτούμενον τῶν
 νέων τοὺς καλούς· καὶ ξυνηρατό μοι τοῦ ἀγῶνος
 οὐ θαυμασίῳν δεηθεὶς δώρων, ἀλλὰ μελιττούτης
 καὶ λιβανωτοῦ καὶ τοῦ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τι ἰν-
 θρώπων ἐργάσασθαι, τουτὶ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ τὸν
 Εὐρύσθεα μισθὸν τῶν ἀθλων ἡγεῖτο. μὴ ἄχθου,
 βασιλεῦ, τὰ Ἡρακλέους ἀκούων· ἔμελε γὰρ
 αὐτοῦ τῇ Ἀθηνῇ, ἐπειδὴ χρηστὸς καὶ σωτήριος
 τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ κελεύεις με ὑπὲρ τῆς θυσίας ἀπολο-
 γεῖσθαι, τουτὶ γὰρ καὶ τῇ χειρὶ ἐνδείκνυσθαι,
 ἄκουε ἀπολογίας ἀληθοῦς· ἐγὼ γὰρ πᾶνθ' ὑπὲρ
 σωτηρίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρίττων, οὐπω ὑπὲρ
 αὐτῶν ἔθυσα, οὐδ' ἂν θύσαιμι οὐδέν, οὐδ' ἂν
 θίγοιμι ἱερῶν, ἐν οἷς αἷμα, οὐδ' ἂν εὐξαίμην
 ἐς μάχαιραν βλέπων ἢ θυσίαν, ἣν φησιν. οὐ
 Σκύθην με, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἤρηκας, οὐδ' ἐκ τῆς
 ἀμίκτου ποθέν, οὐδ' ἐπέμειξά πω Μασσαγέταις ἢ
 Ταύροις, ὥς κάκείνους ἂν τοῦ τῆς θυσίας ἔθους
 μετέβαλον· ἀνοίας δ' ἂν ποῖ ἤλαυνον, ἵνα πλείστα

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to food? And who would offer his prayers to CHAP
V
Hercules if he were a wizard? For in fact these wretches attribute such feats to the trencher they dig and to the gods of the under-earth among whom we must not class Hercules for he is a pure deity and kindly to men. I offered my prayer to him once on a time also in the Peloponnese for there was an apparition of a laius there too and I visited the being the arm of Corith and devoured gird-breaking young men. And Hercules lent me his aid in my contest with her, without asking for me any wonderful gifts, nothing more than honey-cake and frankincense and the chance to do a salutary tort to mankind, for in the case of Eurystheus also this was the only pardon which he thought of for his labours. I would ask you, my prince, not to be displeased at my mention of Hercules, for Athens had him under her care because he was good and kind and a saviour of man.

(2. But inasmuch as you bid me vindicate myself in the matter of the sacrifice, for I observe you beckoning with your hand for me to do so, bear my defence. It shall set the truth before you. In all my actions I have at heart the salvation of mankind yet I have never offered a sacrifice in their behalf nor will I ever sacrifice anything, nor touch sacraments in which there is blood, nor offer any prayer with my eyes fixed upon a knife or a sacrifice as he understands it. It is no Scythian, my prince that you have got before you nor a native of some savage and inhospitable land, nor did I ever mingle with Massagete or Taurians, for in that case I should have reformed even them and altered their sacrificial custom. But to what a depth of folly and mean-

The charge
of blood
sacrifice
+ food
with Heron

ΣΑΤ
VII

μὲν ὑπὲρ μαντικῆς διαλεγόμενος καὶ ὅπη ἔρρωται
ἢ μὴ, ἄριστα δ' ἀνθρόπων ᾗσθημένος, ὅτι τὰς
αὐτῶν βουλὰς οἱ θεοὶ τοῖς ὁσίοις τε καὶ σοφοῖς
ἀνδράσι καὶ μὴ μαντευομένοις φαίνουσι, μαι-
φουίας ἄπτωμαι καὶ σπλάγχχνω ἀθύρων ἐμοὶ καὶ
ἀκαλλιερήτων; ἐφ' οἷς ἀπέλιπευ ἄν με καὶ ἡ τοῦ
δαιμονίου ὁμφὴ μὴ καθαρὸν ὄντα

Καὶ μὴν εἴ τις ἀφελὼν τὸ τῆς θυσίας μῦθος
ἐξετάξοι τὸν κατήγορον πρὸς ἡ μικρῷ πρόσθεν
εἶρηκεν, ἀπαλλάττει με τῆς αἰτίας αὐτός· ὃν γὰρ
φησι προειπεῖν Ἐφεσίοις τὴν νόσον θυσίας ἀνδε-
μιᾶς δεθέντα, τί σφαγίων ἐδεήθην ἐφ' ἡ καὶ μὴ
θυσαμένῳ παρῆν εἰδέναι; μαντικῆς δὲ τί ἐδουμην
ὑπὲρ ὧν αὐτός τε ἐπσπαίσμην καὶ ἄτερος; εἰ γὰρ
ὑπὲρ Νερούα καὶ τοῦ· ἀμφ' αὐτὸν κρίνομαι, λέξω
πύλιν, ἡ καὶ πρώην εἶπον, ἡνίκα ᾗτιώ ταῦτα.
Νερούαν γὰρ ἄξιον μὲν ἀρχῆς ἡγοῦμαι πάσης
καὶ λόγου παντὸς ἐπ' εὐφημίαν ἤκοντος, ἀγω-
μιστὴν δὲ φροντίδων οὐ χρηστόν· καταλέλυται
γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ τῆς νοσου, δι' ἣν καὶ ἡ γνώμη
μαστὴ ἄσης καὶ οὐδὲ τὰ οἴκοι ἱκανή· σὲ γοῦν
ἐπαινεῖ μὲν σώματος, ἐπαινεῖ δὲ γνώμης, εἰκὸς
μὲν οἶμαί τι πράττων, προθυμοτέρα γὰρ ὄντως
ἢ ἀνθρωπεῖα φύσις ἐπαινεῖν, ἡ μὴ αὐτὴ ἔρρωται.

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sequence should I have descended if, after talking chap
VI so much about divination and about the conditions under which it flourishes or does not flourish, I, who understand better than anyone that the gods reveal their intentions to holy and wise men even without their possessing prophetic gifts, made myself guilty of bloodshed, by uniting with the citizens of victimæ as unacceptable to myself as they are to heaven? In that case the revelation of heaven would surely have abandoned me as impure.

However, if we drop the fact that I have a horror of any such sacrifice, and just examine the accuser on respect to the statements which he made a little earlier. He himself argues me of this charge. For if, as he says, I could force I to the Ephesians the impending justice without use of any sacrifice whatever, what need had I of saying victimæ in order to discover what lay within my cognizance without offering any sacrifice at all? And what need had I of divination in order to find out things of which I myself was already assured as well as another? For if I am to be put upon my trial on account of Nerva and his companions I will repeat what I said to you the day before yesterday when you accused me about these matters. For I regard Nerva as a man worthy of the highest office and of all the consideration that belongs to a good name and fame, but as one ill-calculated to carry through any difficult plan, for his frame is undermined by a disease which fills his man with bitterness, and incapacitates him even for his home affairs. As to yourself certainly he admires your vigour of body no less than he admires your judgement, and in doing so I think he is not singular because men are by nature more

511¹ πέπονθε δέ τι καὶ πρὸς ἐμέ χρηστὸν Νερούας,
 καὶ οὔτε γελίσαντά πω αὐτὸν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ οἶδα οὔτε
 εὐηθισάμενόν τι τῶν εἰωθότων ἐν φίλοις, ἀλλ'
 ὥσπερ τὰ μαιράκια πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας τε καὶ
 διδασκίλους τοὺς αὐτῶν, εὐλαβῶς μὲν φθέγγεται
 τὸ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ πᾶν, ἐρυθριᾷ δέ ἔτι, εἰδὼς δὲ το
 ἐπισεικὲς ἐπαινεῖντά με οὕτω τι ἄγαν ἐπιτηδεύει
 αὐτό, ὥς καί μοι ταπεινότερος τοῦ μετρίου φαί-
 νεσθαι. πῶς οὖν πιθανὸν ἡγήσαιο ἂν τις
 ἀρχῇ ἐπιθυμήσῃ Νερούαν, ἠγαπῶντα, εἰ τῆς
 φαντοῦ οἰκίας ἄρξῃ, ἢ ὑπὲρ μεγάλων διαλέγεσθαι
 μοι τὸν μηδ' ὑπὲρ μικρῶν τεθαρρηκότα, ἢ ξυνίπ-
 τειν ἐμοὶ γνώμην ὑπὲρ ὧν μηδὲ πρὸς ἄλλον, εἰ
 τοῦμὲν ἐνεθυμίσθῃ, ξυνήψῃ; ἢ πῶς ἔτ' ἐγὼ σοφὸς
 γνώμην ἐρμηνεύειν ἀνδρός, μαντικῇ μὲν πιστεύων,
 ἀπιστῶν δὲ σοφίᾳ, τὸν δὲ Ὀρφίτην καὶ τὸν
 Ῥαῦφον, τοὺς δικαίους μὲν καὶ σώφρονας νο-
 θροὺς δὲ ἄνδρας, ὡς εὖ οἶδα, εἰ μὲν ὡς τυραννη-
 σειοντας διαβεβλήσθαι φασιν, οὐκ οἶδ' εἴτε
 τούτων πλεόν διαμαρτάνουσιν, εἴτε Νερούα, εἰ
 δ' ὡς συμβούλῳ γεγονότε, πιθανώτερος ἀρχῇ ἐπι-
 θέσθαι Νερούας, ἢ οἶδε συμβουλευσαι;

Ἄλλὰ μὴν τὸν γε ὑπὲρ τούτων κρίνοντα κάκεῖνα
 εἰκὸς ἦν ἐνθυμεῖσθαι, τί ἐβούλετό μοι τὸ ξυλλαμ-

prone to admire what they themselves lack the ^{weak} strength to do. But Nerva is so animated towards myself by feelings of respect, and I never saw him in my presence laughing or joking as he is accustomed to do among his friends. But like young men towards their fathers and teachers, he observes a reserve in every thing that he says in my presence, may he even blushes; and because he knows that I appreciate and set so great a value upon modesty he therefore so solemnly cultivates that quality as sometimes to appear even to me humbler than he seems to be. Whether ever regard it is probable that Nerva is ambitious of empire, when he is only too glad to be con-governor his own house and, or that a man who has not the nerve to converse with me in our times would discuss with me the greatest of all or would concert with me plans which, if he thought like myself he would not even concert with others? How again could I retain my reputation for wisdom and interpreting a man's judgment if I believed overmuch in domination, yet wholly distrustful of whom? As for Septimius and Rufus who are just and wise as men though somewhat sluggish, as I well know to be the case if they say that they are under suspicion of aspiring to become despots I hardly know over whom they make the greater mistake over them, or over Nerva, if however they are accused of being his accomplices, then I ask which you would most readily believe that Nerva was usurping the throne, or that they had conspired with him.

11 I must confess that there are also other points which the accuser who brings me to the bar on these accounts should have entertained and considered.

CAP
VII

βάνειν τοῖς ἐπὶ νεώτερα ἤκουσι· χρήματα μὲν γὰρ οὐ φησι παρ' αὐτῶν γεγενῆσθαι μοι, οὐδὲ δωροῖς ἐπαρθέντα με ταῦτα εἰργίεσθαι σκεψομεθα δέ, μὴ μεγαλῶν δεόμενος, ἀνεβαλόμεν τὰς παρ' αὐτῶν εὐεργεσίας ἐς ὃν ᾤοντο ἄρξειν χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ μεγάλα μὲν ἂν αἰτεῖν ὑπῆρξε, μειζύνων δ' ἀξιοῦσθαι πῶς οὖν ταῦτα ἔσται δῆλα, ἐνθυμήθητι, βασιλεῦ, σεαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἔτι πρὸ σοῦ ἄρχοντας, ἀδελφὸν δῆπου τὸν σεαυτοῦ καὶ πατέρα, Νέρωνί τε ἐφ' ᾧ ἡρξαν, κατὰ τουτοὺς γινωσκόμενα τοὺς βασιλέας βεβιωταί μοι ἐς τὸ φανερόν, τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον Ἰνδοῖς φοιτῶντι. ταύτων δὴ τῶν ὀκτώ καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτών, τοσοῦτον γὰρ τὸ ἐς σὲ μήκος, οὔτε ἐπὶ θύρας βασιλείου ἐφοίτησα πλην ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τοῦ σοῦ πατρὸς, ἐπεὶ μήτε βασιλεὺς πω ἐτύγχανεν ὃν ὁμολογεῖ τε δεῖν ἐμὲ ἡγεῖν, οὔτε ἀνελεύθερόν τι διελέχθη βασιλεῦσιν ἢ ὑπὲρ βασιλέων δημοῖς, οὔτ' ἐπιστολαῖς ἐλαμπρυνόμεν ἢ γραφόντων ἐμοὶ βασιλέων ἢ αὐτὸς ἐνδεικνυμένος γράφειν, οὔθ' ὑπὲρ δωρεῶν κολακεύων βασιλέας ἐμαυτοῦ ἀπηνέχθη. εἰ γοῦν ἔροίό με πλουσίους ἐνθυμηθεὶς καὶ πένητας, ποτέρου τῶν ἐθνῶν τούτων ἐμαυτὸν γράφω, τῶν πλουσιωτάτων φήσω, τὸ γὰρ δεῖσθαι μηδεὶς ἐμοὶ Λυδία καὶ τὸ Πακτωλοῦ πᾶν, πῶς οὖν ἢ τὰς παρὰ τῶν οὐπω βασιλέων δωρεὰς ἀνεβαλόμεν

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

What sense was there in my aiding these revolution-
ists? For he does not say that I received any money
from them, nor that I was tempted by presents
to commit these crimes. But let us consider the
point whether I might not have advanced great
claims, but have deferred their recognition of them
until the time came at which they expected to
win the throne, when I might have demanded much
and have obtained still more as my due. But how
can you prove all this? Can you mind, my prince,
your own reign and the reigns of your prede-
cessors I mean of your own brother and of your
father and of Nero under whom they held office,
for it was under these princes, chiefly that I passed
my life before the eyes of all the rest of my
time being spent on my visit to India. Well, of
these thirty-eight years for such is the period which
has elapsed since then up to your own day I have
never come near the courts of princes except that
once in Egypt, and then it was your father's, though
he was not at that time actually Emperor and he
admitted that he came there on my account. Nor
have I ever uttered anything base or humiliating
either to emperors or on behalf of emperors to
judges nor have I sought distinction through letters
which princes might either write to myself or I
myself ostentatiously address to them nor have I
ever demeaned myself by flattery of princes in order
to win their largesse. If then after due consideration
of rich and poor, you should ask me in which class I
register myself I should say among the very rich, for
the fact that I want nothing is worth to me all the
wealths of India and of Partolus. Is it likely then that
I who never would take presents from yourself whence

CHAP
11

Apollonius
not subject
of any title

ε.λν
 γ.η
 ἐς ὃν ἄρξειν αὐτοὺς ὥμην χρόνον ὁ μὴδὲ τὰς παρ'
 ὡμῶν ἐλόμενος, οἷς βέβαιον ἡγούμεην τὸ ἄρχειν, ἢ
 βασιλειαῶν μεταβολὰς ἐπενόουν μὴδὲ ταῖς καθε-
 στηκυῖαις ἐς τὸ τιμᾶσθαι χρώμενος; καὶ μὴν
 ὅποσα γίνεται φιλοσόφῳ ἀνδρὶ κολακεύοντι τοὺς
 δυνατοὺς, δηλοῖ τὰ Εὐφράτου· τούτῳ γὰρ ἐντεθ-
 θεὺ τί λέγω χρηματα; πηγαὶ μὲν οὖν εἰσι
 πλούτου, κίπρι τῶν τραπεζῶν ἤδη διαλέγεται
 κάπηλος, ὑποκίπηλος, τελώνης, ὀβολοστιάτης,
 πάντα γιγνόμενος τὰ πωλουμένῃ τε καὶ πω-
 λούντα, ἐντετύπωται δ' αἱ ταῖς τῶν δυνατῶν
 θύραις καὶ προσέστηκεν αὐταῖς πλείω καιρὸν
 ἢ οἱ θυρωροί, ἀπελήφθη δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ θυρωρῶν
 πολλῶν, ὥσπερ τῶν κυνῶν οἱ λίχνοι, δραχμὴν
 δὲ οὐδὲ φιλοσόφῳ ἀνδρὶ προσέμενός ποτε, ἐπιτε-
 χίζει τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πλοῦτον, ἑτέροις τὸν Αἰγύπτιον
 τουτονὶ βόσκων χρήμασι καὶ ὀξύνων ἐπ' ἐμὲ
 γλῶτταν ἀξίαν ἐκτετμησθαι.

Εὐφράτην μὲν δὴ καταλείπω σοί, σὺ γάρ, ἦν
 μὴ κόλακας ἐπαινήεις, εὐρήσεις τὸν ἀνθρώπον κακίῳ
 ὧν ἐρμηνεύω, τῆς δὲ λοιπῆς ἀπολογίας ἀκροώ-
 τίς οὖν αὕτη καὶ ὑπὲρ τίνων; ἤδετό τις, ὦ
 βασιλεῦ, παιδὸς Ἀρκάδος ἐν τῇ κατηγορίᾳ θρήνος,
 τετμησθαι μὲν αὐτὸν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ νύκτωρ, εἰ δ' ὅναρ
 φησὶν, οὐπω οἶδα, εἶναι δὲ πατέρων τε ἀγαθῶν ὁ

throne I regarded as perfectly secure, should either ^{crab} have gone on going to mere pretenders, and have deferred the receipt of my recompense from them until such time as I thought would find them emperors; or that I should join a change of dynasty, who never care for purposes of my advancement resorted to that which was already established? And yet if you want to know how much a philosopher may obtain by flattery of the mighty you have only got to look at the case of Epiphanes. For why do I speak of his having got more money out of them? Why he has perfect fountains of wealth and a ready at the banks he discovers prices as a merchant might or a huckster, a tax-gatherer, a low money-changer for all these roles are his if there is anything to my use! and he rings like a trumpet to the doors of the mighty, and you see him staring at them more regularly than any doorkeeper indeed he often outstays the doorkeeper just as greedy dogs would do, but he never yet bestowed a farthing upon any philosopher, but he has all up all his wealth within his own house, only supporting this Egyptian out of the money of others and whetting against me a tongue which ought to have been cut out.

21. However I will leave Paphrates to yourself, ^{The smart} for inasmuch as you approve of flatterers you will find the fellow worse than I depict him. and I only ask you to listen to the rest of my apology. What then is it to be and from what consists is it to defend me? In the act of accusation, my prince a regular dirge is chanted over an Arabian boy whom I am accused of having cut up by night perjured in a dream, for I am sure I do not know. This child is said to be of respectable parentage and to have possessed all the

word of
Paphrates

The smart
boy
Arabian
boy

CAP. VII παῖς οὗτος καὶ τὸ εἶδος οἱ Ἀρκύδων οἷον αὐχμῶ
 καλοί. τοῦτόν φασιν ἰκετεύοντά τε καὶ ὀλοφνύ-
 μενον ἰπεςφάχθαι, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐς τὸ τοῦ
 παιδὸς αἷμα βιψάντα θεοῖς ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας εὐχε-
 σθαι. μέχρι τούτων ἐμὲ κρίνουσιν, ἡ δὲ ἐφεξῆς
 λόγος τῶν θεῶν ἄπτεται, φασὶ γὰρ τοὺς θεοὺς
 ἀκοῦσαι μὲν ὧδέ μου εὐξαμένον, δοῦναι δὲ ἱερὰ
 εὐσημα, καὶ μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι ἀσεβοῦντα. τί, μὲν
 οὖν ἀκράσιν, ὡς οὐ καθαρά, τι ἂν, ὦ βασιλεῦ,
 λεγοίμι;

Ἄλλ' ὑπὲρ ὧν γὰρ μοι ἀπολογητέα, τίς ὁ
 Ἀρκᾶς οὗτος; εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἀνώνυμος τὰ πατέρων,
 μηδ' ἀνδραποδωδης τὸ εἶδος, ὥρα σοι ἐρωτᾶν. τί
 μὲν ὄνομα τοῖς γειναμένοις αὐτόν, τίς δὲ οἰκίας
 οὗτος, τίς δ' ἐθρέψατο αὐτόν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ πυλῖς,
 τινῶν δὲ βωμῶν ἀπαχθεὶς ἐνταῦθα ἐθύετο. οὐ
 λέγει ταῦτα καίτοι δεινὸς ὧν μὴ ἀληθεύειν. οὐκ-
 οὖν ὑπὲρ ἀνδραπόδου κρίνει με. ὅ γὰρ μήτ' αὐτῇ
 ὄνομα μήθ' ὧν ἔφυ, μὴ πόλις μὴ κληρὸς ἐστίν,
 οὐχί, ὦ θεοί, τοῦτον ἐν ἀνδραπόδοις χρή τάττειν,
 ἀνώνυμα γὰρ πάντα. τίς οὖν ὁ κίπηλος τοῦ
 ἀνδραπόδου; τίς ὁ πριάμενος αὐτὸ ἐξ Ἀρκυδων;
 εἰ γὰρ τὸ γένος τούτων ἐπιτήδειον τῇ σφαττούσῃ
 μαυτικῇ, πολλῶν μὲν χρημάτων εἰκὸς ἐωνῆσθαι
 τὸν παῖδα, πεπλευκέναι δὲ τινα ἐς Πελοπόννησον,
 ὧ ἐνθένδε ἡμῖν ἀναχθεῖν ὁ Ἀρκᾶς· ἀνδράποδα μὲν

good looks which Ariadans wear even in the midst of CHAP.
VI
misfortune. They pretend that I massacred him in spite
of his entreaties and amercement, and that after thus
injuring my hands in the blood of this child I prayed
the gods to reveal the truth to me. So far they only
attack myself in their charges, but what follows is a
direct assault upon the gods, for they assert that
the gods heard my prayers under such circumstances,
and vouchsafed to me victims of good men, instead
of slaying me for my iniquity. Need I say to my
persecutors, I am drifting over to listen to such stuff?

But to return to my pleadings to the gods, it is which
affect myself I would ask who is this Ariadans? For
since he was not of native-born parentage, and by no
means remarkable in appearance, it is time for you to
ask what was the name of those who begot him and
of what family he was and what city in Arcadia had
the honour of rearing him, and from what waters he
was dragged away in order to be sacrificed here.
My accusers does not supply this information, in spite
of his agility in the art of lying. Let us then
suppose it was only a slave in whose behalf he
accuses me. For if I am so, we surely must claim
among slaves one who had neither name of his own,
nor parentage, nor city as inheritance? For slaves
have no proper names of their own. In that case
who was the slave merchant who sold him? Who
was it that brought him from Arcadia? For if he
beared a special name for the butchering kind of
diviners, he must surely have purchased the boy for
much money. And some messenger must have sailed
straight to the Peloponnese in order to fetch this
Ariadans and conduct him to us. For though one
can buy here on the spot slaves from Pontus or

γὰρ Ποιτικὴ ἡ Λυδία ἢ ἐκ Φρυγῶν πρίαιτ' ἢν κιν-
 ταῖθ' αἱ τις, ὃν γε καὶ ἡγέλαις ἐντυχεῖν ἐστὶν ἡμα-
 φοιτώσας δαῖτρο, ταῦτι γὰρ τὰ ἔθνη καὶ ὅποσα
 βαρβαρῶν, πάντα τον χρόνοι ἑτέρων ἡκροώμενοι
 οὕτω τὸ δουλεῖν αἰσχροὺν ἰγούνται· Φρυξὶ γοῦν
 ἐπιχωριον καὶ ἀποδιδόσθαι τοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ
 ἀνδραποδισθέντων μὴ ἐπιστρέφεισθαι Ἕλληνας
 δὲ ἐλευθερίας ἐρασταὶ ἔπι, καὶ οὐδὲ δούλον
 ἀνὴρ Ἕλληνα περὰ ὅρων ἀποδωσεται, ὅθεν οὐδὲ
 ἀνδραποδισταῖς οὔτε ἀνδραποδῶν καπήλοισι ἐς
 αὐτοὺς παριτηγία, ἐς δὲ Ἀρκαδίαν καὶ μᾶλλον,
 πρὸς γὰρ τῇ παρὰ πάντα ἐλευθερίαζειν Ἕλ-
 ληνας δεόνται καὶ ὅχλου δούλων ἔστι δὲ
 πολυλήσιος καὶ ποωδης ἡ Ἀρκαδία καὶ ὕλωδης
 οὐ τὰ μετέωρα μόνον, ἰλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν ποσὶ
 πάντα, δει δὴ αὐτοῖς πολλῶν μὲν γεωργῶν,
 πολλῶν δὲ αἰπόλων συφορβοῖν τε καὶ παιμένων
 καὶ βουκυλῶν, τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ βουσι, τῶν δ' ἐφ'
 ἵπποις, δρυτομῶν τε δεῖται πολλῶν ἡ χώρα καὶ
 τοῦτο ἐκ παιδῶν γυμνίζονται, εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ
 τοιγδε ἦν τὰ τῶν Ἀρκυδῶν, ἀλλ' εἶχον, ὥσπερ
 ἑτεροὶ, προσαποδιδόσθαι τοὺς αὐτῶν δούλους, τι τῇ
 θρυλουμένη σοφίᾳ ξυνεβαλλετο τὸ ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας
 εἶναι τὸν σφαττομενον, οὐδὲ γὰρ σοφώτατοι τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων Ἀρκάδες, ἱν' ἑτέρου τι ἀνθρώπου πλεον
 περὶ τὰ λογικὰ τῶν σπλυγχνῶν φαίνωσιν, ἀλλὰ
 ἀγροικοτάτοι ἀνθρώπων εἰσι καὶ συνωδεις τὰ
 τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸ γαστριζεσθαι τῶν δρυῶν.

Ῥητορικώτερον ἴσως ἀπολελογημαὶ τοῦμοῦ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS BOOK VIII

Lydia or Phrygia for indeed you can meet whole droves of them being conducted hither since these like other barbarous nations have always been subject to foreign masters and as yet see nothing disgraceful in servitude as I know with the Phrygians it is a custom yet to sell their children and once they are enslaved they never think any more of their parents but the Hellenes retain fear even of death and men of Hellas will never sell a slave out of his country for with reason known to us slave drivers never resort thither least of all to Arcadia for in addition to the fact that they are beyond all other Hellenes poor in slaves they also require a great number of slaves themselves. For Arcadia is a vast expanse of grass-land and of timber which covers not only the mountains but all the plains as well. Consequently they require a great many labourers, many goat herds and swine herds and shepherds and drivers either for the oxen or for the horses, and there is much need in the land of wood cutters, a craft to which they are trained from boyhood. And even if the land of Arcadia were not such as I have described so that they could in addition afford like other nations to sell their own slaves should what advantage could there be when the accused labours of slavery by getting a slave from Arcadia to murder and cut up? For the Arcadians are not so much wiser than other Hellenes that their orators should convey more information than those of other people. On the contrary they are the most laconic of men, and resemble dogs in other ways and especially in that that they can stomach slaves.

It is possible that I have conducted my defence in more rhetorical lines than is my custom, as thus

CAP. ^{VI} τρόπον, τὰ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἀφερμηνεύων ἦθη καὶ
 παριῶν ἐς Πελοπόννησον τῷ λογιῷ. ἡ γὰρ ἐμοὶ
 προσήκουσα ἀπυλσγία τίς; οὐκ ἔθυσσα, οὐ θύω,
 οὐ θυγγίνω αἵματος. οὐδ' εἰ βώμιον αὐτο εἶη.
 Πυθαγόρας τε γὰρ ᾧδε ἐγίγνωσκεν οἷ τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
 παραπλησίως, καὶ κατ' Αἴγυπτον δε οἱ Γυμνοὶ καὶ
 Ἰνδῶν οἱ σοφοί, παρ' ὧν τοῖς ἀμφι Πυθαγόραν αἱ
 τῆς σοφίας ἀρχαὶ ἐφοίτησαν. κατὰ ταῦτα θύοντες
 οὐ δοκυῖσιν ἰδικεῖν τοῖς θεοῖς, ἀλλὰ γηρίσκειν τε
 αὐτοῖς ξυγχωροῦσιν ἁρτίοις τὰ σώματα καὶ ἀνό-
 σοις, καὶ σοφωτέροις ἀεὶ δοκεῖν, μὴ τυραννεύεσθαι,
 μηδενὸς δεῖσθαι καὶ οὐκ ἀπεικός, οἶμαι, ἀγαθῶν
 δεῖσθαι σφῶς ὑπὲρ καθαρῶν θυμάτων. δοκῶ γάρ
 μοι καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τὸν αὐτὸν ἐμοὶ νοῦν ὑπὲρ
 θυσιῶν ἔχοντας, τα λιβανοφορὰ τῆς γῆς ἐν καθαρῷ
 τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐκφυτεύειν, ἢ ἀπ' αὐτῶν θυσιμαί,
 μὴ σιδηροφοροῦντες ἐν ἱεροῖς, μηδ' αἷμα ἐς βωμοὺς
 ραίνοντες ἐγὼ δ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ἑμαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν θεῶν
 ἐκλαθόμενος ἔθυσαν τροπον, ὃν μητ' αὐτὸς εἶωθα
 μήτε τις ἀνθρώπων θύοι.

Ἀπαλλαττετω με τῆς αἰτίας καὶ ὁ καιρὸς, ὃν
 εἶρηκεν ὁ κατήγορος· τὴν γὰρ ἡμέραν ἐκεινην,
 ἐν ᾗ ταῦτα ἐργάσθαι μοί φησιν, εἰ μὲν ἐγενόμην
 ἐν ἰγρῷ, ἔθυσσα, εἰ δὲ ἔθυσσα, καὶ ἔφαγον. εἰτά
 με, ὦ βασιλεῦ, θαμνὰ ἐρωτᾷς, εἰ μὴ ἐπεχω-
 ριαζον τῇ Ῥώμῃ τότε, καὶ σύ, βέλτιστε βασι-
 λέων, ἐπεχωριαζες, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν εἶποις θῦσαι

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

characterizing the habits of the Athenians and digressing into the Propagandists. What however is my right line of defence? This I think I never sacrificed I do not sacrifice it now I never touch it not even if it be shed upon an altar for this was the rule of Pythagorens and because of his disciples and in fact it was of the Sages sages, one of the sages of India from whom these purest equies of wisdom were derived by Pythagorens and his school. In sacrificing to ~~the gods~~ ^{the gods} they do not seek to be gods to be criminals for the latter suffer them to grow old and in body and fear from disease and to increase in wisdom day to be free from ~~the gods~~ ^{the gods} to be wanting nothing. Nor do I think it is ~~the gods~~ ^{the gods} that the gods have need of good men in order to offer them pure sacrifices. For I have seen the gods over the same round as myself in the matter of sacrifice and that they therefore punish those parts of the earth which grow frankincense in the present region of the world in order that we may use their resources for purposes of sacrifice without drawing the knife in their temples or casting ~~the gods~~ ^{the gods} upon altars. And yet it appears I so far forgot myself and the gods as to sacrifice with rites which are not only unusual with myself but which no human being would employ.

Let me add that the very hour which my accuser alleges accredits me of this charge. For on that day the day at which he says I committed this crime I alone that if I was in the country I offered sacrifice, and that if I sacrificed then I ate of the victim. And yet, my friends you repeatedly ask me if I was not staying at Rome at that time? And you too, O best of friends, were staying there, and

CAP. VII ταιαῦτα καὶ ὁ συκοφάντης, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁμολογήσει
 τὰ τῶν ἀνδροφόνων πράττειν, εἰ κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην
 διητᾶτο, καὶ μυριάδες ἀνθρώπων, ὥς βέλτιον
 ξενηλατεῖν ἢ ὑπάγειν γραφαῖς, ἐν αἷς τεκμήριον
 ἀδικημάτων ἔσται τὸ ἐνταῦθα εἶναι. καίτοι το ἐν
 τὴν Ῥώμην ἦκειν καὶ παραιτεῖται τιχα τῆς τοῦ
 νεώτερα πράττειν δοκεῖν αἰτίας· τὸ γὰρ ἐν πόλει
 ζῆν, ἐν ᾗ πῖντες μὲν ὀφθαλμοί, πᾶσα δὲ ἀκρόβυστος
 ὄντων τε καὶ οὐκ ὄντων, οὐ ξυγχωρεῖ νεωτέρων
 ἄπτεσθαι τοῖς γε μὴ λίαν θανατῶσι, τοὺς δ'
 εὐλαβεστέρους τε καὶ σώφρονας βραδεως ἄγει καὶ
 ἐφ' ᾧ ἔξεστι.

Τί οὖν, ὦ συκοφάντα, κατὰ τὴν εὐκτα ἐκείνην
 ἔπραττον, εἰ μὲν ὡς σεαυτὸν ἐρωτᾷς, ἐπειδὴ
 καὶ σὺ ἐρωτᾷς ἦκεις, ὠγῶνας ἡταιμαζον καὶ
 κατηγορίας ἐπ' ἄνδρας χρηστούς, καὶ ἀπαλέσαι
 τοὺς οὐκ ἀδικούντας καὶ πείσαι τὸν βασιλεα
 μὴ ἀληθῆ λέγων, ἵν' ἐγὼ μὲν εὐδοκιμοῖην, μαί-
 νοιτο δὲ οὗτος, εἰ δ' ὡς φιλοσοφου πυνθάνῃ, τὸν
 Δημοκρίτου ἐπῆνον γέλωτα. ὅν ἐς πάντα τὰ
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων γελᾷ, εἰ δ' ὡς ἐμοῦ, Φιλίσκος ὁ
 Μηλιεύς ἐτῶν ξυμφιλοσοφήσας ἐμοὶ τεττάρην,
 ἐνόσει τότε, καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ ὑπεκάθευδον οὕτω

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

yet you would not on that account admit you offered CHAP. 11
such a sacrifice — and my false accuser was there like
wise, but he will not own on that account that he
committed murder, just because he was living in
Rome. And the same is the case of thousands of
persons, whom you would do better to expel as
strangers, than expose to acts of accusation, if in
these the mere fact of their having been in Rome is
to be held to be a proof of their guilt. On the other
hand the fact of my coming to Rome is in itself a
disproof of the charge of revolutionary plotting, for
to live in a city where there are so many eyes to
see and so many ears to hear things which are
said and done is a serious handicap for anyone
who desires to play at revolution, unless he be
willing to rest upon his own death. On the contrary
it prompts prudent and sensible people to walk
slowly even when engaged in wholly permissible
pursuits.

121. What then, O cyclophant, was I really doing
on that night? Suppose I were yourself and was
being asked this question inasmuch as you are come
to ask questions, what then the answer would be
this — I was trumping up actions and accusations
against decent and respectable people and I was
trying to ruin the innocent and to persuade the
Ravennate by dint of harrying in order that while
I myself declined to fight, I might soil him with
the blood of my victims. If again you ask me as
a philosopher, I was praising the laughter with
which Democritus laughed at all human affairs.
But if you ask me as being myself here is my
answer. Pitiscus of Melos, who was my fellow pupil
in philosophy for four years, was ill at the time, and

CAP. V. I. διακειμένη χαλεπῶς, ὥς καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου. καίτοι πολλὰς ἂν τῆς ξάμην ἰυγας ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνου ψυχῆς γενέσθαι μοι, καί, νῆ Δι', εἴ τινας Ὀρφείως εἰσὶν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀποθανόντων μελῳδίαί, μηδ' ἐκείνας ἀγνοῆσαι, καὶ γὰρ ἂν μοι δοκῶ καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν πορευθῆναι δι' αὐτόν, εἰ ἐφικτὰ ἦν ταῦτα οὕτω με ἀνήρητο πᾶσιν οἷς φιλοσόφως τε καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἐμὸν νοῦν ἔπραττε.

Ταῦτ' ἔστι μὲν σοι, βασιλεῦ, καὶ Τελεσίνου ἀκούσαι τοῦ ὑπάτου, παρῆν γὰρ καὶ ἐκεῖνος τῷ Μηλιεῖ, θεραπεύων αὐτὸν νύκτωρ, ὅπόσα ἐγώ, εἰ δὲ Τελεσίῳ ἀπιστεῖς, ἐπειδὴ τῶν φιλοσοφούντων ἐστὶ, καλῶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς μάρτυρας, εἰσὶ δ' οὗτοι, Σέλευκός τε ὁ ἐκ Κυζίκου καὶ Στρατοκλῆς ὁ Σιδώνιος· τούτους ἐρώτα, εἰ ἀληθὴ λέγω καὶ μαθηταὶ δ' αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ ταις τριακοντα εἶποντο, τῶν αὐτῶν δῆπου μάρτυρες· τὸ γὰρ προκαλεῖσθαι δεῦρο τοὺς τῷ Φιλίσκῳ προσήκοντας ἀναβολὰς ἴσως ἡγήσῃ τῆς δίκης, ἐπειδὴ ἀντίκα τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπῆραν ἐς τὰ Μηλιέων ἦθη κατὰ οσίαν τοῦ νεκροῦ. ἴτε, ὦ μάρτυρες, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ παρηγγελται ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ τούτου ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ, παρ' ὅσον μὲν τοίνυν τῆς ἀληθείας ἡ γραφὴ ξυνετέθη, δηλοῖ σαφῶς ἡ μαρτυρία τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὐ γὰρ ἐν προαστείοις, ἀλλ' ἐν ἄστει, οὐκ ἔξω

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

I was sleeping out at his house, because he was suffering so terribly that he died of his disease. Ah, many are the charms I would have prayed to obtain, if they could have saved his life. Fain would I have known of any melodies of Orpheus, if any there are, to bring back the dead to us. Nay I verily think I would have made a pilgrimage even to the nether world for his sake, if such things were feasible. So deeply attached was I to him by all his conquest, so worthy of a philosopher and so much in accord with my own ideals.

Here are facts, my prince, which you may learn also from T. Iazius the consul, for he too was at the bedside of the man of Melos, and nursed him by night like myself. But if you do not believe Telesinus, because he is of the number of philosophers, I call upon the physicians to bear me witness, and they were the following: Delucius of Uzicus and Stratocles of Sidon. Ask them whether I tell the truth. And what is more, they had with them over thirty of their disciples, who are ready, I believe, to witness to the same fact, for if I were to summon hither the relatives of Phileasus, you might probably think that I was trying to interpose delays in the case, for they have lately sailed from Rome to the Melian country in order to pay their last sad respects to the dead. Come forward, O ye witnesses, for you have been expressly summoned to give your testimony upon this point.

(The witnesses give their evidence.)

"With how little regard then for the truth this accusation has been drawn up, is clearly proved by the testimony of these gentlemen, for it appears that it was not in the suburbs, but in the city, not

CHAP
VII
He was
present at
his own
deathbed

τείχους, ἀλλ' ἐπ' οἰκίας, οὐδὲ παρὰ Νερούα, παρὰ Φιλίσκου δέ, οὐδὲ ἀποσφαίττων ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς εὐχομενος, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ βασιλείας, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας, οὐδ' ἀντὶ σοῦ χειροτονῶν νεώτερον, ἀλλ' ἄνδρα σώζων ἐμαυτῷ ὅμοιον.

Τί οὖν ὁ Ἀρκὰς ἐνταῦθα; τί δ' οἱ τῶν σφαγίων μῶθοι; τί δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα πείθειν; ἔσται γάρ πατε καὶ ὁ μὴ γέγονεν. ἂν ὡς γεγονὸς κριθῇ· το δ' ἀπιθανον τῆς θυσίας, ὦ βυσιλεῦ, ποῖ τίξεις; ἐγένοντο μὲν γὰρ καὶ πρότερον σφαγίων μάντις ἀγαθοὶ τὴν τέχνην καὶ οἶοι ὀνομάσαι, Μεγιστίας ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας, Ἀρίστανδρος ἐκ Λυκίας, Ἀμπρακία δὲ Σιλανὸν ἤνεγκε, καὶ ἐθυσοντο ὁ μὲν Ἀκαρναὶν Λεωνίδα βασιλεῖ Σπάρτης, ὁ δὲ Λύκιος Ἀλεξανδρῷ τῷ Μακεδόνι, Σιλανὸς δὲ Κύρῳ βασιλείας ἐρῶντι, καὶ εἴ τι ἐν ἀνθρώπου σπλίνγχνοις ἢ σαφέστερον ἢ σοφώτερον ἢ ἐτυμώτερον ἀπέκειτο, οὐκ ἄπαρος ἦν ἡ θυσία, βασιλείων γε προϊσταμένων αὐτῆς, οἷς πολλοὶ μὲν ἦσαν αἰνοχροὶ, πολλὰ δ' αἰχμάλωτα, παρανομίαι δ' ἀκίνδυνοι καὶ φόβος οὐδεὶς κατηγορίας, εἴ τι ἔσφαττον ἀλλ', οἶμαι, παρίστατο τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὃ καὶ μοι νῦν κινδυνεύουσι ὑπὲρ τοιούτων, ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλογα τῶν ζώων εἰκόσι ἐπειδὴ ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ θανάτου σφάττεται, μὴ θολοῦσθαι τι τῶν σπλίνγ-

outside the wall but inside a house not with Nerva, ^{CRAP}
but with Philo, not saving another but perishing
for a man's life not thinking of matters of state out
of philosophy not choosing a revolutionist to sup-
plant you but not trying to save a man like myself

25 What then is the Arcadian doing in this
case? What business of the absurd stories of
vicious slanders? What is the use of urging you to
believe such lies? For what never took place will
be real if you decide that it did take place. And
how, my prince, are you to rate the improb-
ability of the sacrifices? For of course there have
been long ago sacrificers skilled in the art of
examining slain victims for example I can name
Megasthenes of Acarnania Aristander of Lycia, and
Sallustius who was a native of Andros and of these
the Acarnanian was sacrificed to Leonidas the king of
Sparta, and the Lycian to Alexander of Macedon,
and Sallustius to Cyrus the Pretender and supposing
there had been found stored in the entrails of a
human being some information truer or more
profound or surer than usual such a sacrifice was
not difficult to effect. Indeed as there were kings
to preside over it who had plenty of cup-bearers at
the table besides plenty of prisoners of war as
victims and moreover those monarchs could violate
the law with impunity and they had no fear of
being accused in case they committed so small
a murder. But I believe these persons had the
same conviction which I also entertain, who am now
in risk of my life because of such accusation namely
that the entrails of animals which we say where
they are ignorant of death are for that reason and
just because the animals lack all understanding of

Plutarch
Lives of the
Great Men

CAP
VII

χρῶν ὑπὸ ἀξυνεσίας ὧν πείσονται ἄνθρωπον
δὲ αἰεί τι ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἔχοντα θανάτου καὶ
μήπω ἐφεστηκότος δαῖμα, πῶς εἰκὸς παρόντος
ἤδη καὶ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὄντος, δείξαι τι ἐπὶ τῶν
σπλάγγχων μαντικὸν ἢ ὅλως εὐθυτον,

Ὅτι δὲ ὀρθῶς τε καὶ κατὰ φύσιν στοχάζομαι
τούτων, σκόπει, βασιλεῦ, ὧδε τὸ ἥπαρ, ἐν ᾧ φασὶ
τὸν τῆς αὐτῶν μαντικῆς εἶναι τρίποδι οἱ δεινοὶ
ταῦτα, ξύγκειται μὲν οὐ καθαροῦ αἵματος, πᾶν
γάρ, ὃ τι ἀκραιφνές, καρδία ἴσχει, δι' αἵμα-
τηρῶν φλεβῶν ἀποχετεύουσα ἐς πᾶν τὸ σῶμα,
χολὴν δ' ἐπὶ ἥπατι κειμένην ὀργὴ μὲν ἀνίστησι,
φόβοι δὲ ὑπώγουσιν ἐς τὰ κοῖλα τοῦ ἥπατος. ὑπο
μὲν δὴ τῶν παροξυνόντων ζεουσα, καὶ μηδὲ τῇ
ἐαυτῆς ἀγγείῳ φορητὸς οὔσα, ὑπτίῳ ἐπιχεῖται τῇ
ἥπατι, καθ' ὃ ἐπέχει χολὴ πᾶσα τὰ λεία τε καὶ
μαντικά τοῦ σπλάγγχου, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν δειματούντων
ξυμίζανουσα ξυνεπισπᾶται καὶ τὸ ἐν τοῖς λείοις
φῶς, ὑπουοστεῖ γὰρ τότε καὶ τὸ καθαρὸν τοῦ
αἵματος, ὑφ' οὗ σπληνοῦται τὸ ἥπαρ, ὑποτρέ-
χουτος φύσει τὸν περὶ αὐτὸ ὑμένα καὶ τῷ πηλωδεὶ
ἐπιεπαλίζοντος, τί οὖν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τῆς μαιφονίας

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

what they are about to suffer, free from disturbance. A man being however has constantly in his soul the apprehension of death even when it does not as yet impend, how therefore is it likely that when death is already present and stares him in the face, he should be able to give any intimation of the future through his entrails, or be a proper subject for sacrifice at all?

In proof that my conjecture is right and consonant with nature, I would ask you, my friend, to consider the following points. The liver, in which adepts at this art declare the tripod of their divination to reside, is on the one hand not composed of pure blood, for all unmixed blood is retained by the heart which through the blood-vessels sends it flowing as if through canals over the entire body, the one on the other hand lies over the liver and whereas it is excited by anger, it is on the other hand driven back by fear into the cavities of the liver. Accordingly if, on the one hand, it is caused to effervesce by irritants, and ceases to be able to contain itself in its own receptacle, it overflows the liver which underlies it, in which case the mass of bile occupies the smooth and prophetic parts of the bowels; on the other hand, under the influence of fear and pain it subsides and draws together into itself all the light which resides in the smooth parts; for in such cases even that pure element in the blood recedes to which the liver owes its spleen-like look and distension, because the blood in question by its nature drains away under the membrane which encloses the entrails and floats upon the muddy surface. Of what use then, my

CHAP.
VII

Why suppose
cause for
possession of
divination

CAP
VII

ἔργον, εἰ ἄσσημα τὰ ἱερὰ ἔσται : ἄσσημα δ' αὐτὰ ἡ ἀνθρωπεία φύσις ἐργάζεται ξυνιείσα τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἀποθνήσκοντες, οἱ μὲν γὰρ εὐψυχοὶ ξυνὸν ὀργῇ τελευτῶσιν, οἱ δ' ἀθυμότεροι ξὺν δέει. ἔνθεν ἡ τέχνη παρὰ τοῖς οὐκ ἀνεπιστήμοσι βαρβύροις χιμαῖρας μὲν καὶ ἄρνας ἐπαινεῖ σφιάττειν, ἐπειδὴ εὐήθη τὰ ζῶα καὶ οὐ πόρρω ἀναισθήτων, ἡλεκτρύονας δὲ καὶ σὺς καὶ ταύρους, ἐπειδὴ θυμοειδῇ ταῦτα, οὐκ ἀξιοὶ τῶν ἑαυτῆς ἀπορρήτων. ξυνήμι, ὦ βασιλεῦ, παροξύνων τὸν κατήγορον, ἐπειδὴ σοφώτερόν σε ἀκροατὴν εἰργασμαι, καὶ μοι δοκεῖς καὶ προσέχειν τῷ λόγῳ· εἰ δὲ μὴ σαφῶς τι αὐτοῦ φράζοιμι, ξυγχωρῶ σοι ἐρωτῆναι με.

εἴρηται μοι τὰ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Λύγυπτιου γραφὴν ἐπεὶ δ', οἶμαι, χρὴ μηδὲ τὰς Εὐφράτου διαβολὰς ὑπερορᾶσθαι, σὺ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, δικάζεις, ὁπότερος ἡμῶν φιλοσοφεῖ μᾶλλον οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν ἀγωνίζεται μὴ τύληθῇ περὶ ἐμοῦ λέγειν, ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ ἀξιῶ, καὶ ὁ μὲν σε ἡγεῖται δεσπότην, ἐγὼ δ' ἄρχοντα, καὶ ὁ μὲν ξίφος ἐπ' ἐμέ σοι διδωσιν, ἐγὼ δὲ λόγον.

Ἄλλ' ὑπὲρ ὧν γε διαβεβλήκεν, οἱ λόγοι εἰσίν, οὗς ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ εἶπον, φησὶ δ' αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐς τὸ σοὶ ξυμφέρον ὑπ' ἐμοῦ εἰρῆσθαι. καίτοι τὰ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

prince, is it to slay a human victim, if the sacrifice is clear going to form some presage? And human nature does render such rites useless for purposes of divination, because it has a sense of impending death, and dying men themselves meet their end if with courage, then also with anger and if with despondency then also with fear. And for this reason, the art of divination, except in the case of the most ignorant savages, who recommending the way of birds and beasts because these animals are wild and not far removed from being insensible, does not consider rocks and pigs and bulls worthy vehicles of its mysteries because these creatures have too much spirit. I realise, my prince, that my answer chafes at my discourse because I find no intelligent listener in yourself for indeed you seem to me to give your attention to my discourse, and if I have not clearly enough explained any point in it, I will allow you to ask me any question about it.

(XVI) I have then answered this Egyptian's act of accusation, but since I do not think I ought altogether to pass by the slanders of Hephæstus, I would ask you, my prince, to be judge between us, and decide which of us is more of a philosopher. Well then, whereas he strains every nerve to tell you about myself, I choose to do the like about you, and whereas he looks upon you as a despot I regard you as a constitutional ruler, and while he puts the sword into your hand for use against me, I merely supply you with argument.

But he makes the basis of his accusation the discourses which I delivered in Ionia and he says that they contain matter novel to your disadvantage. And yet what I said concerned the tops of the

μὲν λεχθέντα ἦν ὑπὲρ Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης,
 παράδειγμα δ' ἐρίγνετό μοι τοῦ λόγου τὰ
 τῶν βασιλέων πράγματα. ἐπειδὴ μέγιστα τῶν
 ἀνθρωπείων δοκεῖ τὰ ὑμέτερα, Μοιρῶν τε ἰσχὺν
 ἐφιλοσύφουν καὶ τὸ οὕτως ἄτρεπτα εἶναι, ἃ
 κλώθουσιν, ὥς, εἰ καὶ βασιλείαν τῷ ψηφίσαιντο
 ἑτέρῳ δὴ ὑπάρχουσαν, ὃ δ' ἀποκτείνει τοῦτον, ὥς
 μὴ ἀφαιρεθείη ποτὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ ἄρχειν, κἂν
 ἀναβιοίῃ ὁ ἀποθανὼν ὑπὲρ τῶν δοξάντων ταῖς
 Μοῖραις. τὰς γὰρ ὑπερβολὰς τῶν λογίων ἐπαγό-
 μεθα διὰ τοὺς τοῖς πιθανοῖς ὑπειθοῦντας, ὅσπερ
 ἂν εἰ καὶ τοιόνδε ἔλεγον ὅτῳ πέπρωται γενέσθαι
 τεκτονικῶ, οὗτος, κἂν ἀποκοπῇ τῷ χεῖρε, τεκτο-
 νικὸς ἔσται, καὶ ὅτῳ νίκη ἐν Ἰλνμπία δρομοῖ
 ἄρασθαι, οὗτος, οὐδ' εἰ πηρωθείη τὸ σκέλος,
 ἁμαρτήσεται τῆς νίκης, καὶ ὅτῳ ἐνευσαν Μοῖραι
 τὸ ἐν ταξίᾳ κρίτος, οὗτος, οὐδ' εἰ ἀποβάλοι τὰς
 ὀφεις, ἐκπείσεται τοῦ σκοποῦ. τὰ δὲ τῶν
 βασιλέων ἔλεγον ἐς τοὺς Ἀκρισίους διηπου ὁρῶν
 καὶ τοὺς Λαίους Ἀστυάγῃ τε τὸν Μῆδον καὶ
 πολλοὺς ἑτέρους, εὐ τιθεσθαι τὰ αὐτῶν ἐν ἀρχῇ
 δόξαντας, ὧν οἱ μὲν παῖδας, οἱ δὲ ἐγγύνους
 ἀποκτείνειν οἰηθέντες, ἀφηρεθησαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν τὸ
 βασιλεύειν, ἀναφύντων ἐξ ἁφανοῦς ξὺν τῷ πεπρω-
 μένῳ. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἡγάπων κολακευτικήν, εἶπον ἂν
 καὶ τὰ σὺ ἐντεθυμῆσθαι, ὅτε ἀπείληψο μὲν ὑπὸ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

Fates and of Necessity, and I only used as an example of my argument the affairs of kings, because your rank is thought to be the highest of human ranks, and I dwelled upon the influence of the Fates, and argued that the threads which they spin are so unchangeable, that, even if they decreed to someone a kingdom which at the moment belonged to another, and even if that other slew the man of destiny, to save himself from ever being deprived by loss of his throne, nevertheless the dead man would come to life again in order to fulfil the decree of the Fates. For we employ hyperbole in our arguments in order to convince those who will not believe in what is probable, and it is just as if I had used such an example as this. He who is destined to become a carpenter will become one even if his hands have been cut off, and he who has been destined to carry off the prize for running in the Olympic games will not fail to win even if he broke his leg, and a man to whom the Fates have decreed that he shall be an eminent archer will not miss the mark even though he lost his eyesight. And in drawing my examples from Royalty I had reference I believe to the Achaean and to the house of Laus, and to Atreus the Mede, and to many other noble archers, though that they were well established in their kingdoms, and of whom some slew their own children as they imagined and others their descendants, and yet were subsequently deprived by them of their thrones when they issued forth from obscurity in accordance with the decrees of fate. Well, if I were inclined to flattery I should have said that I had your own history in my mind, when you were

CHAR
VI

CAP
VII Βιτελίου ἐνταῦθα, κατεπίμπρατο δὲ ὁ νεὺς τοῦ
 Διὸς περὶ τὰς ὀφρῦς τοῦ ἄστεος, ὃ δ' εὖ κείσεσθαι
 τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἔφασκεν, εἰ μὴ διαφύγοις αὐτόν—καίτοι
 μαιράκιον ἱκανῶς ἦσθα καὶ οὐπω οὔτος—ἀλλ'
 ὅμως, ἐπεὶδὴ Μοίραις ἐδόκει ἕτερα, ὃ μὲν ἀπώλετο
 αὐταῖς βουλαῖς, σὺ δὲ τὰκείνον νῦν ἔχεις. ἐπεὶ δ'
 ἀρμονίᾳ κολακευτικῇ ἄχθομαι, δοκεῖ γάρ μοι τῶν
 ἐκρύθμων τε καὶ οὐκ εὐφρόγγων εἶναι, τεμνέσθω
 μοι ἡδε ἡ νευρί, καὶ μηδὲν ἰγού τῶν σῶν ἐντεθυ-
 μήσθαι με, ἀλλὰ διειλέχθαι μόνα τὰ ὑπὲρ
 Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης, ταυτὶ γάρ φησιν εἰρήσθαι
 μοι ἐπὶ σέ καίτοι τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἀνέχονται
 μὲν καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν θεῶν, οὐκ ἄχθεται δὲ οὐδέ
 ὁ Ζεὺς ἀκούων καὶ ταῦτα τῶν ποιητῶν ἐν τοῖς
 Λυκίοις λόγοις

ᾧμοι ἐγὼν, ὅτε μοι Σαρπηδόνα¹

καὶ τοιαῦτ' ἐς αὐτὸν ἀδόντων, ἐν οἷς τοῦ υἱέος ἐξέ-
 στασθαί φησι ταῖς Μοίραις, λεγόντων τε αὐτὸ ἐν
 ψυχαστασίᾳ, ὅτι Μινῶ τὸν ἀδελφόν τοῦ Σαρπη-
 δόνος ἀποθανόντα χρυσῷ μὲν σκήπτρῳ ἐτίμησε
 καὶ δικαίῳ ἐταξεν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Λίδωνεως ἀγορᾷ,
 Μοιρῶν δ' οὐ παρητήσατο. σὺ δ', ὦ βασιλεῦ, τοῦ
 χάριν ἄχθῃ τῷ λόγῳ, θεῶν καρτερούντων αὐτόν,

¹ *Iliad* xvi 433 'Alas for myself, for that Destiny decrees
 that Sarpedon, dearest of men shall be overcome by Patroclus
 son of Menoetius.'

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

blockaded in this city by Vitellius, and the temple of ^{CHAP}
Jupiter was burnt on the brow of the hill over-^{VII}-
looking the city, and Vitellius declared that his own
fortune was assured, so long as you did not escape
him, thus although you were at the time quite a
stripling and not the man you are now, and yet,
because the Fates had decreed otherwise, he was
undone with all his cambrils, while you are now
in possession of his throne. However, since I abhor
the concords of flattery, for it seems to me that
they are everything that is out of time and out
of tune, let me cut the string out of my lyre, and
request you to consider that on that occasion I had
not your fortunes in my mind, but was talking
exclusively of questions of the Fates and of Necessity
for it was in speaking of them that they accused me
of having assailed yourself. And yet such an argu-
ment as mine is tolerated by most of the gods, and
even Zeus himself is not angry when he hears from
the poet in * the story of Lycus this language

' Alas for myself, when Sarpedon

And there are other such strains referring to himself, such as those in which he accuses the Fates of having deprived him of his son, and in the weighing of souls again the poets tell you that, although after her death he presented Minos the brother of Sarpedon with a golden sceptre, and appointed him judge in the court of Aidoneus, yet he could not exempt him from the decree of the Fates. And you, my prince, why should you resent my argument when the gods put up with it, whose fortunes are for

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP
V.II οἷς πέπηγεν αἰεὶ τὰ πρίγματα, καὶ μὴ ἀποκτεινόν-
των τοὺς ποιητὰς ἐπ' αὐτῷ, προσήκει γὰρ ταῖς
Μοιραῖς ἐπεσθαι, καὶ πρὸς τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν
πραγμάτων μὴ χαλεποὺς εἶναι, Σοφοκλεῖ τε μὴ
ἀπιστεῖν

μόνοις οὐ γίγνεται

θεοῖσι γήρας, οὐδὲ μὴν θανεῖν ποτε,

τὰ δ' ἄλλα συγχεῖ πῶνθ' ὁ παγκρατὴς χρόνος.

ἄριστα δὴ ἀνθρώπων λέγοντι. ἐγκύκλιοι γὰρ αἱ
κατ' ἀνθρώπους εὐπραγίαι καὶ ἐφήμερον, ὧ
Βασιλεῦ, τὸ τοῦ ὄλβου μῆκος· τὰ μὰ οὗτος καὶ τὰ
τούτοις ἕτερος καὶ ὁ δεῖνα τὰ τοῦ δεῖνος, ἔχων οὐκ
ἔχει. ταῦτ' ἐννοῶν, ὦ Βασιλεῦ, παῦς μὲν φυγὰς,
παῦς δ' αἶμα, καὶ φιλοσοφία μὲν ὅτι βούλει χρῶ,
ἀπαθὴς γὰρ ἢ γε ἀληθής, δακρυὰ δὲ ἀνθρώπων
ἀφαίρει, ὡς νῦν γε ἡχῶ μυρία μὲν ἐκ θαλάττης,
πολλῶς δὲ πλείων ἐξ ἡπείρων φοιτᾷ θρηνούτων,
ὅτι ἐκάστῃ θρήνοι ἄξιον. τὰ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν φυόμενα
πλείω ὄντα ἢ ἀριθμείσθαι ταῖς τῶν συκοφαντῶν
γλώτταις ἀιτῆται, διαβαλλόντων σοὶ τε πάντας
καὶ σέ, ὦ Βασιλεῦ, πᾶσιν."

VIII

CAP
VI.II Ὡς μὲν δὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ τὰ ἐκ παρασκευῆς εἶχεν,
ἐπὶ τελευτῇ δ' εὖρον τοῦ λόγου τὰ τελευταῖα τοῦ
προτέρου τὸ

οὐ γὰρ με κτενέεις, ἐπεὶ οὗτοι μόρσιμός εἰμι.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

ever fixed and assured, and who never slew poets or that account? For it is our duty to follow the Fates and obey them, and not take offence with the changes of fortune, and to believe in Sophocles when he says —

‘For the gods alone there comes no old age, nay, nor ever death, but all other things are confounded by all-maturing time’

No man ever put the truth so well. For the prosperity of men runs in a circle, and the span of happiness, my prince, lasts for a single day. My property belongs to another and his to another, and his again to a third, and each in having hath not. Think of this, my prince, and put a stop to your decrees of exile, stay the shedding of blood, and have recourse to philosophy in your wishes and plans, for true philosophy feels no pangs. And in doing so wipe away men's tears, for at present echoes reach us from the sea of a thousand sighs, and they are redoubled from the continents, where each laments over his peculiar sorrows. Thence is bred an incalculable crop of evils, all of them due directly to the slanderous tongues of informers, who render all men objects of hatred to yourself, and yourself, O prince, to all.”

VIII

SUCH then was the oration which the sage had prepared beforehand, at the end whereof I found the last words of the earlier speech, namely

“For thou shalt not kill me, since I tell thee I am not mortal,”

CHAP.
VII

Oed. Col.
607 sqq.

CHAP.
VII

Effect on
Domitian
of the sage's
sudden dis-
appearance.

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
VIII

καὶ τὰ προ τούτου ἔτι, ἀφ' ὧν τοῦτο. ἔπει δὲ ἀπῆλθε τοῦ δικαστηρίου δαιμόνιόν τε καὶ οὐ μῦθον εἰπεῖν τρόπον, οὐκ ἔπαθεν ὁ τύραννος, ὅπερ οἱ πολλοὶ φόντο· αἱ μὲν γὰρ φόντο αὐτὸν σχέτλια ὑπὲρ τούτου βοήσεσθαι καὶ δίωξιν ποιήσεσθαι τοῦ ἀνδρός, κηρύξειν τε ἐς τὴν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν, μηδαμοῦ παριτητέα εἶναι οἱ, ὁ δ' οὐδὲν τούτων, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀγωνιζόμενος πρὸς τὴν τῶν πολλῶν δόξαν ἢ ξυνεῖς λοιπόν, ὅτι μηδὲν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα οἱ αὐταρκες· εἰ δ' ὑπερεώρα, ξυμβιωμεῖσθαι τοῖς ἐφεξῆς, φανείν γὰρ ἂν ξυνταραχθεὶς μᾶλλον ἢ καταφρονήσας.

IX

CAP.
IX

Ἱεροῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἐτέρας ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ δίκῃς, πόλις δ' ἦν ἀγωνιζομένη πρὸς ἄνδρα ὑπὲρ διαθηκῶν, αἰμαί, διέφευγον δ' αὐτὸν οὐ μόνον τὰ τῶν δικαζομένων ὀνόματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ νοῦς τῆς δίκῃς, ἀνόητοι μὲν γὰρ αἱ ἐρωτήσεις ἦσαν, αἱ δ' ἀποκρίσεις οὐδ' ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡ κρίσις· ἂ σφύδρα ἤλασχε τὸν τύραννον, ὥς ἐξεπέπληκτό τε καὶ ἠπύρει, δι' αὐτὸ μάλιστα τὸ πεπεῖσθαι πρὸς τῶν κολακευόντων, ὅτι μηδὲν ἂν διαφύγοι αὐτόν.

X

CAP.
X

Οὔτω τὸν τύραννον διαθεὶς καὶ παίγμιον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φιλοσοφίας ἀποφήνας τὸν Ἑλλησί τε καὶ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

together with the words which preceded and led up CHAP. VI. to this quotation. But the effect upon the despot of his quitting the court in a manner so godlike and inexplicable was quite other than that which the many expected, for they expected him to make a terrific uproar and institute a hunt for the man, and to send forth proclamations over his empire to arrest him wherever they should find him. But he did nothing of the kind, as if he set himself to defeat men's expectations, or because he now at last realised that as against the sage he had no resources of his own. But whether he acted from contempt, let us conjecture from what ensued, for he will be seen to have been confounded with astonishment rather than filled with contempt.

IX

For he had to hear another case after that of CHAP. IX Apollonius, an action brought, I think, in connexion with a will by some city against a private individual and he had forgotten not only the names of the parties, but also the matter at issue in the suit, for his questions were without meaning and his answers were not even relevant to the cause, —all which argued the degree of astonishment and perplexity under which the despot laboured, the more so because his flatterers had persuaded him that nothing could escape his memory.

X

SUCH was the condition to which Apollonius CHAP. X reduced the despot, making him a plaything of his

CAP. ^χ Βαρβάρους φοβερὸν πᾶσι, πρὸ μεσημβρίας μὲν ἀπῆλθε τοῦ δικαστηρίου, περὶ δείλην δ' ἐν Δικαιαρχίᾳ ἐφάνη Δημητρίῳ τε καὶ Δαμίδι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἄρ' ἦν τὸ παρακελεύσασθαι αὐτὸν τῷ Δάμιδι μὴ περιμεῖναντι τὴν ἀπολογίαὺν πεξεῦσαι ἐς Δικαιαρχίαν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ βεβουλευμένα οὐ προὔλεγε, τὸν δ' ἑαυτῷ ἐπιτηδεϊότατον ἐκέλευε πράττειν, ἃ τοῖς βεβουλευμένοις εἴπετο.

XI

CAP. ^{χι} Ἐτύγχανε μὲν δὴ ὁ Δάμις τῆς προτεραίας ἀφυγμένος καὶ τῷ Δημητρίῳ ξυγγεγονῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν πρὸ τῆς δίκης, ὁ δ' εὐλαβέστερον ἢ τὸν ὑπὲρ Ἀπολλωνίου ἀκροωμενον εἰκὸς διατεθεὶς ἦν ὑφ' ὧν ἤκουσε, καὶ πύλιν τῆς ὑστεραίας ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν ἡρώτα ξυναλύων αὐτῷ πυρὰ τῇ θύλατταν, ἐν ᾗ τὰ περι τὴν Καλυψῶ μυθεύματα· ἀπεγίνγνω σκoi μὲν γὰρ ὡς οὐχ ἥξοντας, ἐπεὶ δὴ τὰ τῆς τυραννίδος χαλεπὰ ἦν πᾶσι, τὰ δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προσταττόμενα ἐτίμων διὰ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ ἀνδρός. ἀπειπόντες οὖν ἐκάθηντο ἐς τὸ νύμφαιον, ἐν ᾧ ὁ πίθος, λευκοῦ δ' οὐτός ἐστι λίθου ξυνέχων πηγὴν ὕδατος οὗθ' ὑπερβύλλουσαν τοῦ στομίου οὗτ', εἴ τις ἀπαντλοίῃ, ὑποδιδούσαν, διαλεχθέντες δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς φύσεως τοῦ ὕδατος οὐ μάλα ἐσπουδακῶς, διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἀθυμίαν, ἐπανήγον τὸν λόγον ἐς τὰ πρὸ τῆς δίκης.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

philosophy who had been the terror of Hellenes and barbarians, and before midday he left the court, and at dusk appeared to Demetrius and Daimis at Dicearchia. And this accounts for his having instructed Daimis to go by land to Dicearchia, without waiting to hear his defence. For he had given no previous notice of his intentions, but had merely told the man who was mostly in his intimacy to do what best accorded with his plans.

CHAP.

X

The Sage is
instructed
travels
travels to
Dicearchia.

XI

Now Daimis had arrived the day before and had talked with Demetrius about the preliminaries of the trial, and the account filled the latter, when he listened to it, with more apprehension than you might expect of a listener when Apollonius was in question. The next day also he asked him afresh about the same particulars, as he wandered with him along the edge of the sea, which figures in the fables told about Calypso, for they were almost in despair of their master coming to them, because the tyrant's hand was hard upon all, yet out of respect for Apollonius' character they obeyed his instructions. Discouraged, then, they sat down in the chamber of the nymphs, where there is the cistern of white marble, which contains a spring of water which neither overflows its edges, nor recedes, even if water be drawn from it. They were talking about the quality of the water in no very serious manner, and presently, owing to the anxiety they felt about the sage, brought back their conversation to the circumstances which preceded the trial.

CHAP.

XI

Appears to
them: a and
Demetrius
in the cave
of the
Nymphs.

XII

CAP.
XII

Ἀνολοφυραμένου δὲ τοῦ Δάμιδος, καί τε καὶ τοιοῦτον εἰπαντος, " ἄρ' ὀψομαθὴ ποτε, ὦ θεοί, τὸν καλὸν τε καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἑταῖρον; " ἀκούσας ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐφεστῶς ἤδη τῷ νυμφαίῳ ἐτύγγχανεν, " ὄψεσθε," εἶπε, " μᾶλλον δὲ ἰωρικατε " " ζῶντα, " ἔφη ὁ Δημητριος, " εἰ δὲ τεθνεῶτα, οἴπῳ πεπαύμεθα ἐπὶ σοὶ πλιοντες," προτεινας οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τὴν χεῖρα, " λαβοῦ μου," ἔφη. " κἂν μὲν διαφύγω σε, εἰδωλὸν ἐμὶ σοὶ ἐκ Φερσεφάττης ἦκοι, οἷα φαίνουσιν οἱ χθόνιοι θεοὶ τοῖς ἀθυμοτέροις τὰ πένθη, εἰ δὲ ὑπημείναιμι ἵπτομενοι, πείθε καὶ Δαρμιν ζῆν' τέ με καὶ μὴ ὑποβεβληκεναι το σῶμα " ουκεθ' υἱοὶ ἱππιστεῖν ἤσαν, ἀλλ' ἰνασταυτες ἐξεκρεμαντο τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἡσπάζοντο, ὑπὲρ τε τῆς ἀπολογίας ἡρώτων ὁ μὲν γὰρ Δημητριος οὐδ' ἀπολελογῆσθαι αὐτόν, ἀπολέσθαι γὰρ ἂν καὶ μὴ ἀδικοῦντα, Δάμις δ' ἀπολελογῆσθαι μὲν, θᾶττον δ' ἰσως, οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' ἐκείνης τε τῆς ἡμέρας ᾔετο. ὁ δ' Ἀπολλωνιος, " ἀπολελόγημαι," ἔφη, " ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ νικῶμεν, γέγονε δέ μοι τὰ τῆς ἀπολογίας τῆμεροι οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τῆς ἡμέρας, προηεὶ γὰρ ἤδη ἐς μεσημβρίαι." " πῶς οὖν," ἔφη ὁ Δημήτριος, " τασήνδε οδὸν ἐν σμικρῇ τῆς ἡμέρας ἤνυσας, " καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, " πλὴν

XII

Damon's grief had just broken out afresh and he ^{had} made some such exclamation as the following: "shall we ever behold (O ye gods our native and good companions!) when Apollonius who had heard him—for as a matter of fact he was ^{then} present in the chamber of the temple—answered: "Ye shall see him, nay ye have already seen him." "Alive?" said Demetrius. "For if you are dead we have anyhow never ceased to lament you." Where upon Apollonius stretched out his hand and said: "Take heed of me not, I send you to the Land of the Dead with a great army to a host of thousands of persons—some such as the gods of the upper world—even to those who are departed with much mourning. But if I resist your touch, turn you shall persuade Damon also that I am both alive and that I have not abandoned my body." They were no longer able to draw away but rose up and threw themselves on his neck and kissed him and asked him about his defence. For at the time Demetrius was of opinion that he had not even made his defence—for he expected him to be destroyed without any wrong being done against him. Damon thought that he had made his defence but perhaps more quickly than was expected for he never dreamed that he had made it on that day. But Apollonius said: "I have made my defence gentlemen and have gained my cause and my defence took place three or four not so long ago for it lasted on even to midday." "It is then," said Demetrius, "have you accomplished so long a journey in so small a fraction of the day?" And

CAP
XII κριοῦ," ἔφη, "καὶ πτερόων κηροῦ ξυγκειμένων
πάντα οἴου, θεὸν ἐπιγράφων τῇ πομπῇ ταυτῇ."

"Πανταχοῖ μὲν," ἦ δ' ο Δημήτριος, "τῶν σῶν
ἔργων τε καὶ λόγων θεὸν αἰεὶ τινα προορᾶν
ἠγοῦμαι, παρ' οὗ τὰ σὰ οὕτως ἔχει, τὴν δ' ἀπο-
λογία, ἣ τις γέγονε, καὶ ἅττα ἡ κατηγορία εἶχε,
καὶ τὸ τοῦ δικάζοντος ἦθος, καὶ ὃ τι ἤρετο καὶ ὅτῳ
ξυγκατέθετο ἢ ὅτῳ μὴ, λέγε ὁμοῦ πάντα, ἵνα καὶ
Τελεσίῳ ἕκαστα φρίξοιμι, οὐ γὰρ ἀνήσει ἐρωτῶν
τὰ σά, ὅς γε καὶ πρὸ πεντεκαίδεκα ἰσως ἡμερῶν
ἐμοὶ ξυμπίνων ἐν Ἀνθίῳ, κατεδαρθε μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς
τραπέζης, μεσοῦσης δ' αὐτῷ τῆς κύλικος ἔδοξεν
δυαρ πῦρ ἐν τῇ γῇ πελαγίσαν, τοὺς μὲν ἀπολαμ-
βάνειν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τοὺς δὲ φθύνειν ὑπο-
φεύγοντας, καὶ γὰρ δη καὶ βεῖν αὐτὸ παραπλησίως
τῷ ὕδατι, σὲ δ' οὐχ ὅπερ οἱ πολλοὶ παθεῖν, ἀλλὰ
διανεῦσαι αὐτοῦ σχισθέντος. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ἐνυπνίῳ
τούτῳ θεοῖς εὐξυμβόλοις ἔσπεισεν, ἐμοὶ τε παρεκα-
λεύσατο ὑπὲρ σοῦ θαρρεῖν." καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος,
"οὐ θαυμάζω Τελεσίῳ," εἶπεν, "ὑπερκαθεύ-
δοντα, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὑπερεργήγορέ μου πάλαι,
τὰ δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς δίκης πεύσεσθε μὲν, οὐ μὴν
ἐνταῦθα, δεῖλη τε γὰρ ἱκανῶς ἤδη καὶ βαδίζων
ᾧρα ἐς ἄστυ, ἡδίους δ' οἱ καθ' οδὸν λόγοι παρα-
πέμψαι βαδίζοντας. ἴωμεν σὺν διαλαλοῦντες

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

Apollonius replied "Imagine what you will, flying CHAP. III
goat or wings of wax excepted, so long as you ascribe
it to the intervention of a divine escort.

"Well," said Demetrius, "I have always thought The dream of Telesinus
that your actions and words were providentially cared
for by some god, to whom you owe your present
preservation, nevertheless pray tell us about the
defence you made, what it consisted of and what the
accusation had to say against you, and about the
temper of the judge, and what questions he put, and
what he allowed to pass of your pleas and what not,
--tell us all at once in order that I may tell everything
in turn to Telesinus, for he will never leave off asking
me about your affairs, for about fifteen days back
he was drinking with me in Arctium, when he fed
asker at table and just as the middle cup in honour
of the good genius was being passed round he
dreamed a dream, and he saw a fire spreading like
a sea over the land and it enveloped some men, and
caught up others as they fled, for it flowed along, he
said, exactly like water but you alone suffered not
the fate of the rest but swam clean through it as it
divided to let you through. And in honour of the
gods who inspire such happy presages he poured out
a libation in consequence of this dream, and he made
me be of good cheer on your account." And
Apollonius said "I am not surprised at Telesinus
dreaming about me, for in his vigils, I assure you, he
long ago occupied his mind about me, but as regards
the trial you shall learn everything, but not in this
place for it is already growing late in the evening,
and it is time for us to proceed to the town, and it
is pleasant too to talk as you go along the road, for
conversation assists you on your way like an escort.

CAP
XII

ὑπὲρ ἃν ἐρωτᾶτε, λέξω δὲ τὰ τήμερον δῆπου ἐν τῇ
δικαστηρίῳ πραχθέντα. τὰ γὰρ πρὸ τῆς κρίσεως
ἄμφω ἴστε, σὺ μὲν παρατυχίων, σὺ δ' ἡκροαμένος,
οἶμαι, τούτου, μὰ Δία, οὐχ ἅπαξ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλιν,
εἰ μὴ ἐκλέλυσμαι Δημητρίου, ἃ δ' οὐπω ἴστε,
δίξιμι, διειρων ἀπὸ τῆς προρρήσεως καὶ τοῦ
γυμνὸς ἐσελθεῖν." διβεί δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ
λόγους καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸ "οὐ γὰρ με κτενεύεις," καὶ
τὸ ἀπελθεῖν τῆς κρίσεως, ὡς ὑπῆλθε.

XIII

CAP
XIII

Τότε ἀναβοήσας Δημήτριος, "ἐγὼ μὲν ὥμην
σεσωσμένον ἀφ᾽ ἐχθαί σε, σοὶ δ' ἀρχὴ κινδύνων
ταῦτα, ξυλλήψεται γὰρ σε καταγγελλόμενον καὶ
πάσης ἀποστροφῆς εἰργόμενον." ὁ δ' ἐρρώσθαι τῷ
Δημητρίῳ δέει φράζων, "εἰ γὰρ καὶ ὑμεῖς," εἶπεν,
"ὥδε αὐτῷ εὐάλωτοι ἦτε· ἀλλ' ὅπως μὲν τῷ κείνου
νῦν ἔχει, ἐγὼ οἶδα· κολακευόντων γὰρ ἰεὺς λόγων
ἡκροατῆς γιννόμενος, νῦν ἐπιπληττόντων ἡκρόαται,
ρήγνυνται δ' ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων αἱ τύραννοι φύσεις
καὶ περὶ ταῦτα χολῶσιν. ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀναπαύλῃς δεῖ
γονυ οὐπω κάμψαντι ἐκ τοῦ ἄθλου." καὶ ὁ Δάμις,
"ἐγὼ, Δημήτριε, διεκείμην μὲν οὕτως," ἔφη,

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Let us then start and discuss your questions as we go along, and I will certainly tell you of to-days events in the court. For you both of you know the circumstances which preceded the trial, the one of you because he was present, and the other because I am sure, by Zeus, he has not heard it once only, but again and again, if I know you well, my Demetrius. But I will relate to you what you do not know as yet, beginning with my being summoned into the Emperor's presence, into which I was ushered naked." And he proceeded in detail to them his own words, and above all at the end of them the citation "For thou shalt not kill me," and he told them exactly how he vanished from the seat of judgment.

XIII

When upon Demetrius cried out "I thought you had come hither because you were saved, but this is only the beginning of your dangers, for he will proscribe you, seize your person, and cut off all means of escape." Apollonius, however, told Demetrius not to be afraid and encouraged him by saying, "I only wish that you were both no more easy for him to catch than I am. But I know exactly in what condition of mind the tyrant is at this moment, hitherto he has never heard anything except the utterances of flatterers, and now he has had to listen to the language of rebuke, such language breaks despotic natures down and enrages them. But I require some rest, for I have not bent the knee since I had this struggle." And Damis said, "Demetrius, my own attitude towards our friend's affairs was such

CHAP
XII

CHAP
XIII
Damis still
the ap-
prehension
of
Demetrius

ΣΑΡ.
XII.

"πρὸς τὰ ταῦδε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πράγματα, ὥς καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ ταύτης ἀπάγειν αὐτὸν, ἐφ' ἧς ἦκει, ξυμβούλευες δέ που καὶ σὺ ταῦτα, ὡς μὴ ἐς κινδύνους ἐκουσίους τε καὶ χαλεπούς ᾖσι, ἐπεὶ δ' ἐτύγγανε μὲν δεδεμένος, ὥς ἐμοὶ ἐφαίνετο, ἄπορα δ' ἡγούμενῳ τὰ περὶ αὐτόν, ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ ἔφη τὸ λελύσθαι εἶναι, καὶ τὸ σκέλος ἐλευθερώσας τοῦ δεσμοῦ ἔδειξε τοτε πρῶτον κατενωῆσα τοῖ ἀνδρὸς, θεσπέσιόν τε εἶναι αὐτόν καὶ κρείσσω τῆς ἡμεδαπῆς σοφίας ὄθεν, εἰ καὶ χαλεπωτέροις τούτων ἐντύχοιμι, οὐδὲν ἂν δείσαιμι ὑπὸ τούτῳ καὶ κινδυνεύων. ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ πλησίον ἐσπέρα, βαδιζώμεν ἐς τὴν καταγωγὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιησόμενοι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς." καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ὕπνου," ἔφη, "δέομαι μόνου, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἐν ἴσῳ τίθεμαι λόγῳ, κἂν παρῇ τι αὐτῶν, κἂν ἡπῇ." μετὰ ταῦτα εὐξιάμενος Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ ἔτι τῷ Ἥλιδι παρήλθεν ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν, ἣν ᾤκει ὁ Δημήτριος, καὶ τῷ πόδε ἵπνουψάμενος παρακελευσάμενος τε τοῖς ἡμῶν τὸν Δίμιν δειπνεῖν, ἐπειδὴ ἄσιτοι αὐτῷ ἐφαίνοντο, ἔρριψεν ἐς τὴν κλίνην ἑαυτόν, καὶ ἐφυμνήσας τῷ ὕπνῳ τὸ Ὅμηρου ἔπος ἐκάθευδεν, ὥς οὐκ ἐπ' ἀξίους φροντίσαι τοῖς παροῦσιν.

XIV

ΣΑΡ.
XIV

Περὶ δὲ ὄρθρον ἐρομένου αὐτόν τοῦ Δημητρίου, πρὶ τῆς γῆς τρέψοιτο, καὶ κτυπεῖσθαι δοκοῦντος τὰ ὅσα ὑπὸ ἐννοίας ἱππέων, οὐς φέτο ἐπικεῖσθαι

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that I tried to dissuade him from taking the journey CHAP. X which he has taken, and I believe you too gave him the same advice, namely that he should not rush of his own accord into dangers and difficulties, but when he was thrown into fetters, as I saw with my own eyes, and I was perplexed and in despair of his case, he told me that it rested with himself to release himself and he freed his leg from the fetters and showed it to me. Well, it was then for the first time that I understood our master to be a divine being, transcending all our poor wisdom and knowledge. Consequently, even if I were called upon to expose myself to still greater risks than these, I should not fear anything, as long as I was under his protection. But since the evening is at hand, let us go unto the inn to minister to and take care of him." And Apollonius said, "Sleep is all I want, and everything else is a matter of indifference to me, whether I get it or whether I do not." And after that, having offered a prayer to Apollo and also to the Sun, he passed into the house in which Demetrius lived, and having washed his feet, and instructed Darnus and his friend to take their supper, for he saw that they were fasting, he threw himself upon the bed, and having intoned some verses of Homer as a hymn Book 14, 220 to sleep, he took his repose, as if his circumstances gave him no just cause whatever for anxiety.

XIV

ABOUT dawn Demetrius asked him where on CHAP. XIV earth he would turn his steps, for there resounded in his ears the clatter of imaginary horsemen who he thought were already in hot pursuit of

CAP. XIV ἤδη τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ τυράννου, "διώξεται μὲν," ἔφη, "με οὐδὲ αὐτὸς, οὐδὲ ἕτερος, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὁ πλοῦς ἔσται" "σφαλερὸς γε," εἶπε, "τὸ γὰρ χωρίον φανερώτατον· ὃν δὲ μὴδ' ἂν ἐν τῷ ἀφανεί διαφύγῃς, πῶς ἂν ἐν τῷ φανερῷ λύθῃς;" "οὐδέομαι," ἔφη, "λανθάνειν, εἰ γάρ, ὥς σὺ οἶει, τοῦ τυράννου ἡ γῆ πᾶσα, βελτίους οἱ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ ἀποθυήσκοντες τῶν ἐν τῷ ἀφανεί ζωντων." καὶ πρὸς τὸν Δάμιν, "αἰσθάνη," ἔφη, "νεὼς ὑφιεΐσης ἐς Σικελίαν;" "αἰσθάνομαι," εἶπε, "καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ καταλύομαι καὶ ὁ κηρύττων ἰγχοῦ θυρῶν, στέλλεται τε ἡ ναὺς ἤδη· ξυμβάλλομαι δ' αὐτὸ τῇ τῶν ἐμπλεόντων βοῇ καὶ οἷς περὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ὑγκυρῶν πρᾶττουσιν." "ἐπιβῶμεν," εἶπε, "τῆς νεὼς ταύτης, ὦ Δάμι, πλευσούμενοι νῦν μὲν ἐς Σικελίαν, ἐκείθεν δ' ἐς Πελοπόννησον." "ξυνδοκεῖ μοι," ἔφη, "καὶ πλέωμεν."

XV

CAP. XV Καὶ προσειπόντες τὸν Δημητρίον ἀθύμως ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἔχοντα, θαρρεῖν τε παραινέσαντες ὡς ἄνδρα ὑπὲρ ἀνδρῶν, ἐπλευσαν ἐπὶ Σικελίας ἀνέμφῳ ἐπιτηδείῳ. Μεσσήνην τε παραπλευσαντες ἐγένοντο ἐν Ταυρομενίῳ τριταῖοι. μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐπὶ Συρακουσῶν κομισθέντες ἀνήγοντο ἐς Πελοπόννησον περὶ μετοπίωρον ἀρχίης, ὑπεράραντες δὲ τοῦ πελάγους

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LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

Apollonius on account of the rage of the tyrant, but CHAP. Xiv
 Apollonius merely replied "Neither he nor anyone else is going to pursue me, but as for myself I shall take sail for Hellas." "That is anyhow a dangerous voyage," said the other, "for the region is most exposed and open, and how are you going to be hid out in the open from one whom you cannot escape in the dark?" "I do not need to be hid," said Apollonius, "for if, as you imagine, the entire earth belongs to the tyrant, it is better to die out in the open than to live in the dark and in hiding." And turning to Damis he said "Do you know of a ship that is starting for Sicily?" "I do," he replied, "for we are staying on the edge of the sea, and the crier is at our doors, and a ship is just being got ready to start, as I gather from the shouts of the crew, and from the exertions they are making over weighing the anchor" "Let us embark," said Apollonius, "upon this ship, O Damis, for we will now sail to Sicily, and thence on to the Peloponnese" "I am agreeable," said the other, "so let us sail."

XV

THEY then said farewell to Demetrius, who was CHAP. XV
 despondent about them, but they bade him hope for the best, as one brave man should for others as brave as himself, and then they sailed for Sicily with a The Bago and Damis sail for Olympia
 favourable wind, and having passed Messina they reached Tauromentum on the third day. After that they arrived at Syracuse, and put out for the Peloponnese about the beginning of the autumn,

ΑΕ
XV

ἀφίκοντο δὲ ἡμέρας ἑκτης ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ
ἐκβολὰς, ἀφ' ὧν ὁ ποταμὸς εὐτὸς Ἀδρια καὶ Σικε-
λικῷ πελάγει ἐπιχεῖται πύτιμος ἀποβάντες οὖν
τῆς κῆρας, καὶ πολλοὺ ἄξιον ἡγούμενοι το ἐς Ὀλυμ-
πίαν ἦκειν, διητῶντο ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς, οὐδαμοῦ
ὑπὲρ Σκιλλοῦντα ἀποφοιτῶντες φήμης δ' ἄθροας
τε καὶ ξυντόνον κατασχούσης τὸ Ἑλλησπικὸν ζῆν
τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ἀφίχθαι ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν, καταρχὰς
μεν ἐδάκει μὴ ἐρρῶσθαι ὁ λυγρὸς, πρὸς γὰρ τῷ μὴ
ἐλπίδους τι ἀνθρωπείας ἐπ' αὐτῷ εἶχειν, ἐπειδὴ
δεδέσθαι αὐτὸν ἤκουσαν, οὐδὲ ἐκείνων ἀνιγκοὶ
ἦσαν ἀποθανεῖν καταφλεχθέντα, οἱ δ' ἐλχθῆναι
ζῶντα καταπαγέντων ἐς τὰς κλείδας αὐτοῦ ἀγκί-
στρων, οἱ δ' ἐῷσθαι ἐς βύραθρον, οἱ δ' ἐς θυθον
ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦκειν ἐπιστεύθη, αὐδ' ἐπ' Ὀλυμπιάδα
αὐδεμίαν μετέωρος αὐτῷ ξυνηγεῖ ἡ Ἑλλάς, ὥς ἐπ'
ἐκείνον τότε, Ἥλις μὲν καὶ Σπύρτη αὐτόθεν,
Κορινθος δὲ ἀπο τῶν τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ὀριων, Ἀθηναῖαι
δέ, εἰ καὶ Πελοποννήσου ἄξω, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐλείποντο
τῶν πόλεων, αἱ ἐπὶ θύραις εἰσι τῆς Πίσσης, αὐτοὶ
μάλιστα οἱ ἐπικυδέστατοι Ἀθηναίων ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν
στείχοντες καὶ νεύτης ἢ ἐξ ἀπίστης τῆς γῆς
Ἀθηναζε φοιτῶσα, καὶ μὴν καὶ Μιγαρόθεν τινὲς
ἐπεχωρίασαν τῇ Ὀλυμπίᾳ τότε, καὶ Βοιωτῶν
πολλοί, κύργοθεν, Φωκέων τε καὶ Θετταλῶν δ' τι
εὐδοκιμον, οἱ μὲν ξυγγεγονότες ἤδη τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ,
ἀνακτησόμενοι σοφίαν, ἐπειδὴ πλειόνων τε καὶ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

and having traversed the gulf they arrived after six ^{other} days at the mouth of the A. where that river joins the waters, and swept into the Adriatic and Ionian Sea. Here then they disembarked, and thinking it well worth their while to go to Olympus they went and stayed there in the temple of Zeus, though without ever going further away than Scyllus. A rumour as sudden as instant now ran through the Hellenic world that the sage was alive and had arrived at Olympus. At first the rumour seemed unreliable for wiles that they were humbly speaking unable to entertain any hope for him inasmuch as they heard that he was cast into prison. They had also heard such rumours as that he had been smothered alive, or dragged about alive and gripped & fixed in his neck or cast into a deep pit, or into a well. But when the rumour of his arrival was confirmed they all flocked to see him from a whole world of Greece and never did any such crowd flock to any Olympic festival as then all full of enthusiasm and expectation. People came straight from Elis and Sparta and from Corinth away at the limits of the Isthmus and the Athenians too although they are outside the Peloponnese nor were they behind the cities which are at the gates of Pisa for it was especially the most celebrated of the Athenians that hurried to the temple together with the young men who flocked to Athens from all over the earth. Moreover there were people from Megara just then staying in Olympia, as well as many from Boeotia and from Argos and all the leading people of Phoenicia and Ionia. Some of them had already made Apollonius acquaintance, anxious to pick up his wisdom afresh, for they were convinced that there

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CAP.
XV

θαυμασιωτέρων ἀκροῦσασθαι ᾤοντο, οἱ δ' ἄπειροι αὐτοῦ δεινὸν ἡγούμενοι τοιοῦδε ἄνδρος ἐνὶ ἡκοσι φαίνεσθαι. πρὸς μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἐρωτῶντας, ὅτῳ τρόπῳ διαφύγοι τὸν τύραννον, οὐδὲν ᾤετο δεῖν φορτικὸν φράζειν, ἀλλ' ἀπολελογησθαί τε ἔφασκε καὶ σεσῶσθαι πολλῶν δ' ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἡκόντων, οἳ ἐκέρυττον τὰ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ. διέκειτο μὲν ἡ Ἑλλάς οὐ πόρρω τοῦ προσκυνεῖν αὐτόν, θεῶν ἡγούμενοι ἄνδρα δι' αὐτὸ μάλιστα τὸ μηδ' ἐν κόμπῳ μηδένα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καθίστασθαι.

XVI

CAP.
XVI

Νεανίσκου δὲ τῶν ἡκόντων Ἀθήνηθεν μάλα εὖνον τὴν Ἀθηναίων εἶναι τῷ βασιλεῖ φήσαντος, "πέπαυσο," εἶπεν, "Ὀλυμπίασιν ὑπὲρ τούτων κροτῶν καὶ διαβάλλων τὴν θεὸν τῷ πατρί. ἐπιδιδόντος δὲ τοῦ νεανίσκου τῇ ἀχθηδόνι καὶ δίκαια πράττειν τὴν θεὸν φήσαντος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν ἐπώνυμον Ἀθηναίοις ἤρξεν, "εἴθε," ἔφη, "καὶ ἐν Παναθηναίοις," ἐπιστομίζων αὐτὸν τῇ μὲν προτέρᾳ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων, ὡς κακῶς εἰδοτα περὶ τῶν θεῶν, εἰ τυράννοις αὐτοῖς εὖνοις ἡγοῖτο, τῇ δὲ ἐφεξῆς, ὡς οὐκ ἀκόλουθα τοῖς ἐφ' Ἀρμοδίῳ καὶ Ἀριστογείτονι ψηφίζομένων Ἀθηναίων, εἰ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐκείνους τιμὰν ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς νομίζοντες

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remained much to learn, more striking than what they had so far heard, but those who were not acquainted with him thought it a shame that they should seem never to have heard so great a man discourse. In answer to their questions then, of how he had escaped the clutches of the tyrant, he did not deem it right to say anything boastful, but he merely told them that he had made his defence and got away safely. However when several people arrived from Italy, who bruited abroad the episode of the law-court, the attitude of Hellas towards him came near to that of actual worship, the main reason why they thought him divine being this, that he never made the least parade about the matter

CHAP.
XV

XVI

Among the arrivals from Athens there was a youth who asserted that the goddess Athene was very well disposed to the Emperor, whereupon Apollonius said to him "In Olympia please to stop your chatter of such things, for you will prejudice the goddess in the eyes of her father." But as the youth increased their annoyance by declaring that the goddess was quite right, because the Emperor was Archon Eponym of the city of Athene, he said "Would that he also presided at the Panathenaic festival." By the first of his answers he silenced him, for he showed that he held a poor opinion of the gods, if he considered them to be well disposed to tyrants: by his second he showed that the Athenians would stultify the decree which they passed in honour of Harmodius and Aristogiton, if after seeing fit to honour these

CHAP.
XVI
Relukes a
parliament of
Donatians

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XVI ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐν Παναθηναίοις ἔδρασαν, τυράννοις λοιπὸν χαρίζονται τὸ κεχειροτονημένους αὐτῶν ἄρχειν.

XVII

CAP. XVII Ξυμβουλευόντος δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ Διμίδου ὑπὲρ χρημάτων, ἐπειδὴ τῶν ἐφοδίων σφίσι πῖνυ σμικρὰ ἐλείπετο, "αὔριον," ἔφη, "τούτου ἐπιμελήσομαι." καὶ παρελθὼν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐς τὸ ἱερόν, "δός," εἶπεν, "ὦ ἱερεῦ, χιλίας μοι δραχμὰς ἀπο τῶν τοῦ Διὸς χρημάτων, εἰ μὴ σφοδρὰ οἶει χαλεπανεῖν αὐτόν." καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς, "οὐχ ὑπὲρ τούτων," ἔφη, "χαλεπανεῖ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, εἰ μὴ πλείω ληψῇ."

XVIII

CAP. XVIII Θετταλοῦ δὲ ἀνδρός, ᾧ ὄνομα Ἰσαγορας, ξυνόντος αὐτῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, "εἰπέ μοι," ἔφη, "ὦ Ἰσαγόρα, ἔστι τι πανήγυρις," "νὴ Δί'," εἶπε, "τό γε ἡδιστον καὶ θεοφιλέστατον τῶν κατ' ἀνθρώπους" "τίς δὲ δὴ ὕλη τούτου, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ ἐγὼ μὲν ἡρόμην ὑπὲρ ὕλης τοῦδε τοῦ ἀγάλματος, σὺ δ' ἀπεκρίνου χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλεφαντος ξυντεθῆναι αὐτό." "καὶ τίς," ἔφη, "ὕλη, Ἀπολλώνιε, τοῦ γε ἀσωμάτου;" "μεγίστη," εἶπε, "καὶ ποικίλω-

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two citizens with statues in the market place, for the deed they committed at the Panathenæic festival, they ended by conferring on tyrants the privilege of being elected to govern them.

XVII

DAMIS approached him at this time to ask him about money, because they had so very little left to defray the expense of their journey. "To-morrow," said Apollonius, "I will attend to this." And on the next day he went into the temple and said to the priest "Give me a thousand drachmas out of the treasury of Zeus, if you think he will not be too much annoyed." And the priest answered: "Not at that, what will annoy him will be if you do not take more."

XVIII

THERE was a man of Thessaly, named Isagoras, whom he met in Olympia and said "Tell, me Isagoras, is there such a thing as a religious fair or festival?" "Why yes," he replied, "and by heaven there is nothing in the world of men, so agreeable and so dear to the gods." "And what is the material of which it is composed?" asked Apollonius; "It is as if I asked you about the material of which this image is made, and you answered me that it was composed of gold and ivory." "But," said the other, "what material, Apollonius, can a thing which is incorporeal be composed of?" "A most important material," replied Apollonius, "and

ΟΛΕ
ΣΥΛΛ

τάτῃ, τεμένη τε γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἱερὰ καὶ δρομοὶ καὶ σκηνὴ δῆπου, ἔθνη τε ἀνθρώπων τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ὁμόρου, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὑπερορίων τε καὶ ὑπὲρ θάλατταν." καὶ μὴν καὶ τεχνῶν πλείστων αὐτὴν ξυγκείσθαι καὶ σοφισμάτων, σοφίας τε ἀληθινῆς καὶ ποιητῶν καὶ συμβουλιῶν καὶ διαλέξεων γυμνῆς τε ἀγωνίας καὶ μουσικῆς, ὡς Πυθοῖ πάτριον. "ἔοικεν," ἔφη, "Ἀπολλώνιε, σὺ μόνον σωματσειδὲς εἶναι ἢ πανήγυρις, ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυμασιωτέρας ὕλης ἢ αἱ πόλεις, τὰ γὰρ τῶν σπουδαίων σπουδαιότατα καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐλλογίμων ἐλλογιμώτατα ξυγκαλεῖ καὶ ξυνοικίζει."

"Ἄρ' οὖν," εἶπεν, "ὦ Ἰσαγόρα, καθάπερ ἔνιοι τείχη καὶ ναῦς ἡγοῦνται, τοὺς ἀνδρας ἡγησάμεθα, ἢ ἐτέρας ἐπ' αὐτῆς δέῃ δύξεως," "τελεία," ἔφη, "ὦ Τυανεύ, ἦδε ἢ δόξα καὶ δίκαιον ἔπεσθαι αὐτῇ" "καὶ μὴν ἀτελής," εἶπεν, "ἐνθυμουμένῳ περὶ αὐτῆς ὅν ἐγὼ τρόπον δοκοῦσι γάρ μοι καὶ νῆες ἀνδρῶν δεῖσθαι, καὶ ἄνδρες νηῶν, καὶ μηδ' ἂν ἐνθυμηθῆναί ποτε ἀνθρώπους τὴν θάλατταν, εἰ μὴ ναῦς ᾗν, σῶζειν τε ἀνδρας μὲν τείχη, τείχη δὲ ἀνδρας, πανήγυρις δὲ κατὰ τοῦ αὐτῶν λόγον εἶναι μὲν καὶ ἢ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ξύνοδος, εἶναι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ χωρίον, ἐς ὃ χρὴ ξυνιέναι, καὶ τοσοῦτ' ἂν μάλλον, ὅσ' αὖ τείχη μὲν καὶ νῆες οὐδ'

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most varied in character. For there are sacred groves CHAP
VIII in it, and shrines, and race-courses and, of course, a theatre and tribes of men come of them from the neighbouring countries, and others from over the borders, and even from across the sea. Moreover," he added, "many arts go to make up such a festival, and many designs and much true genius, both of poets, and of the common men and of those who deliver harangues in philosophic topics and contests between naked athletes, and contests of musicians, as is the custom in the Pythian festival." "It seems to me," said the other, "O Apollonius, that the festival is not only something corporeal but is made up of more wonderful material than are cities. For there is summoned together into one community on such occasions the best of the best and the most celebrated of the celebrated."

"Then," said Apollonius, "O Isagoras, are we to consider the people we meet there in the same light as some people regard walls and ships, or do you need some other opinion of the festival?" "The opinion," answered the other, "which we have formulated is quite adequate and complete. O man of Ionia and we had better adhere to it." "And yet," said the other, "it is neither adequate nor complete to one who considers about it as I do, for it appears to me that ships are in need of men and men of ships, and that men would never have thought about the sea at all if they had not had a ship, and men are kept safe by walls and walls by men, and in the same way I consider a festival to be not only the meeting of human beings but also the place itself in which they have to meet, and the more so, because walls and ships would never have

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XVIII

ἄν ἐγένοντο, εἰ μὴ δι' ἀνθρώπων χεῖρας, τὰ δὲ
χωρία ταῦτα ὑπὸ χειρῶν μὲν ἀνθρωπείων ἐφθάρη
τὸ αὐτοσχέδια μὴ εἶναι ἀφαιρεθέντα, φύσεως
δ' εὖ ἦκοντα ἐπάξια τοῦ ξυμφοιτᾶν ἐς αὐτὰ
ἐνομίσθη, γυμνάσια μὲν γὰρ καὶ στοαὶ καὶ κρήναι
καὶ οἴκοι, τέχνη ταῦτα ἀνθρωπείᾳ ἐργάσθη,
καθὼπερ τὰ τείχη καὶ αἱ νῆες, Ἀλφειὺς δὲ
οὗτος καὶ ἵππόδρομος καὶ στάδιον καὶ ἄλση πρὸ
ἀνθρώπων δήπου ἐγένετο, ὁ μὲν ἀποχρῶν ποτὸν
εἶναι καὶ λουτρόν, οὗ δ' εὐρὺ πεδίου ἐναγωνίσασθαι
τοῖς ἵπποις, τὸ δ' ἐγκονίσασθαι καὶ διαδραμεῖν
ἀθληταῖς διὰ τὸ παρέχεσθαι τινα ὄρον, αὐλῶνα
σταδίου μῆκος, τὰ δὲ ἄλση στεφανῶσαι τοὺς
μικῶντας καὶ τοὺς δρομικοὺς τῶν ἀθλητῶν γυμνά-
σαι. ταῦτα γάρ που καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ ἐνθυμηθέντι,
καὶ τὸ αὐτοφύες τῆς Ὀλυμπίας ἀγασθέντι
ἐπάξιος ἐφάνη ὁ χώρος τῶν ἔτι νῦν σπουδαζομένων
ἐνταῦθα."

XIX

CAP.
XIX

Ἡμερῶν δὲ τετταράκοντα διαλεχθεὶς ἐν Ὀλυμ-
πίᾳ καὶ πλεῖστα σπουδάσας, "καὶ κατὰ πόλεις
μὲν," ἔφη, "διαλέξομαι ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ἐν
πανηγύρεσιν, ἐν πομπαῖς, ἐν μυστηρίοις, ἐν θυσίαις,
ἐν σπονδαῖς—ἀστείου δὲ ἀνδρὸς δέονται—νῦν δὲ ἐς
Λεβιάδειαν χρήν καταβῆναί με, ἐπεὶ τῷ Τροφωνίῳ
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come into being, unless there had been men's hands to build them, while these places, so far forth as they are deprived of their natural and original characteristics, are by the hands of men spoiled, for it was owing to their natural advantages that they were held worthy of being made their meeting-places, for though the gymnasiums and porticoes and fountains and houses have been all created by human art, just like the walls and the ships, yet this river Alpheus with the hippodrome and the stadium and the groves, existed, I suppose, before men came here, the one providing water for drinking and for the bath, and the second a broad plain for the horses to race in, and the third provided just the space required for the athletes to raise the dust in as they run along in their races, namely a valley a stadium in length, and the groves around supplied wreaths for the winners and served the athletes who were runners as a place to practise in. For I imagine that Hercules considered these facts, and because he admired the natural advantages of Olympia, he found the place worthy of the festival and games which are still held here."

CHAP.
XVIII

XIX

AFTER forty days, given up to discussions in Olympia, in which many topics were handled, Apollonius said "I will also, O men of Hellas, discourse to you in your several cities, at your festivals, at your religious processions, at your mysteries, your sacrifices, at your public libations, and they require the services of a clever man but for the present I must go down to Lebadea, for I have never yet had

CHAP.
XIX
Visits the
shrine of
Trophonius
at Lebadea

μήπω ξυγγέγονα, καίτοι ἐπιφοιτήσας ποτὶ τῷ
 ἱερῷ," καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐχώρει δὴ ἐπὶ Βοιωτίας,
 οὐδενὸς λειπομένου τῶν θαυμαζόντων αὐτόν. τὸ
 δ' ἐν Λεβαδίῃ στόμιον ἀνάκειται μὲν Τροφώνιῳ τῷ
 Ἀπόλλωνος, ἑσβατὸν μόνον τοῖς ὑπὲρ χρησμῶν
 φοιτῶσιν, ὁρᾶται δ' οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, μικρὸν δ' ἄνω
 τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐν γηλοφῇ, ξυγκλείουσι δ' αὐτὸ σιδήρεαι
 ὀβελίσκοι κύκλῳ περιβάλλοντες, ἡ δὲ κάθοδος
 οἷα ἰζήσαντα ἐπισπᾶσθαι λευκῇ δ' ἰσθῶτι
 ἐσταλμένοι πέμπονται, μελιτούττας ἀπύγοντες ἐν
 ταῖν χερσίν, μειλύγματα ἐρπετῶν, ἃ τοῖς κατιούσιν
 ἐγχριπτεῖ. ἀναδιδωσι δ' ἡ γῆ τοὺς μὲν οὐ πόρρω,
 τοὺς δὲ πορρωτάτῳ, καὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ Λοκροῦς ἀνα-
 πέμπονται καὶ ὑπὲρ Φωκίας, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι περὶ
 τὰ Βοιωτῶν ὄρια. παρελθὼν οὖν ἐς τὸ ἱερόν,
 "βούλομαι," ἔφη, "καταβῆναι ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας."

Ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς
 πολλοὺς λεγοντῶν, μὴ ἂν ποτε γόητι ἀνθρώπῳ
 παρασχεῖν ἔλεγχον τοῦ ἱεροῦ, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα
 πλαττομένων ἀποφράδας καὶ οὐ καθαρὰς χρῆσαι,
 τὴν μὲν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην διελέχθη περὶ τὰς πηγὰς
 τῆς Ἐρκύνης ὑπὲρ αἰτίας τοῦ μαντείου καὶ τρόπου,
 μόνον γὰρ ἐκεῖνο δι' αὐτοῦ χρῶ τοῦ χρωμένου
 ἑσπέρα δ' ὥς ἐγένετο, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ στόμιον μετὰ
 τῶν ξυνακολουθούντων νέων, καὶ τέτταρας τῶν
 ὀβελίσκων ἀνασπᾶσας, οἱ ξυνέχουσιν τὰς τῆς
 κροδοῦ κλείδας, ἔχωρει ὑποχθονίως αὐτῷ τρίβωνι
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LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

an interview with Trophonius, although I once CHAP.
I. 2
visited his shrine. And with these words he at once started for Heretia attended by every one of his admirers. Now the cavern in Lebadea is dedicated to Trophonius, the son of Apollo, and it can only be entered by those who resort thither in order to get an oracle, and it is not visible in the temple, but lies a little above it on a mound, and it is shut in by iron gates which surround it, and you descend into it as it were sitting down and being drawn down. Those who enter it are clad in white raiment, and are escorted thither with honey cakes in their hands to appease the reptiles which assail them as they descend. But the earth brings them to the surface again in some cases close by, but in other cases a long way off for they are sent up to the surface beyond Larn and beyond Phoria, but most of them about the borders of Boeotia. Accordingly Apollonius entered the shrine and said "I wish to descend into the cave in the interests of philosophy."

But the priests opposed him and though they told the multitude that they would never allow a wizard like him to examine and test the shrine, they pretended to the sage himself that only nefarious and impure women ever gave the oracles. So on that day he delivered a discourse at the springs of Heretia about the origin and conduct of the shrine, for it is the only oracle which gives responses through the person himself who consults it. And when the evening approached, he went to the mouth of the cave with his train of youthful followers, and having pulled up four of the obelisks, which constitute a bar to the passage, he went down below

CAP. καθάπερ ἐν διαλέξειν ἑαυτὸν στείλας, οὕτω τι τῷ
 ΚΚ θεῷ φίλα πρίττων, ὡς ἐπιστάνα ταῖς ἱερεῦσι τὸν
 Τροφώνιον, ἐς ἐπίπληξιν τε αὐτοῖς καταστήναι
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἐς Λυλίδαν τε ἔπεσθαι πάντας,
 ὡς ἐκεῖ ἀναδυσομένου θαυμασιώτατα ἀνθρώπων.
 ἀνέσχε γὰρ δι' ἡμερῶν ἑπτὰ, ὅσων μήπω τις τῶν
 ὑπελθόντων τὸ μανταῖον, φέρων βιβλίον προσ-
 φορώτατον τῇ ἐρωτήσῃ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ κατήλθεν
 εἰπών, " τίνα, ὦ Τροφώνιε, καὶ σὺ τὴν ἀρτιωπύτην
 καὶ καθαρωτάτην φιλοσοφίαν ἡγή," τὸ δὲ βιβλίον
 τὰς Πυθαγόρου εἶχε δόξας, ὡς καὶ τοῦ μαντείου
 τῇ σοφίᾳ ταύτῃ ξυντιθεμένου.

XX

CAP. Ἀνάκειται τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο ἐν Ἀνθίῳ, καὶ
 ΚΚ σπουδάζεται διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν, τὸ δὲ Ἀνθιον Ἰταλῶν
 τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ τῶν Λεβιά-
 δεαν οἰκούντων ξυγχωρῶ ἀκροῦσθαι, περὶ δὲ τοῦ
 βιβλίου τούτου γνώμη ἀποπεφάνθαι μοι, διακομι-
 σθῆναι μὲν αὐτὸ βασιλεῖ Ἀδριανῷ ὕστερον, ὅτε
 δὴ καὶ τινες τῶν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου ἐπιστολῶν, οὐ
 γὰρ δὴ πάσας γε, καταμεῖναι δὲ ἐς τὰ βασίλεια
 τὰ ἐν τῷ Ἀνθίῳ, οἷς μάλιστα δὴ τῶν περὶ τὴν
 Ἰταλίαν βασιλείων ἔχαιρεν.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

ground wearing his philosopher's mantle, having dressed himself as if he were going to deliver an address upon philosophy,—a step which the god Trophimus so thoroughly approved of, that he appeared to the priests and not only rebuked them for the reception they had given Apollonius, but enjoined them all to follow him to Aulis, for he said it was there that he would come to the surface in such a marvellous fashion as no man before. And in fact he emerged after seven days, a longer period than it had taken anyone of those who until then had entered the oracle, and he had with him a volume thoroughly in keeping with the questions he had asked for he had gone down saying "What, O Trophimus, do you consider the most complete and purest philosophy?" And the volume contained the tenets of Pythagoras, a good proof this, that the oracle was in agreement with this form of wisdom.

CHAP.
I.X

Plutarch
from the
cave of
Trophimus
with a
miniature of
Pythagoras

XX

This book is preserved in Antium, and the village in question, which is on the Italian seaboard, is much visited for the purpose of seeing it. I must acknowledge that I only heard these details from the inhabitants of Lebaden, but in regard to the volume in question I must set on record my conviction, that it was subsequently conveyed to the Emperor Hadrian at the same time as certain letters of Apollonius, though by no means all of them, and it remained in the palace at Antium, which was that one of his Italian powers in which this Emperor took most pleasure.

CHAP.
XX
which
remains in
now in
Antium

XXI

CAP
XXI

Ἀφικοντο δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Ἰωνίαις οἱ ὁμιληταὶ πάντες, οὗς ὠνομαζεν Ἀπολλωνιεύους ἢ Ἑλλᾶς, καὶ ξυμμιχθέντες τοῖς αὐτόθεν νεότης ἐγένοντο θαυμάσαι ἄξιοι τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τῆς ἐς τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν ὁρμῆς. ῥητορικὴ μὲν γὰρ ἀπέκειτο ἀμελουμένη, καὶ σμικρὰ προσεῖχον τοῖς τὴν τέχνην ξυγκροτοῦσιν, ὥς μόνης διδασκαλίου τῆς γλώττης, ὠθίζοντο δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου φιλοσοφίαν πάντες. ὁ δ', ὥσπερ τοὺς Γύγας φασὶ καὶ τοὺς Κροίσους ἀκλείστους παρέχειν τὰς τῶν θησαυρῶν θύρας, ἔν' ἀπαντλεῖν εἴη τοῖς δεομένοις, οὕτω παρείχε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σοφίαν τοῖς ἐρώσι, περὶ παντὸς ἐρωτᾶν ξυγχωρῶν.

XXII

CAP
XXII

Διαβαλλόντων δ' αὐτὸν ἐνίων, ὅτι τὰς τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐπιδημίας ἐκτρέποιτο καὶ ἀπάγοι τοὺς ἀκροατὰς ἐς τὰς ἡσυχίας μᾶλλον, καὶ τινος ἀποσκώψαντος μετελαύνειν αὐτὸν τὰ πρόβατα, ἐπειδὴν τοὺς ἀγοραίους πρσιόντας μάθη, “νῆ Δί,” εἶπεν, “ἵνα μὴ ἐμπίπτωσι τῇ ποίμνῃ οἱ λύκοι.” τί δ' ἐβούλετο αὐτῷ τοῦτο; τοὺς ἀγοραίους ὁρῶν ἀποβλεπομένους ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν, καὶ προϊόντας ἐκ πενίας ἐς πλοῦτον, ἀπεχθείας τε οὕτως ἀσπαζομένους, ὥς αὐτὸ τὸ ἀπέχθεσθαι

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

XXI

FROM Ionia also there came to see him the band of CHAP. XXI
 companions who were named in Helias the company of The Band of Apollonius accompanying him
 Apollonius, and mixing with the people of the place they formed a band of youths, remarkable for their number and for their philosophic enthusiasm. For the science of rhetoric had been left neglected and little attention was paid to the professors of the art, on the ground that the tongue was their only teacher, but now they were all impelled to study his philosophy. But he, like Gyges and Croesus, who they say left the door of their treasuries unlocked, in order that all who needed might fill their pockets from them, threw open the treasures of his wisdom to those who loved it, and allowed them to ask him questions upon every subject.

XXII

BUT certain persons accused him of dissuading his CHAP. XXII
 pupils from visiting the governors, and of influencing He warns them against furnishing orators
 them to lead lives of quiet and retirement instead, and one of them uttered the jest that he drove away his sheep as soon as he found any forensic orator approaching. "Yes, by Zeus," said Apollonius, "lest these wolves should fall upon my flock." What was the meaning of this sally? He saw these forensic orators looked up to by the multitude as they made their way up from poverty to great riches, and he saw that they so welcomed the feuds of others, that they actually

CAP. ΣΧΙΙ πωλεῖν, ἀπῆγε τοὺς νέους τοῦ ξυνεῖναί σφισι καὶ τοὺς ξυγγενομένους αὐτοῖς ἐνουθέτει πικρότερον, οἷον ἀποπλύνων βαφῆς ἀτόπον· διεβεβλητο μὲν γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ δεσμωτηρίων καὶ τῶν δεδεμένων τε καὶ ἀπολλυμένων οὕτω διετέθη πρὸς τὴν τέχνην, ὥς πάντα ταῦτα τῶν συκοφαντούντων καὶ τῶν δεινότητι ἐπηρμένων ἡγείσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ τυράννου.

XXIII

CAP. XXIII Περὶ δὲ τὸν χρόνον, ὃν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐνεσπούδα-
 ζεν, ἐπέιχε τὸν οὐρανὸν διοσημία τοιαύτη· τὸν τοῦ
 ἡλίου κύκλον περιελθὼν στέφανος ἐοικὼς ἱριδι-
 τὴν ἀκτῖνα ἡμαῦρου. ὅτι μὲν δὴ ἐς νεώτερα ἡ
 διοσημία ἔφερε, δῆλα ἦν πᾶσιν, ὁ δ' ἄρχων τῆς
 Ἑλλάδος καλέσας αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐς Βοιωτίαν,
 “ἀκούω σε,” εἶπεν, “Ἀπολλώνιε, σοφὸν εἶναι τὰ
 δαιμόνια.” “εἰ γε,” ἔφη, “ἀκούεις, ὅτι καὶ τὰ
 ἀνθρώπεια.” “ἀκούω,” εἶπε, “καὶ ξύμφημι.”
 “ἐπεὶ τοίνυν,” ἔφη, “ξυνομολογεῖς, μὴ πολυ-
 πραγμονεῖ θεῶν βουλᾷς, ταυτὶ γὰρ ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
 σοφία ἐπαινεῖ.” ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐλπίζει τὸν Ἀπολλώ-
 νιον εἰπεῖν, ὅπη διανοεῖται, δεδιέναι γὰρ μὴ ἐς
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LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII.

conducted a traffic in hatred and feud; accordingly he tried to dissuade these young men from associating with them, and those that did so associate with them he sharply reprov'd, as if to wash off them a monstrous stain. For he had been long before on bad terms with them, and his experience of the prisons in Rome, and of the persons who were confined and perishing in them, so prejudiced him against the forensic art, as that he believed all these evils were due to sycophants and lawyers puffed up by their own cleverness, rather than to the despot himself.

XXIII

JUST at the time when he was holding these conversations with the people of Hellas, the following remarkable portent overspread the heavens. The orb of the sun was surrounded by a wreath which resembled a rainbow, but dimm'd the sunlight. That the heavenly sign portended a revolution was of course clear to all. However, when the governor of Hellas summoned Apollonius from Athens to Boeotia, and said "I hear that you have a talent for understanding things divine," he replied "Yes, and perhaps you have heard that I have some understanding of human affairs." "I have heard it," he replied, "and I quite agree." "Since then," said Apollonius, "you are of one opinion with me, I would advise you not to pry into the intentions of the gods, for this is what human wisdom recommends you to do. And when he besought Apollonius to tell him what he thought, for he said he was afraid lest night should ensue and swallow up

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XX II νύκτα μεταστῇ πάντα, "θάρρει," ἔφη, "ἔσται γάρ
τι ἐκ τῆς νυκτὸς ταύτης φῶς."

XXIV

CAP.
XXIV Μετὰ ταῦθ' ὁ μὲν, ἐπειδὴ τῶν κατὰ τὴν
Ἑλλάδα ἱκανῶς εἶχε, δυοῖν ἐνδιατρίψας ἑτοῖν,
ἔπλει εἰς Ἰωνίαν ξυνεπομένης αὐτῷ τῆς ἑταιρείας,
καὶ τὸν μὲν πλείω χρόνον ἐφιλοσυφει παρὶ την
Σμύρναν τε καὶ τὴν Ἰέφεσον, ἐπιὼν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας
καὶ ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ τῶν πόλεων ἀηδὴς εἶναι δοκῶν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ποθεῖσθαι ἄξιος καὶ κέρδος μέγα τοῖς
δεξιοῖς.

XXV

CAP.
XXV Ἐωθουν δὲ οἱ θεοὶ Δομετιανὸν ἤδη τῆς τῶν
ἀνθρώπων προεδρίας. ἔτυχε μὲν γὰρ Κλήμεντα
ἀπεκτονῶς ἄνδρα ὑπάτου, ᾧ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὴν
ἑαυτοῦ ἐδεδώκει, πρόσταγμα δ' ἐπεποιήτο περὶ
τὴν τρίτην ἢ τετάρτην ἡμέραν τοῦ φόνου κακεῖ-
νην εἰς ἀνδρὸς φοιτᾶν Στέφανος τοῖνυν ἀπελ-
εῦθερος τῆς γυναικὸς, ὃν ἐδήλου τὸ τῆς διωρημίας
σχῆμα, εἴτε τὸν τεθνεῶτα ἐνθυμηθείς, εἴτε
πάντας, ὥρμησε μὲν ἴσα τοῖς ἐλευθερωτάτοις
Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ τὸν τύραννον ξίφος δ' ὑφείρας
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everything. "Be of good cheer," said Apollonius, CHAP XXIII
 "for there will be some light following such a night
 as this."

XXIV

AFTER this, seeing that he had had enough of the CHAP XXIV
 people of Hellas, after living for two years among Gutta Hellas
 them, he set sail for Ionia, accompanied by his society, for Ionia
 and the greater part of his time he spent teaching
 philosophy at Smyrna and Ephesus, though he also
 visited the rest of the cities and in none of them
 was he found to be an unwelcome guest, indeed they
 considered him to be worth their regret when he
 left them, and to the better class of people he was a
 great boon.

XXV

AND now the gods were about to cast down CHAP XXV
 Domitian from his presidency of mankind. For it
 happened that he had just slain Clemens, a man Stephanus Domitianus
 of consular rank, to whom he had lately given his Domitian
 own sister in marriage, and he issued a command
 about the third or fourth day after the murder,
 that she also should follow her husband and join
 him. Thereupon Stephanus, a freed man of the
 lady, he who was signified by the form of the
 late portent, whether because the latest victim's
 fate rankled in his mind, or the fate of all others,
 made an attempt upon the tyrant's life worthy
 of comparison with the feats of the champions of
 Athenian liberty. For he concealed a dagger

CAP
XXV τῷ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς πῆχει, καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἐπι-
 δέσμοις ἀναλαβὼν οἷον κατεαγυῖαν, ἀπιόντι
 τοῦ δικαστηρίου προσελθὼν, "δέσμαί σου," ἔφη,
 "βασιλεῦ, μόνον. μεγάλα γὰρ, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀκούσῃ.
 οὐκ ἀπαξιώσαντος δὲ τοῦ τυρίανου τὴν ἀκρόασιν,
 ἀπολαβὼν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν ἀνδρῶνα, οὗ τὰ βασίλεια.
 "οὐ τέθνηκεν," εἶπεν, "ὁ πολεμιώτατός σοι Κλή-
 μης, ὡς σὺ οἶει, ἀλλ' ἔστιν οὗ ἐγὼ οἶδα, καὶ
 ξυντάττει ἐαυτὸν ἐπὶ σέ." μέγα δ' αὐτοῦ βοή-
 σαντος περὶ ὧν ἤκουσε, τεταραγμένῳ προσπεσὼν
 ὁ Στέφανος, καὶ τὸ ξίφος τῆς ἐσκευασμένης χειρὸς
 ἀνασπᾶσας, διῆκε τοῦ μηροῦ πρὸς μὲν τὸν αὐτίκα
 θάνατον οὐ καιρίαν, πρὸς δὲ τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα οὐκ
 ἄκαιρον. ὁ δ' ἐρρωμένος μὲν καὶ ἄλλως τὸ σῶμα,
 γεγωνὸς δὲ περὶ τὰ πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα ἔτη
 ξυνεπλάκη τραθεῖς, καὶ καταβαλὼν τὸν Στέφανον
 ἐπέκειτο, τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς ὀρύττων καὶ τὰς παρειὰς
 ξυντρίβων πυθμένι χρυσῆς κύλικος αὐτοῦ κειμένης
 περὶ τὰ ιερά, ἐκάλει δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἀρωγόν.
 συνέντες οὖν οἱ δορυφόροι κακῶς πράττοντος
 ἐσῆλθον ἄθροοι, καὶ τὸν τύραννον ἀπέκτειναν
 λιποθυμοῦντα ἤδη.

XXVI

CAP
XXVI Ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην, ἐωρᾶτο
 δ' Ἀπολλωνίῳ κατὰ τὴν Ἐφεσον. διαλεγόμενος

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

against his left fore-arm, and carrying his hand in ^{CHAP.} a lambrage, as if it were broken, he approached the ^{XXV} Emperor as he left the law-court, and said "I would have a private interview with you, my prince, for I have important news to communicate to you." The latter did not refuse him the audience but took him apart into the men's apartment where he transacted business of state. Whereupon the assassin said, "Your bitter enemy, Clement, is not dead, as you imagine, but he lives and I know where he is, and he is now ready to attack you." When the Emperor uttered a loud cry over this information, before he could recover his composure, Stephanus threw himself upon him and drawing the dagger from the band which he had trussed up, he stabbed him in the thigh, inflicting a wound which was not immediately mortal though it was well timed in view of the struggle which followed. The Emperor was still strong and full of bodily vigour, although he was about five and forty years of age and in spite of the wound he closed with his assailant, and throwing him down kneeled upon him and dug out his eyes and crushed his cheeks with the stand of a gold cup which lay there by for use in sacred ceremonies, at the same time calling upon Athens to assist him. Thereupon his body-guard realising that he was in distress, rushed into the room pell-mell, and despatched the tyrant, who had already swooned.

XXVI

ALTHOUGH this deed was done in Rome Apollonius ^{CHAP.} was a spectator of it in Ephesus. For about midday ^{XXVI}

γὰρ περὶ τὰ τῶν ξυστῶν ἄλση κατὰ μεσημβρίαν, ὅτε δὴ καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐγύγνετο, πρῶτον μὲν ὑφῆκε τῆς φωνῆς, οἷον δείσας, εἴτ' ἐλλιπέστερον ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν ἡρμήνευσεν ἴσα τοῖς μεταξὺ λόγων διορώσί τι ἕτερον, εἴτα ἐσκύπησεν, ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν λόγων ἐκπεσσόντες, βλέψαν τε δεινὸν ἐς τὴν γῆν καὶ προβάς τρία ἢ τέτταρα τῶν βημάτων, "παῖς τὸν τύραννον, παῖς," ἐβία, οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐκ κατόπτρου τινὸς εἶδωλον ἀληθείας ἄλκων, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ ὁρῶν καὶ ξιλλλαμβιβειν δοκῶν τὰ δρώμενα. ἐκπεπληγμένης δὲ τῆς Ἐφέσου, παρῆν γὰρ διαλεγομένη πᾶσα, ἐπισχὼν ὅσον οἱ διορῶντες, ἔστ' ἂν γένηται τι τῶν ἀμφιβόλων τέλος, "θαρρεῖτε," εἶπεν, "ὦ ἄνδρες, ὁ γὰρ τύραννος ἀπέσφακται τήμερον. τί λέγω τήμερον, ἄρτι, νῆ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ἄρτι, περὶ τὸν καιρὸν τῶν ῥημάτων, οἷς ἐπεσιώπησα." μανίαν δὲ ταῦθ' ἡγουμένων τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἐφεσον, καὶ βουλομένων μὲν ἀληθεύειν αὐτόν, δεδιότων δὲ τὸν τῆς ἀκροάσεως κίνδυνον, "οὐ θαυμάζω" ἔφη, "τῶν μήπω προσδεχομένων τὸν λόγον, ὃν μηδ' ἡ Ῥώμη γυγνώσκει πᾶσα· ἀλλ' ἴδου γυγνώσκει, διαφοντᾷ γάρ, καὶ πιστεύουσι μὲν ἤδη μύριοι, πηδῶσι δ' ὑφ' ἡδονῆς δις τόσοι καὶ δυπλάσιοι τούτων καὶ τετραπλάσιοι, καὶ πάντες οἱ

he was delivering an address in the groves of the colonnade just at the moment when it happened in the palace at Rome and first he dropped his voice as if he were terrified and then though with less vigour than was usual with him he continued his exhortation. As one who between his words caught glimpses of something foreign to his subject, and at last he slipped into silence like one who has been interrupted in his discourse. And with an awful gesture at the ground and stepping forward three or four paces from his pulpit he cried "Woe to the tyrant who kills him!" and like one who derives from mere words a grander false image of the truth, but as one who sees things with his own eyes and a taking part in a tragedy. As it was for all Ephesus was at his lecture was struck dumb with astonishment but he gave up like those who are trying to see and wait until their doubts are ended, and "Take heart, gentlemen, for the tyrant has been slain this day and why do I say to-day? Now it is by Athens, even now at the moment I uttered my words and then slipped into silence. The vulgar taunts of Ephesus thought that this was a fit of madness on his part and though they were anxious that it should be true yet they were anxious about the risk they ran in giving ear to his words, whereupon he added "I am not surprised at those who do not yet accept my story for not even all Rome as yet is cognizant of it. But behold Rome begins to know it for the rumour runs this way and that and thousands now are convinced of it and they begin to rap for joy twice as many as before, and twice as many as they did four times as many see the whole of the populace there. And this

1. The first step is to identify the problem.
 2. The second step is to define the problem.
 3. The third step is to analyze the problem.
 4. The fourth step is to develop a solution.
 5. The fifth step is to implement the solution.
 6. The sixth step is to evaluate the solution.
 7. The seventh step is to monitor the solution.
 8. The eighth step is to maintain the solution.
 9. The ninth step is to improve the solution.
 10. The tenth step is to document the solution.

CAP.
XXVI ἐκεῖνη δῆμοι. ἀφίξεται τοῦτ' ἰὼν καὶ δεῦρο,
καὶ τὰ μὲν θύειν ὑμῖς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀναβεβλήσθω ἐς
καιρὸν, ὃν ἀπαγγελλήσεται ταῦτα, ἐγὼ δὲ εἰμι
προσευξόμενος τοῖς θεοῖς ὑπὲρ ὧν εἶδον."

XXVII

CAP.
XXVII Ἐπ' ἀπιστοῦμενων ταύτων, ἦλθον οἱ τῶν εὐαγ-
γελίων δρόμοι, μαρτυρὲς τῆς σοφίας τοῦ ἀνδρός,
καὶ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ τυράννου σφαγή, καὶ ἡ τοῦτο ἐνεγ-
κούσα ἡμέρη, καὶ ἡ μεσημβρία, καὶ οἱ κτείνοντες,
πρὸς οὓς ἡ παρακείμεσις, οὕτως εἶχεν, ὥς οἱ θεοὶ
τούτων ἕκαστα διαλεγόμενοι τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἀνέφαινον.

Τριάκοντα δ' ἡμέραις μετὰ ταῦτα, ἐπιστείλαντος
αὐτῷ τοῦ Νερουα τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἤδη τῶν Ῥω-
μαίων ἔχειν θεῶν τε βουλαῖς κύκλῳ, κατασχῶν
δ' αὖ αὐτὴν ῥῆον, εἰ ξύμβουλος αὐτῷ ἔλθοι, τὸ
μὲν αὐτίκα ἐκείνῳ γράφει πρὸς αὐτὸν αἰνύμα-
" ξυνεσόμεθα, ὦ βασιλεῦ, χρόνον ἀλλήλοις πλείσ-
τον, δι' μήτε ἡμεῖς ἑτέρον, μήτ' ἄλλος ἡμῶν ἄρξει,"
συνειὼς ἴσως εαυτοῦ τε, ὥς μετ' οὐ πολὺ μεταστη-
σομένου ἀνθρώπων, Νερουά τε, ὥς χρόνον βραχὺν
ἄρξοντος, ἐς ἐνιαυτὸν γὰρ καὶ μῆνας τέτταρας
τὰ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῷ προὔβη σωφρονεστάτῳ
δόξαντι.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

news will travel hither also, and although I would have you defer your sacrifices in honour thereof to the fitting season when you will receive this news, I shall proceed at once to pray to the gods for what I have seen.'

CHAP
XXVI

XXVII

THEY were still sceptical, when swift runners arrived with the good news, and bore testimony to the sage's wisdom, for the tyrant's murder, and the day which brought the event to birth, the hour of mid-day and the murderers to whom he addressed his exhortation everything agreed with the revelation which the gods had made to Apollonius in the midst of his harangue.

CHAP
XXVII

And thirty days later Nerva sent a letter to him to say that he was already in possession of the Empire of the Romans thanks to the good-will of the gods and to his good counsels, and he added that he would more easily retain it, if Apollonius would come to advise him. Whereupon at the moment the latter wrote to him the following enigmatical sentence 'We will, my prince, enjoy one another's company for a very long time during which neither shall we govern others, nor others us.' Perhaps he realised when he wrote thus, that it was not to be long before he himself should quit this human world, and that Nerva was only to retain the throne for a short time, for his reign lasted but one year and four months when he left behind him the reputation of having been a sober and serious ruler.

Nerva
succeeds and
invites the
sage to
Rome

XXVIII

CAP.
XXVIII

Ἴνα δὲ μὴ ἀμελῶν φαίνοιτο φίλου τε ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἄρχοντος, ξυνέθηκε μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολὴν, ξύμβουλον τῶν ἱερικῶν, καὶ καλέσας τὸν Δάμιν, "σοῦ" ἔφη, "δεῖται ταῦτα, τὰ γὰρ ἀπάρρητα τῆς ἐπιστολῆς γέγραπται μὲν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ἔστι δ' οἷα ἢ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ λέγεσθαι ἢ διὰ σοῦ." καὶ ὁψὲ ὁ Δάμις ξυνεῖναί φησι τῆς τέχνης, τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐπιστολὴν ἄριστά τε αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπὲρ μεγάλων ξυγγεγράφθαι, πεμφθῆναι δ' ἂν καὶ δι' ἐτέρου. τίς οὖν ἡ τέχνη τοῦ ἀνδρός, πάντα τὸν χρόνον, ὃν ἐβίω, λέγεται θαμὰ ἐπιφθέγγεσθαι, "λάθε βιώσας, εἰ δὲ μὴ δύναιο, λύθε ἀποβιώσας." ἀπάγων οὖν ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Δάμιν, ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ μίρτυσι καταλύοι, τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐσκήψατο καὶ τὸ ἀναφοιτῆσαι αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Ἑρώμην. αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ παθεῖν τι ἀπικὼν αὐτοῦ φησιν, οὐδὲ εἰδώς τὰ μέλλοντα, τὸν δ' εὖ εἰδότα μηδὲν μὲν οἱ εἰπεῖν, ὥσπερ πλώθασιν οἱ μηκέτ' ἀλλήλους ὀψόμενοι, τοσοῦτον αὐτῷ περιεῖναι τοῦ πεπεῖσθαι, ὅτι αἰεὶ ἔσται, παρεγγυῆσαι δὲ ὥδε· "ὦ Δάμι, κἂν ἐπὶ σεαυτοῦ φιλοσοφῆς, ἐμὲ ὄρα."

XXVIII

But as he did not wish to seem to neglect so good a friend and ruler, he commenced later on, for him a letter giving him advice about matters of state, and telling him to him he was. You are wanted here for this letter which I have written to the king contains secrets, and though it is written they are of such a kind that they must be communicated really either by myself or through you. And Demas declares that he only understood his master's desire much later for that the letter was composed in advising state and though it treated of important subjects yet it might easily have been sent through any one else. What then was the sage's device? As through his life for a soul often to have exclaimed—*I am unweaned and I that cannot be shipwrecked from life.* His letter then, and Demas's exit to Rome were of the nature of an excuse for getting the latter out of the way in order that he might see no witnesses of his dissipation. Demas succeeded in this too though he was much affected at seeing him in spite of his having no knowledge of what was coming yet Apollonius who knew full well said nothing of it to him and far from addressing him after the manner of those who are never to see one another again so abundant was his conviction that he would exist for ever, merely pledged him in these words—"O Demas, even if you have to philosophize by yourself, keep your eyes upon me."

CHAP.
XXVIII
Apollonius
of Tyre
and the
king of
Syria

XXIX

CAP.
XXIX

Τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν Τυανέα Δάμιδι τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ ἀναγεγραμμένα ἐς τούδε τὸν λόγον τέλευτῷ, περὶ γὰρ τρόπου, καθ' ὃν ἐτελεύτα, εἶγε ἐτελεύτα, πλείους μὲν λόγοι, Δάμιδι δὲ οὐδεὶς εἴρηται, ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦτο χρή παραλελείφθαι, δεῖ γάρ που τὸν λόγον ἔχειν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ πέρας. οὐδ' ὑπὲρ ἡλικίας τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἴρηται οὐδὲν τῇ Δάμιδι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ὀγδοήκοντα, τοῖς δ' ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐνενήκοντα, τοῖς δὲ καὶ πρόσω τῶν ἑκατὸν ἐλθεῖν, ἰκέ-
ραιος ὢν πᾶν τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἄρτιος, νεότητος δὲ ἡδίων. ἔστι γὰρ τις ὥρα καὶ περὶ ῥυτίσιν, ἥ μάλιστα περὶ ἐκείνον ἤνθησεν, ὥς εἰκονες τε δηλοῦσι τὸν ἀνδρὸς ἐν τῷ Τυανίδε ἱερῷ καὶ λόγοι μᾶλλον ὑμνοῦντες τὸ Ἀπολλωνίου γήρας ἢ τὴν Ἀλκιβιάδου ποτὲ νεότητα.

XXX

CAP.
XXX

Τελευτῆσαι δ' αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ θεραπεύόμενον ὑπὸ δυοῖν δμῳαῖν, τεθνήσκειν γὰρ ἤδη οἱ ἀπελεύθεροι, περὶ ὧν κατ' ἀρχὰς εἶπον, ἐλευθερώσαντα δὲ τὴν ἐτέραν, αἰτίαν πρὸς τῆς ἐτέρας ἔχειν, ἐπεὶ μὴ τῶν αὐτῶν ἡξίωτο, τὸν δ' Ἀπολλώνιον, “καὶ δουλεῦσαι,” φάναι, “προσῆκει σὲ αὐτῇ, τουτὶ γάρ σοι ἀγαθοῦ ἄρξει.” τελευτήσαντος οὖν ἡ μὲν

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

XXIX

THE memoirs then of Apollonius of Tyana which CHAP
XXIX
Age reached
by Apol-
lonius Damis the Assyrian composed, end with the above story, for with regard to the manner in which he died, if he did actually die, there are many stories, though Damis has repeated none. But as for myself I ought not to omit even this for my story should, I think, have its natural ending. Neither has Damis told us anything about the age of our hero, but there are some who say that he was eighty, others that he was over ninety, others again who say that his age far exceeded a hundred. He was fresh in all his body and upright, when he died, and more agreeable to look at than in his youth. For there is a certain beauty even in wrinkles, which was especially conspicuous in his case, as is clear from the likenesses of him which are preserved in the temple at Tyana, and from accounts which praise the old age of Apollonius more than was once praised the youth of Alcibiades.

XXX

Now there are some who relate that he died in CHAP
XXX
Taken of his
death in
Ephesus Ephesus, tended by two maid servants, for the freed-men of whom I spoke at the beginning of my story were already dead. One of these maids he emancipated, and was blamed by the other one for not conferring the same privilege upon her but Apollonius told her that it was better for her to remain the other's slave, for that that would be the beginning of her well-being. Accordingly after his death

CAP.
XXX

δουλεύειν ἐκεῖνῃ, ἢ δ' ἐκ μικρᾶς αἰτίας ἀποδόσθαι αὐτὴν καπήλῳ, παρ' οὗ πρίασθαι τις οὐδ' εὐπρεπῆ οὔσαν, ἀλλ' ἐρώων οὗτος καὶ χρηματιστῆς ἱκανὸς ὢν, γυναικίᾳ τε ἀνευπεῖν καὶ παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐγγράψαι.

Οἱ δ' ἐν Λίνδῳ τελευτῆσαι αὐτόν, παρελθόντα ἐς τὸ ἱερόν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ ἔσω ἀφανισθέντα· οἱ δ' ἐν Κρήτῃ φασὶ θαυμασιώτερον ἢ οἱ ἐν Λίνδῳ διατρίβειν μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς τούτου θαυμαζόμενον, ἀφικέσθαι δ' ἐς τὸ ἱερόν τῆς Δικτύνης ὡρῶν. φυλακὴ δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ κυνῶν ἐπιτέτακται, φρουροὶ τοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ πλούτου, καὶ ἀξιούσιν αὐτοὺς οἱ Κρήτες μήτε τῶν ἄρκτων μήτε τῶν ὠδὲ ἰγρίων λείπεσθαι, οἱ δ' οὐθ' ὑλακτεῖν ἤκοντα σαίνειν τε αὐτὸν προσιόντες, ὥς μηδὲ τοὺς ἄγαν ἐθάδας. οἱ μὲν δὴ τοῦ ἱεροῦ προΐσταμενοι ξυλλαβόντες αὐτοῦ ὥς γόητα καὶ ληστήν δῆσαι, μείλιγμα τοῖς κυσὶ προβεβλησθαι τι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φάσκοντες· ὁ δ' ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας ἑαυτὸν λῦσαι, καλέσας δὲ τοὺς δῆσαντας, ὥς μὴ λάθοι, δραμεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ ἱεροῦ θύρας, αἱ δ' ἀνεπετασθησαν, παρελθόντος δὲ ἔσω τὰς μὲν θύρας ξυνελθεῖν, ὥσπερ ἐπέκλειντο, βοῇ δὲ ἄδουσῶν παρθένων ἐκπασεῖν. τὸ δὲ ῥῆμα ἦν· “στεῖχε γὰρ, στεῖχε ἐς οὐρανόν, στεῖχε.” οἶον· ἴθι ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἄνω.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

the one continued to be the slave of the other who for some insignificant reason sold her to a merchant, from whom she was purchased. Her new master, although she was not good looking, nevertheless fell in love with her, and being a fairly rich man, made her his legal wife and had legitimate children by her.

Others again say that he died in Lindus, where he entered the temple of Athene and disappeared within it. Others again say that he died in Crete in a much more remarkable manner than the people of Lindus relate. For they say that he continued to live in Crete, where he became a greater centre of admiration than ever before, and that he came to the temple of Dictynna late at night. Now this temple is guarded by dogs whose duty it is to watch over the wealth deposited in it, and the Cretans claim that they are as good as bears or any other animals equally fierce. None the less when he came, instead of barking they approached him and fawned upon him, as they would not have done even with people they knew familiarly. The guardians of the shrine arrested him in consequence and threw him in bonds as a wizard and a robber, accusing him of having thrown to the dogs some charmed morsels. But about midnight he loosened his bonds, and after calling those who had bound him, in order that they might witness the spectacle, he ran to the doors of the temple which opened wide to receive him, and when he had passed within they closed afresh, as if they had been shut, and there was heard a chorus of maidens singing from within the temple, and their song was this:—'Hasten thou from earth, hasten thou to Heaven, hasten. In other words—'Do thou go upwards from earth.

CAP.
XXXI

Περὶ ψυχῆς δέ, ὡς ἀθάνατος εἴη, ἐφιλοσόφει
 ἔτι, διδύσκων μὲν, ὅτι ἀληθὴς ὁ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς λόγος,
 πολυπραγμονεῖν δὲ μὴ ξυγχωρῶν τὰ ὧδε μεγάλα·
 ἀφικετο μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὰ Ἰύανα μαιρακιον θρασὺ
 περὶ τὰς ἐριδας καὶ μὴ ξυντιθέμενον ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ.
 τοῦ δὲ Ἀπολλωνίου ἐξ ἀνθρώπων μὲν ἤδη ὄντος,
 θαυματομένου δ' ἐπὶ τῇ μεταβολῇ καὶ μηδ' ἀντι-
 λάξαι θαρροῦντος μηδενός, ὡς αὖτ' ἀθάνατος εἴη,
 λόγοι μὲν οἱ πλείους ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς ἐγίνοντο, καὶ
 γὰρ νεότες τις ἦν αὐτόθι σοφίας ἐρῶντες, τὸ δὲ
 μαιρακιον οὐδαμῶς τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀθανασίᾳ ξυντι-
 θέμενον, "ἐγώ," ἔφη, "ὦ παρόντες, τουτονὶ μήνα
 δέκατον Ἀπολλωνίῳ διατελῶ εὐχόμενος ἵνα φηναί
 μοι τον ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς λόγον, ὁ δ' οὕτω τεθνηκεν,
 ὡς μηδ' ἐφίστασθαι δεσμένῳ, μηδ', ὡς ἀθάνατος
 εἴη, πείθειν." τοιαῦτα μὲν τὰ μαιρακιον τότε,
 πεμπτῇ δὲ ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἡμέρᾳ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν
 σπουδᾶσαν, κατέδαρθε μὲν οὐ διαλέγετο, τῶν δὲ
 ξυσπουδαζόντων νέων οἱ μὲν πρὸς βιβλίοις ἦσαν,
 οἱ δ' ἐσπούδαζον γεωμετρικοὺς ἐπιχαράττοντες
 τυποῦν τῇ γῇ, το δ', ὥσπερ ἐμμανές, ἀναπηδῆσαν
 ὠμόθυπον, ἰδρῶτι τε πολλῷ ἐρραῖτο καὶ ἐβλαβ,
 "πειθομαί σοι," ἐρομένων δ' αὐτο τῶν παρόντων,
 ὅ τι πέποιθεν, "οὐχ ὁράτε," ἔφη, "ὕμεις Ἀπολλ-
 λωνιον τὸν σοφον, ὡς παρατυγχάνει τε ἡμῶν,

XXXI

And even after his death he continued to preach that the soul is immortal but although he taught this account of it to be correct, yet he discouraged men from meddling in such high subjects. For there came to Tiana a youth who did not shrink from acrimonious discussions, and would not accept truth in argument. Now Apollonius had already passed away from among men, but people still wondered at his passing and no one ventured to dispute that he was immortal. This being so, the discussions were mainly about the soul, for a band of youths were there passionately addicted to wisdom. The young man in question however would on no account allow the tenet of the immortality of the soul and said "I myself, gentlemen, have done nothing now for over nine months but pray to Apollonius that he would reveal to me the truth about the soul, but he is so utterly dead that he will not appear to me in response to my entreaties, nor give me any reason to consider him immortal." Such were the young man's words on that occasion, but on the fifth day following after discussing the same subject, he fell asleep where he was talking with them, and of the young men who were studying with him, some were reading books, and others were industriously drawing geometrical figures on the ground when on a sudden, like one awakened, he leapt up from an uneasy sleep, streaming with perspiration, and cried out "I believe thee." And, when those who were present asked him what was the matter, "Do you not see," said he, "Apollonius the sage, how that he is present

CHAR.
XXXI

The sage
after death
was seen
by one of
his pupils
in a vision
and that
if alive
would

CAP.
XXX.

ἐπακροώμενος τοῦ λόγου, καὶ περὶ ψυχῆς ῥάψωδον
θαυμάσια ;” “ποῦ δ’ οὗτος ;” ἔφασαν, “ὥς ἡμῖν
γε οὐδαμοῦ φαίνεται, καίτοι βουλομένοις ἂν τοῦτο
μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ πᾶντων ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθὰ ἔχειν.”
καὶ τὸ μεριΐκιον, “ἔοικεν ὑμοῖ μόνον διαλεξόμενον
ἦκειν ὑπὲρ ὧν μὴ ἐπίστευον· ἀκούετ’ οὖν, οἷα τῇ
λόγῳ ἐπιθειάζει·

ἀθάνατος ψυχὴ καὶ χρῆμα συν, ἰλλὰ προνοίας,
ἢ μετὰ σῶμα μαραινθεν, ἅτ’ ἐκ δεσμῶν θούς
ἵππος,

ῥηιδίως προθοροῦσα κεράννυται ἡέρι κούφῳ,
δεινὴν καὶ πολύτλητον ἀποστέρξασα λατρείην·
σοὶ δὲ τι τῶνδ’ ὄφελος, ὅ ποτ’ οὐκετ’ εἶναι τυτὸ
δόξεις ;

ἢ τί μετὰ ζῆροῖσιν εἶναι περὶ τῶνδε ματεύεις ;”

καὶ σαφὲς οὗτος Ἀπολλωνίου τρίπουν ἔστηκεν
ὑπὲρ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπορρήτων, ἵν’ εὐθυμοί τε
καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν εἰδότες, οἱ τιύττουσι Μοίραι,
πορευοίμεθα. τάφῳ μὲν οὖν ἢ ψευδοταφίῳ τοῦ
ἀνδρός οὐδαμοῦ προστυχῶν οἶδα, καίτοι τῆς γῆς,
ὀπόση ἐστίν, ἐπελθὼν πλείστην, λόγους δὲ παν-
ταχοῦ δαιμονίοις, καὶ ἱερὰ Ἵνάνιδε βασιλείους
ἐκπαιποημένα τέλεσιν οὐδὲ γὰρ βασιλεῖς ἀπηξίουν
αὐτὸν ὧν αὐτοὶ ἡξιούντο.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

with us and is listening to our discussion, and is ^{CHAP} reciting wondrous verses about the soul? "But ^{XXXI} where is he?" they asked, "For we cannot see him anywhere, although we would rather do so than possess all the blessings of mankind." And the youth replied "It would seem that he is come to converse with myself alone concerning the tenets which I would not believe. Listen therefore to the inspired argument which he is delivering

"The soul is immortal, and 'tis no possession of thine own, out of Providence,

"And after the body is wasted away, like a swift horse freed from its traces,

"It lightly leaps forward and mingles itself with the light air,

"Loathing the spell of harsh and painful servitude which it has endured

"But for thee, what use is there in this? Some day when thou art no more thou shalt believe it.

"So why, as long as thou art among living beings, dost thou explore these mysteries?"

Here we have a clear utterance of Apollonius, established like an oracular tripod, to convince us of the mysteries of the soul, to the end that cheerfully, and with due knowledge of our own true nature, we may pursue our way to the goal appointed by the Fates. With any tomb, however, or cenotaph of the sage I never met, that I know of, although I have traversed most of the earth, and have listened everywhere to stories of his divine quality. And his shrine at Tyana is singled out and honoured with royal officers for neither have the Emperors denied to him the honours of which they themselves were held worthy



THE EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS
OF TYANA

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ
ΤΟΥ ΤΤΑΝΕΛΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ

Α'.—Εὐφράτη.

Ἐμοὶ πρὸς φιλοσόφους ἐστὶ φιλία, πρὸς μέντοι σοφιστὰς ἢ γραμματιστὰς ἢ τι τοιοῦτο γένος ἄτερον ἀνθρώπων κακοδαιμόνων, οὔτε νῦν ἐστὶ φιλία, μητε ὕστερόν ποτε γένοιτο. τὰδε μὲν οὖν οὐ πρὸς σέ, πλὴν εἰ μὴ καὶ σὺ τούτων εἷς, ἐκεῖνα δὲ καὶ πάνυ πρὸς σέ θεραπευέ σου τὰ παιθῆ, καὶ πείρω φιλόσοφος εἶναι, καὶ μὴ φθονεῖν τοῖς ὄντως φιλοσοφοῦσιν, ἐπεὶ σοὶ καὶ γῆρας ἤδη πλησίον καὶ θάνατος.

Β'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Ἡ ἀρετὴ φύσει κτήσεται χρήσει, δι' ἣν ἄκαστον ἂν εἴη τῶν προειρημένων ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιον. σκεπτέον, εἰ τί σοι τούτων ἐστίν, ἢ σοφιστείας πνυστέον λοιπόν, ἢ προϊκίᾳ γὰρ χρηστέον αὐτῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἀντυγχάνοντας, ἐπειπερ ἤδη σοὶ καὶ τὰ Μεγαβύζου.

THE ÉPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA

I.—To EUPHRATES.

As for myself I am on friendly terms with philosophers, with sophists however or low clerks or any such other kind of wretches, I am neither on friendly terms now, and Heaven forbid I should ever be so at any later time. Although this does not apply to you, unless indeed you chance to be one of them, the following words do very much apply to you—*heal and remedy your passions, and try to be a philosopher, and not to be jealous of those who really are such, for in your case old age is already at hand and death.*

II.—To THE SAME.

FORASMUCH as virtue cometh by nature, by acquirement, by use, each of these may be held to be worthy of acceptance. See then whether you have any one of them, and either give up the teaching of wisdom for the future or at least communicate it freely and for nothing to those who associate with you, for you already have the riches of Megabyzes.

γ.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Ἐπὶ ἤλθεε ἔθνη τὰ μεταξὺ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπὸ Συρίας ἀρξάμενος, ἐπιδεικνύς σεαυτὸν ἐν ταῖς τοῦ βασιλέως λεγομέναις. διπλῇ δέ σοι τότε καὶ πᾶγων λευκὸς καὶ μέγας, πλείον δὲ οὐδέν. εἶτα πᾶς διὰ θαλάττης κῆν ὑποστρέφεις ἄγων φορτίδα μεστήν ἀργυρίου, χρυσίου, σκευῶν παντοδαπῶν, ἐσθήτων ποικίλων, κόσμον τοῦ λοιποῦ, τύφου καὶ ἀλαζονείας καὶ κακοδαιμονίας, τίς ὁ φύρτος καὶ ὁ τρόπος τῆς καινῆς ἐμπορίας, Ζήνων τραγημάτων ἢ ἔμπορος.

δ.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Ὅλων δέ σοι τοῖς παισίν, εἰ φιλοσόφου παῖδες εἶησαν. ἔδει μὲν οὖν μὴδὲ φροντίσαι πλείω σοι γενέσθαι τῶν ἱκανῶν, ἄλλως τε καὶ μετὰ ἀδοξίας τινός. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἥπαξ ἐγένετο, δεύτερον ἂν εἶη μεγάλη σπουδὴ νεῖμαί σε τισὶ ἄρια τῶν θυτῶν ἔχεις δὲ καὶ πατρίδα καὶ φίλους.

ε.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Τῶν Ἐπικούρου λόγων ὁ περὶ ἡδονῆς οὐδενὸς ἔτι συνηγόρου δέχεται τῶν ἐκ τοῦ κήπου καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου διατριβῆς, πέφηνε γὰρ ὢν καὶ κατὰ τὴν στοὰν ἀληθέστατος. εἰ δὲ ἀντιλόγων προκομμεῖς

EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS

III.—TO THE SAME.

You have visited the countries that lie between me and Italy, beginning from Syria, parading yourself in the so-called royal cities. And you had a philosopher's doublet all the time, and a long white beard, but besides that nothing. And now how comes it that you are returning by sea with a full cargo of silver, of gold, of *vases* of all sorts, of embroidered raiment, of every other sort of ornament, not to mention overweening pride, and boasting and unhappiness? What cargo is this, and what the purport of these strange purchases? Zeno never purchased but dried fruits.

IV.—TO THE SAME

You would need little for your servants, if only they were servants of a philosopher. Nay, you should not even think of purchasing more than you really want, especially as you incur some ill-fame thereby. But since you have once made the mistake, the next best thing would be if you made as much haste as possible to give away some of what you have to others. You will still retain both your fatherland and your friends.

V.—TO THE SAME.

There is no need henceforth for any inmate of his garden, or follower of his school to plead the merit of one of the discourses of Epicurus which is entitled: "About Pleasure." For a genuine advocate thereof has turned up in the Porch itself. But if by way of

τὰς Χρυσίππου σχολὰς καὶ δόγματα, γέγραπται
τι καὶ ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς γράμμασιν· Εὐφράτης
ἔλαβε καὶ πάλιν ἔλαβεν· Ἐπίκουρος δὲ οὐκ ἂν
ἔλαβεν.

ε'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Ἡρόμην πλουσίους τινάς, εἰ πικραίνονται, τί
δ' οὐ μέλλομεν, ἔφασαν, ἡρόμην οὖν καὶ τὴν
αἰτίαν τῆς ἀνάγκης, καὶ ἡτιῶντο τὸν πλούτον,
σὺ δ', ὦ τάλαν, νεόπλουτος.

ζ'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Ἐὰν ὅτι τάχος εἰς Λίγας ἀφίκη καὶ κενώσης
ἐκεῖ τὴν ναῦν, ἴτεον ἐστὶ σοι πάλιν ὅτι τάχος εἰς
τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ κολακευτεον ὁμοίως νοσοῦντας,
γέροντας, γραῦς, ὀρφανούς, πλουσίους, θρυπτομέ-
νους, Μίδας, Γέτας· πάντα φασὶ δεῖν τὸν ἄμπορον
κάλων σείειν· ἐμοὶ δὲ εἴη τὴν ἡλίαν τρυπᾶν ἐν
Θήμειδος οἴκῳ.

η'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Ἀρά τι καὶ σὺ γράψαιο ἂν, εἰ γὰρ οὕτω
γένοιο γευναῖος. καὶ ἔχῃς δ' ἂν εἰπεῖν τὰ συνήθη
ταῦτα καὶ πρόχειρα· “λουτρὸν ἅπαν Ἀπολ-
λώνιος παραιτεῖται.” καὶ τῆς αἰκίας οὐδέποτε

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contradiction you should bring out the lectures and tenets of Chrysippus, let me point out to you a certain passage in the Emperor's correspondence, namely this "Euphrates has taken money of me and has taken it a second time. Now Epicurus would never have taken it."

VI.—TO THE SAME.

I ~~have~~ asked some rich men if they foster such bitter feelings. And they answered "How can we do otherwise?" So I asked them what was the reason of their dross, and they blamed their wealth. But you, my poor wretch, only acquired your wealth yesterday.

VII.—TO THE SAME.

As soon as you have reached Aegae in your hurry, and discharged your ship there, you have to return again post-haste to Italy, where you must fawn as usual upon the sick, the old men, old women, orphans, rich men, dandies, Midas, Getae. For they say that a merchant must let out every reef. For myself, I would rather clear out the salt-cellar in the house of Themis.

VIII.—TO THE SAME.

PERHAPS then you would like to draw up a little indictment of me? I only wish you had the pluck to do so. And you would be able to repeat these hackneyed and obvious accusations "Apollonius utterly declines to take a bath." Yes, and what's

προεισι καὶ σωζομένους ἔχει τοὺς πόδας. "οὐδὲν ὁράται τῶν τοῦ σώματος κινῶν." δι' ὅλον γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν κινεῖ. "κομᾷ τὴν κεφαλὴν" καὶ γὰρ ὁ Ἕλλην, ὅτι Ἕλλην καὶ οὐ βάρβαρος. "ἐσθῆτα φορεῖ λιπὴν." καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τὰ καθαρώτατα. "μαντικῇ χρῆται." πλείω γὰρ τὰ ἁδιλα, καὶ ἄλλως ἀμήχανον προαισθῆσθαι τι τῶν ἐσομένων. "ἄλλ' οὐ πρέπον φιλοσόφῳ τὸ τοιοῦτον" ὃ πρέπει καὶ θεῷ "καὶ σωμάτων δὲ ὕδυνας ἀφαιρεῖ καὶ παθη παύει" τοῦτό που καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν κοινὸν τὸ ἔγκλημα. "σιτεῖται μόνος." οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐσθίουσι. "βραχέα λέγει καὶ ἐπὶ βραχύ." συγῆσαι γάρ ἐστιν οὐκ ἀδύνατος. "σαρκῶν ἀπέχεται πασῶν καὶ θηρίων πάντων," διὰ τοῦτο ἀνθρωπὸς ἐστὶ εἰ ταῦτα ἐρεῖς. Εὐφρῶτα, γεγράφθαι, ἴσως ἐκεῖνο προσθήσεις, "εἴ τι ἦν, ἔλαβεν ἂν ἀργύριον, ὡς ἐγώ, δωρεάς, πολιτείας." εἴ τι ἦν, οὐκ ἂν ἔλαβεν. "ἀλλὰ τῇ πατρίδι μὲν ἔλαβεν ἂν." οὐ πατρὶς δέ, ἢ μὴ οἶδεν, ὃ ἔχει.

Θ'.—Δίῳ νι.

Αὐλοῖς καὶ λύρᾳ κρεῖττόν ἐστι τέρπειν ἢ λόγῳ. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἡδονῆς ὄργανα καὶ μουσικὴ τοῦνομα τῇ τέχνῃ, λόγος δὲ τἀληθὲς εὐρίσκει. τοῦτο σοι

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more, he never quits his house and takes care never to soil his feet. ' You never see him moving any part of his person.' Yes, for he never moves any thing except his soul. ' He wears his hair long on his head.' Well, and so does the Hellenic, because he is a Hellenic and not a barbarian. ' He wears linen raiment.' Yes, for this purest garb is that of priests. ' He practises divination.' Yes, for many are the things we know not, and there is no other way of foreseeing anything that is going to happen. ' But such practices are not consistent with philosophy.' Nevertheless they befit the deity. ' And moreover he cures the flesh of its agonies and allays suffering. You might equally bring this charge against Asclepius.' ' He eats alone.' Yes, and the rest of the world feed. ' He uses few words and on few occasions.' Yes, for he has a faculty of holding his tongue altogether. ' He abstains from all flesh and from eating any animal food. That is surely a proof of his humanity. If you tell me, Euphrates, that you have put these counts into your indictment, you will probably add the following as well. ' If there had been any going, he would have taken money as I have, and presents, and civil promotions. If there had been money going, he would not have taken it. ' Nay, but he would have taken it for his country.' Yes, but that is not ours: a country which knows not what it hath.

IX.—To DION.

If your object is to please you had better employ flattery and lyre than argument, for they are the instruments which are made to minister to pleasure, and the art of doing so is named music. But

πρακτέον, τοῦτό σοι ῥητέον, ἣν καὶ περὶ τούτου φιλοσοφῆς.

ί.—τὸ αὐτὸ.

Ζητοῦσιν οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν, δι' ἣν πέπαιμαι διαλεγόμενος ἐν πολλοῖς. εἰδέτωσαν οὖν, οἷς ἂν εἰδέναι μέλη τὸ τοιοῦτον· ἀδύνατος ὠφελεῖσαι λόγος ἅπας, ὅς ἂν εἰς ὧν μὴ καὶ πρὸς ἓνα λέγεται. ὁ τοίνυν ἄλλως διαλεγόμενος δοξῆς ἥττων ὧν διαλέγοιτ' ἄν.

ια'.—Καίσαρ ἑὸν προβούλοις.

Πρῶτον εἰς πάντα θεῶν ἄνθρωποι δέονται καὶ περὶ παντός, ἔπειτα πόλεων, τιμητέον γὰρ δεύτερον πόλεις μετὰ θεοῦς καὶ τὰ πόλεως προκριτέον παντὶ νοῦν ἔχοντι· εἰ δὲ μὴ πόλεις μόνον εἴη, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγίστη τῆς Παλαιστίνης, ἀρίστη τε τῶν αὐτοῦ μεγέθει καὶ νομοῖς καὶ ἐπιτηδεύμασι καὶ προγόνων κατὰ πόλεμον ἀρεταῖς, ἔτι τε ἡβέσι κατ' εἰρήνην, καθάπερ ἡ ὑμέτερα πόλις, μίλιστα πασῶν τῶν ἄλλων ἐμοί τε θαυμαστά τιμητέα τε καὶ ἄλλα δὲ ὁμοίως παντὶ νοῦν ἔχοντι· τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἐκ λόγου κοινοῦ¹ τὸ προκριτικὸν ἂν εἴη τὸ κατὰ σύγκρισιν τῶν πολλῶν.² ὅταν δὲ καὶ

¹ Or perhaps we should render "by ordinary comparison, &c."

² Perhaps we should read in the Greek προκριτικόν, ἂν ᾖ with Olearius and render "for preferring your city, if the object under comparison were an ordinary city."

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argument finds out the truth, and at this you should aim in you actions, at this in your words, at least if you are really making a philosophic study of it.

X.—TO THE SAME.

SOME people ask the reason why I have left off giving lectures to large audiences. Let all know then, who may be interested to understand such matters. No discourse can be really useful, unless, if it be single, it be also delivered to a single individual. Anyone then who discourses in any other manner is motivated by vain glory to discourse.

XI. -TO THE CHIEF COUNCILLORS OF CAESAREA.

MEN's first need is of gods for everything and above everything, their second of cities, for next after the gods we must honour our cities, and if we are men of sense we prefer our cities' welfare. Now if yours were only one city of many, instead of being, as it is, the greatest in Palestine, excelling all others there in size and in laws, and in institutions and in the warlike virtues of ancestors, and still more in the arts and manners of peace, I should still see reason to admire and honour your city more than all others, and so would every man who has any sense. My common report this would be the reason for preferring your city on a comparison of it with the run of cities. But whenever a city

ἄρχῃ πόλιν ποτὲ τῆς πρὸς ἑνα τιμῆς ἄνδρα, πόλιν οὖσα, καὶ τοῦτον ἑαυτῆς ξένον καὶ ἄποθεν, τί ἢ τοῦτον τοῦ ἄνδρος πρὸς ἀμοιβὴν ἢ ὑμῶν ἂν πρὸς τισιν ἄξιον εἴη, τοῦτο μόνον ἴσως, εἰ θεοφιλὴς τις ὦν τύχοι διὰ τινὰ φύσεως ἐπιτηδειότητα τὸ εὖχεσθαι τῇ πόλει τὰ ἀγαθὰ τυγχάνειν τε τῆς εὐχῆς, ὅπερ ἂν διατελέσαιμι κἀγὼ πράττων ὑπὲρ ἑμῶν, ἐπεὶ περ ἦσθην ἡβῆσιν Ἑλληνικοῖς φαίνουσι τὸ ἴδιον ἀγαθὸν καὶ διὰ γραμμύτων κοινῶν. Ἀπολλωνίδην δὲ τὸν Ἀφροδισίου νεανίαν ἑρρωμενεστάτης φύσεως ἀξίας τε τοῦ ὑμετέρου ὀνόματος, πειρώσομαι χρήσιμον ὑμῶν παρασκευάζειν εἰς ἕκαστα μετὰ καὶ τύχης τινὸς ἀγαθῆς.

ιβ'.—Σελευκέων τοῖς προβούλοις.

Πόλιν, ἣτις ἂν οὕτω πρὸς τε θεοὺς ἔχῃ καὶ ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τοὺς ἀξίους ἀποδοχῆς, αὐτὴ τε εὐδαίμων καὶ εἰς ἀρετὴν ὠφέλησε τοὺς μαρτυρηθέντας. ἄρξασθαι μὲν οὖν χάριτος οὐ δυσχερές, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις τὸ κύλλιστον, ἀμοιβὴν δ' οὐ ῥίδιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντελῶς ὁμοίαν εὐρεῖν ἀδύνατον, τὸ γάρ που τῇ τιξεί δεύτερον οὐδέποτε τῇ φύσει πρῶτον. ὥστε θεὸν ἀνάγκη παρακαλεῖν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἠμεῖσθαι τοὺς οὐ τῇ δυναμει μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις κρείττους γενομένους, ἰσθῶμεν γὰρ οὐδεὶς τὰ γε τηλικαῦτα δυνατός· καὶ τὸ ἐβελῆσαι δ' ἂν με παρ' ὑμῶν

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leads the way in paying honour to a single individual, and that one who is a stranger, and comes from afar off, seeing that it is a city which honours him, what can the individual do by way of return, and what worthy repayment of yourselves is possible? This perhaps and none other. That if he is a man beloved of the gods by reason of some natural endowment, he should pray that that city may obtain all blessings, and that his prayer may be granted. This I shall ever cease to do in your behalf, for I am pleased to see the manners of Hellenians revealing their own excellence, and doing it by means of public inscriptions. But as Apollonides the son of Aphrodisius is a young man of firm and constant character, and worthy to bear your name, I shall endeavour to render him of use to you in every particular, with the help of some good fortune.

XII.—TO THE CHIEF COUNCILLORS OF SELEUCIA.

WHATEVER city is so well affected as yours both towards the gods and towards such men as are worthy of acceptance, is both blessed in itself, and contributes to the excellence of those in whose favour it bears witness. Now though it is not difficult to lead the way in displaying graceful good will, indeed it is the noblest of human acts, it is yet not easy to requite it. Nay it is altogether impossible to find a true equivalent, for I imagine that what in time sequence is second can never in nature be first. Consequently I am obliged to ask heaven to reward you who have shown yourselves not only my superiors in ability, but also in deeds. For no man could possibly rise to such achievements as yours. It is a further proof of

γενέσθαι τῆς ὑμῶν ἂν εἴη χάριτος καὶ αὐτὸ εἰς ἡμᾶς, ὥς ἔγωγ' ἂν εὐχαίμην παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ γεγενυῖσθαι. οἱ πρέσβεις ὑμῶν τιμιωτεροί, διότι καὶ φίλοι, Ἰερώνυμος καὶ Ζήνων.

υγ'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Στρίτων μὲν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων οἴχεται, πᾶν ὕσον ἦν αὐτῷ θυητὸν ἐπὶ γῆς καταλιπών. χρὴ δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ κολαζομένους ἡμᾶς ἐνθάδε, ζῆν ἄλλως λαγομένους, ἔχειν τινὰ τῶν ἐκείνου πραγμάτων ἐπιμέλειαν. ἄλλοις μὲν οὖν ἄλλο τι ἔργον δικαίως γένοιτο νῦν ἢ καὶ ὕστερον, οἷς μὲν ὥς οἰκαίους, οἷς δ' ὥς αὐτὸ μόνον ἀνδρασι φίλοις οὐκ ἐν ἑτέρῳ γνωσθησομένοις χρόνῳ, τούτων εἶπερ ἦν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀληθές τι καὶ πρόσθεν. ἐγὼ μέντοι καὶ ταύτῃ βουλόμενος ἐξαιρέτως ὑμέτερος εἶναι, τὸν ἐκ Σελευκίδος νῖον αὐτῷ γενόμενον Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸς ἀναθρέψω, καὶ μεταδωσω παιδείας τῆς ἐμῆς πάντως δ' ἂν μετέδωκα καὶ χρημάτων ὅ τὰ μείζονα δούς, εἶπερ ἔχειν ἦν ἄξιον.

ιδ'.—Ἐὐφράτη.

Πυνθάνονται μοι πολλοὶ πολλάκις, τίνας ἔνεκεν οὐ μεταπέμφθην εἰς Ἰταλίαν, ἢ οὐ μεταπεμφθεὶς ὑφικόμεν, ὥσπερ σὺ καὶ εἰ τις ἕτερος. ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ τοῦ προτέρου μὲν οὐκ ἀποκρινοῦμαι, μὴ

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your gracious good-will towards me that you also wish me to visit you, as I would pray to have visited you already. Your envoys are the more precious to me, because they are already my friends, I mean Hieronymus and Zenon.

XIII — TO THE SAME PERSONS.

STRATON has indeed passed away from among men, and has left upon earth all that he had of mortality, but we who are here, still undergoing punishment, in other words still living, ought to have some concern for his affairs. One of us then must do one thing another another, and it is our duty to do it now rather than later, for if in the past we were some of us known as his relations, and some of us merely as his friends, now is the time to show with all sincerity that we are really such, nor must we delay doing our duty to an indefinite future, supposing these names meant anything. I myself, however, am desirous in this matter to be especially your friend, and therefore I undertake to bring up myself Alexander who was his son by Seleucis, and to impart to him my own education. And I should certainly have given him money also, when bestowing what is so much more important, if it were right that he should receive it.

XIV — TO EUPHRATES.

I HAVE been asked by many people on many occasions, why it is that I have never been sent for to Italy, or if I was sent for, why I did not come thither, like yourself and sundry other people. Now to the first question I shall give no answer, lest some

καὶ δόξω τισὶν εἰδέναι τὴν αἰτίαν, οὐδ' εἰδέναι μοι μέλοι, περὶ δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου τί ἂν καὶ θεοίμην ἕτερον λέγειν, ἢ ὅτι μᾶλλον ἂν μεταπέμφθην ἢ ἀφικόμην; ἔρρωσο.

ιβ'.—τὸ αὐτὸ.

Τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀδέσποτον εἶναι Πλάτων ἔφησεν. εἰ δὲ μὴ τιμᾷ τοῦτό τις καὶ γέγηθεν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὧνιός γίνεται χρημάτων, πολλοὺς δεσπότας ἑαυτοῦ ποιεῖ.

ιγ'.—τὸ αὐτὸ.

Μάγους οἷε δεῖν ὀνομάζειν τοὺς ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου φιλοσόφους, ὧδε ποι καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Ὀρφείως. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ δεῖνος οἶμαι δεῖν ὀνομάζεσθαι μάγους, εἰ μέλλουσιν εἶναι θεῖοι τε καὶ δίκαιοι.

ιδ'.—τὸ αὐτὸ.

Μάγους ὀνομάζουσι τοὺς θεῖους οἱ Πέρσαι. μάγος οὖν ὁ θεραπευτὴς τῶν θεῶν ἢ ὁ τὴν φύσιν θεῖος, σὺ δ' οὐ μάγος, ἀλλ' ἄθεος.

ιε'.—τὸ αὐτὸ.

Ἰπρίκλειτος ὁ φυσικὸς ἄλογον εἶναι κατὰ φύσιν ἔφησε τὸν ἄνθρωπον. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀληθές, ὥσπερ ἐστὶν ἀληθές, ἐγκαλυπτέος ἕκαστος ὁ ματαιῶς ἐν δόξῃ γενόμενος.

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should think that I knew the reason, whereas I am not interested to know it, but as regards the second question why need I say more than that I would rather have been sent for than go? Farewell

XV.—To THE SAME.

PLATO has said that true virtue recognises no master. And supposing anyone fails to honour this answer and delight therein, and instead of doing so sells himself for filthy lucre, I say that he but gives himself many masters.

XVI.—To THE SAME.

You think it your duty to call philosophers who follow Pythagoras magicians, and likewise also those who follow Orpheus. For my own part I think that those who follow no matter whom, ought to be called magicians, if only they are determined to be divine and just men.

XVII.—To THE SAME.

THE Persians give the name of *magi* to divine beings. A *magus* then is either a worshipper of the gods or one who is by nature divine. Well, you are no *magus*, but a man without god.

XVIII.—To THE SAME.

HERACLITUS the natural philosopher used to say that man is by nature irrational. Well, if this be true, as it is true, then let everyone hide his face who vainly and idly is held in repute.

ιβ'.—Σκοπελιανῷ σοφιστῇ

Πεντε εἰςὶ σύμπαντες οἱ τοῦ λόγου χαρακτήρες, ὁ φιλόσοφος, ὁ ἱστορικός, ὁ δικανικὸς, ὁ ἐπιστολικὸς, ὁ ὑπομνηματικὸς. ἐγκειμενῶν δὲ τῶν γενικῶν χαρακτήρων, τῇ τάξει πάλιν γίνεται πρῶτος μὲν ὁ κατὰ τὴν ἐκάστου δύναμιν ἢ φύσιν ἴδιος ὢν, δεύτερος δὲ ὁ ἐν μιμήσει τοῦ ἁρίστου, τῶν ἐκ φύσεως εἴ τις ἐνδεὴς εἴη. τὸ δὲ ἁρίστου διυσεύρετόν τε καὶ δυσεπύκριτον, ὥστε αἰκειότερος ἐκάστω χαρακτήρ ὁ ἴδιος, ἐπειπερ καὶ βεβαιότερος.

κ'.—Δομετιανῷ.

Εἴ σοι δύναμις ἐστίν, ὥσπερ ἐστίν καὶ φρόνησιν ἂν εἴη σοι κτητέον· καὶ γὰρ εἰ φρονήσις ἦν, δύναμις δὲ ἰππῆν, ὁμοίως ἔδει σοι δυνάμωσ. δεῖται γὰρ αἰ το ἕτερον τοῦ ἑτέρου, ὥσπερ ὄψις φωτὸς καὶ φῶς ὄψεως.

κα'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Βαρβάρων ἀφεκτέον καὶ οὐκ ἀρκτέον αὐτῶν, οὐ γὰρ θέμις αὐτοὺς βαρβαροὺς ὄντας εὖ πύσχειν.

κβ'.—Λεσβώνακτι.

Δεῖ πένεσθαι μὲν ὡς ἄνδρα, πλουτεῖν δὲ ὡς ἄνθρωπον.

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XIX. · To SCOPELIANUS, THE SOPHIST

IN all there are five characters in rational discourse: the philosopher, the historian, the advocate, the writer of epistles, the commentator. And when these general characters have been settled, there emerges afresh in sequence of dignity, first he who is peculiar by reason of his own faculties or nature, and then comes second he who is an imitator of the best, supposing he be one of those who lack natural endowment. But the best is both difficult to find and difficult to appraise, consequently his own character is more fitting for each man to assume, so far forth as it is also more lasting.

XX.—To DOMITIAN.

IF you have power, and you have it, then it would be well if you also acquired prudence. For supposing you to have prudence, but to lack power, you would have been equally in need of power, for the one of these ever stands in need of the other, just as the eye needs light and sight the eye.

XXI.—To THE SAME.

It were best you should hold aloof from barbarians, and not aspire to rule them, for it is not right that they being barbarians should find in you a benefactor.

XXII.—To LESBONAX.

You should try to be poor as an individual, but to be rich as a member of humanity.

κγ'.—Κρίτωναί.

Τὸ θειότατον Πυθαγόρας ἱατρικὴν ἔφασκεν. εἰ δὲ ἱατρικὴ τὸ θειότατον, καὶ ψυχῆς ἐπιμελητέον μετὰ σώματος, ἢ τὸ ζῶον οὐκ ἂν ὑγιαίνοι τῷ κρείττονι νοσοῦν.

κδ'.—Ἑλληνοδίκαις καὶ Ἑλλείοις.

Ἀξιούτέ με τῷ ἀγῶνι τῶν Ὀλυμπίων παραγενέσθαι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπέμψατε πρεσβεις. ἐγὼ δὲ παρεγενόμην ἂν ἐπὶ σωμαίων θέαν καὶ ἀμιλλαν, εἰ μὴ τὸν μείζονα τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀγῶνα καταλείψειν ἔμελλον.

κε'.—Πελοποννησίοις.

Ὀλύμπια τὸ δεύτερον, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐγένεσθε πολέμιοι, τὸ δεύτερον δὲ οὐ φίλοι.

κς'.—τοῖς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ θεηκόροις

Θεοὶ θυσιῶν οὐ δέονται. τί οὖν ἂν τις πράττων χαρίζοιτο αὐτοῖς; φρόνησιν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, κτώμενος, ἀνθρώπων τε τοὺς ἀξίους εἰς δύναμιν εὖ ποιῶν. ταῦτα φίλα θεοῖς, ἐκεῖνα δὲ ἀθέων.

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XXIII.—To Crito.

PYTHAGORAS has declared that the divinest thing we have is the healing art. But if the divinest thing is the healing art, then we must take care of the soul as well as of the body, for surely a living creature cannot be in sound health, if in respect of its highest element it be diseased.

XXIV.—To THE PRESIDENTS OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES AND TO THE ELIANS.

YOU invite me to attend the games of Olympia, and have sent me envoys to that effect. And I would come to be a spectator of your physical rivalries, if it did not involve my abandoning the greater arena of moral struggle.

XXV.—To THE PELOPONNESIANS.

THE second phase of your relations with one another were the Olympic Games, and though in the first phase you were frank, y enemies, in this second you still were not friends.

XXVI.—To THE PRIESTS IN OLYMPIA.

THE gods are in no need of sacrifices. What then can one do in order to win their favour? One can, in my opinion, acquire wisdom, and, so far as one can, do good to such men as deserve it. This pleases the gods, atheists however can offer sacrifice

κζ'.—τοῖς ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱερεῦσιν.

Αἷματι βιομὸνς μαινοῦσιν ἱερεῖς εἴτα θαυμάζουσί τινες, πυθεῖν αἱ πόλεις ἀτυχοῦσιν, ὅταν μεγάλᾳ δυσθετήσωσιν. ὃ τῆς ἡμαθίας. Ἡράκλειτος ἦν σοφός, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνος Ἰφεσίῳ ἀπεισε μὴ πηλὴ πηλὸν καθαιρεσθαι.

κη'.—Βασιλεῖ Σκυθῶν.

Ζάμολξις ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἦν καὶ φιλόσοφος, εἰ γὰρ μαθητὴς Πυθαγόρου ἐγένετο, καὶ εἰ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον τοιοῦτος ἦν ὁ Ῥωμαῖος, ἐκὼν ἂν ἐγένετο φίλος. εἰ δὲ ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας οἶσι δεῖν ἀγῶνα καὶ πόνον ἔχειν, ἔκονε φιλόσοφος, τουτέστιν ἐλεύθερος.

κθ'.—νομοθέτη

Αἱ ἰορταὶ νόσων αἰτίαι, τοὺς μὲν γὰρ πόνους ἀνιᾶσι, τὸ ἐμπίπλασθαι δὲ αὖξουσιν.

λ'.—ταμίαις Ῥωμαίων.

Ἀρχὴν ἄρχετε πρωτῇ. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄρχειν ἐπίστασθε, διὰ τί τὸ παρ' ὑμᾶς χεῖρον ἑαυτῶν αἱ πόλεις ἔχουσιν; εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἐπίστασθε, μαθεῖν ἔδει πρῶτον, εἴτα ἄρχειν.

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XXVII.—TO THE PRIESTS IN DELPHI.

THE priests defile the altar with blood, and then some people ask in amazement why our cities are visited with calamities, when they have courted displeasure on the largest scale. O what folly and dulness! Heracles was wise, but not even he could persuade the Epacurians not to purge away mad with mad.

XXVIII.—TO THE KING OF THE SCYTHIANS.

ZAMOEXIS was a good man, and inasmuch as he was a disciple of Pythagoras, a philosopher. And if in his time the Romans had been such as he is now, he would have been glad to be friends with them. But if it is for freedom that you think you ought to struggle and make endeavour, make yourself known as a philosopher, that is to say as a free man.

XXIX.—TO A LEGISLATOR.

FESTIVALS lead to epidemics; for although they refresh men after their toil, they promote gluttony.

XXX.—TO THE ROMAN QUÆSTORS.

You hold the highest office of the realm. If then you understand how to govern, why are the cities incessantly declining under your régime? But if you do not understand, you ought first to learn, and then to govern.

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

λα' —διοικηταῖς Ἀσίας.

Τί ὄφελος ἀγρίων δένδρων φυομένων ἐπὶ βλάβῃ
τοὺς κλάδους κόπτειν, εἰ μὴ τὰς ρίζας;

λβ'.—Ἐφεσίων γραμματεῦσιν.

Λίθων ἐν πόλει καὶ γραφῶν ποικίλων καὶ περι-
πατων καὶ θεάτρων οὐδέν ὄφελος, εἰ μὴ νοῦς
ἐνέη καὶ νόμος. νοῦς δὲ καὶ νόμος περὶ τούτων
ἐστίν, οὐ ταῦτα.

λγ'.—Μιλησίοις.

Οἱ παῖδες ὑμῶν πατέρων δέονται, οἱ μέ-
γερων, αἱ γυναῖκες ἀνδρῶν, οἱ ἄνδρες ἀρχόντων,
οἱ ἀρχοντες νόμων, οἱ νόμοι φιλοσόφων, οἱ φιλό-
σοφοι θεῶν, οἱ θεοὶ πίστεως· προγόνων ἀγαθῶν
ἔστε, τὰ παρόντα μισεῖτε.

λδ'.—τοῖς ἐν Μουσείῳ σοφοῖς.

Ἐγενόμην ἐν Ἀργεὶ καὶ Φωκίδι καὶ Λοκρίδι καὶ
ἐν Σικυνῶνι καὶ ἐν Μεγάραις, καὶ διαλεγόμενος τοῖς
ἐμπροσθεν χρόνοις ἐπαυσύμην ἐκεῖ. τί οὖν, εἴ
τις ἔροιτο, τὸ αἴτιον; ἐγὼ φράσαιμ' ἂν ὑμῖν τε
καὶ Μούσαις ἐβαρβαρώθην οὐ χρόνιος ὢν ἀφ'
Ἑλλάδος, ἀλλὰ χρόνιος ὢν ἐν Ἑλλάδι.

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XXXI.—TO THE PROCURATORS OF ASIA.

WHAT is the use of cutting off branches of wild trees whose growth does harm, when you leave the roots alone?

XXXII.—TO THE SCRIBES OF THE EPHESIANS.

IT is no use decorating your city with statues and elaborate pictures and promenades and theatres, unless there is good sense there as well and law. For although good sense and law may accompany these, they are not the same thing.

XXXIII.—TO THE MILLESIANS.

YOUR children lack fathers, your youth lack old men, your wives husbands, your husbands rulers, your rulers laws, your laws philosophers, your philosophers gods, your gods faith. Your ancestors were good men, your present estate you may well loathe.

XXXIV.—TO THE WISE MEN IN THE MUSEUM.

I HAVE been in Argos and Phocis and Locris and in Sicily and in Megara, and after holding public lectures in the past in those places, I have ceased to do so any more. Why so? If anyone asks me the reason, I must reply to you and to the Muses in the words of the poet: "I have been turned into a barbarian," not "by long sojourning outside Hellas," but by long sojourning in her midst.

λδ'. — Ἐστιαίφ.

Ἀρετὴ καὶ χρηματα παρ' ἡμῖν ἀλλήλοις ἐναντιώτατα, μειούμενον γάρ τὸ ἕτερον αὖξει το ἕτερον, αὖξανόμενον δὲ μειοῖ. πῶς οὖν δυνατον ἀμφοτέρα περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι, πλὴν εἰ μὴ τῷ τῶν ἀνοητῶν λογῇ, παρ' οἷς καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος ἀρετῇ, μὴ δὴ τοσαῦτον ἡμῶν ἰναίσθητεῖν ἐπίτρεπε τοῖς αὐτόθι, μηδὲ ἔα πλουσίους ἡμᾶς ὑπολαμβάνειν μᾶλλον ἢ φιλοσόφους. καὶ γὰρ αἰσχιστον ὑποδημεῖν ἡμᾶς δια χρήματα δοκεῖν, ἐνίωιν, ἵνα μνήμην ἑαυτῶν καταλείπωσι, μηδὲ ἀρετὴν ἰσπασαμένων.

λδ' — Κορινθίφ Βιάσφ.

Ἦν Πραξιτέλης Χαλκιδεὺς μαινόμενος ἄνθρωπος. οὗτος ἦλθέ ποτε ξιφίρης ἐπὶ θύρας τὰς ἑμας, ὑπο σοῦ σταλεις τοῦ φιλοσόφου καὶ ἀγωνυθέτου τῶν Ἰσθμίων. τοῦ φόνου δ' ἦν μισθὸς δεδομένος ἢ τῆς γυναικὸς σου κοινωνία, καί, μισθὸν Βιάσσε, πολλάκις εὐαργέτης ἐγενόμην σου

λδ'. — τῷ αὐτῷ.

Εἰ πυκθάνοιτο Κορινθίων τις, πῶς ὁ Βιάσσαν πατὴρ ἀπέθανεν, ἐραύσιν ἅπαντες οἱ ἰστικοὶ καὶ οἱ μέτοικοι φαρμάκῳ. τίνοσ δόντος; ἐραύσι καὶ οἱ ὄμοροι τοῦ φιλοσόφου. καὶ ὁ μισθὸς τῷ πτωματι τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπόμενος ἐκλαiven.

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XXXV.—To HESTIAEUS.

Virtue and wealth are with us most opposed to one another, for a diminution of the one leads to an increase of the other, and an increase to a diminution. How then can both at once be united in the same man, except in the imagination of fools, who take wealth even for virtue? Do not then allow men here to misunderstand me so profoundly, nor permit them to consider me rich rather than a philosopher. For I account it most disgraceful that I should be held to travel abroad in search of money, when there are some who, in order to leave a monument of themselves, have not even embraced virtue.

XXXVI.—To BASSUS OF CORINTH.

PHAXITILES of Calchis was a madman. On one occasion he came with a drawn sword to my door; and it was yourself who sent him, you a philosopher and president of the Isthmian games. But the reward you were to give him for murdering me was necessary to your own wife. And, you foul wretch, Bassus, I had on many occasions been your benefactor.

XXXVII.—To THE SAME.

If any Corinthian asks, what did the father of Bassus die of, everyone, citizen and sojourner in the land alike, will answer By poison. And who administered it? Even the neighbours will tell you. The philosopher. And this wretch wept as he followed his father's bier.

λη'.—τοῖς ἐν Σάρδεσιν.

Ἀρετῆς μὲν ὑμῖν πρωτεῖον οὐκ ἔστι, παῖας γὰρ ἀρετῆς. εἰ δὲ κακίας φέρεσθε τὰ πρῶτα, πάντες ὑφ' ἐν φέρεσθε. τίνες τοῦτο φήσουσι περὶ τῶν ἐν Σαρδεσιν, οἱ ἐν Σάρδεσιν. οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὐδενὶ τῶν αὐτόθι φίλος, ὥστ' ἀρνεῖσθαι τι τῶν ἀτόπων δι' εὐνοίαν.

λθ'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Αἰσχροὶ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ταγμάτων ὑμῶν Κοδδαροὶ, Ξυρισίταυροι. ταῦτα τοῖς τέκνοις τίθεσθε τὰ πρῶτα, καὶ εὐτυχεῖτε γινεσθαι τούτων ἀξιοί.

μ'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Κοδδαροὶ, καὶ Ξυρισίταυροι. Ἰὰς δὲ θυγατέρας ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας πῶς ἂν προσαγορεύοιτε; τῶν γὰρ αὐτῶν ταγμάτων εἰσὶ καὶ αὗται, καὶ θρασύτεραι.

μα'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Οὐδὲ τοὺς αἰκέτας ὑμῖν εὐνοεῖν εἰκός, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι οἰκέται, εἰθ', ὅτι τῶν ἐναντίων ταγμάτων οἱ πλείστοι. καὶ κείνοι γὰρ ὁμοίως ὑμῖν ἀπὸ γένους.

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XXXVIII To THE PEOPLE OF SARDIA.

You award no prizes for good qualities, for what good qualities have you? But if you were inclined to compete for the first prize in vice, you would all win it at once. Who is it that says such things about the people of Sardis? The people of Sardis themselves. For of the people there, no one is the friend of another, to the extent of denying out of good-will the most monstrous charges.

XXXIX.—To THE SAME PEOPLE.

The very names of your social orders are disgusting, witness the *Coddari* and the *Xaristauri*. These are the first names you give your children, and you are lucky to be worthy of them.

XL.—To THE SAME PEOPLE.

Coddari, and *Xaristauri*. And how are you going to call your daughters and your wives? For they too belong to the same castes, and are more forward than yourselves.

XLI.—To THE SAME PEOPLE.

You cannot expect even your servants to be well-wishers of yourselves, firstly because they are servants, and secondly because most of them belong to castes opposed to your own. For they too, like yourselves, have their pedigrees.

μβ'.—Πλατωνικοῖς.

Ἐάν τις Ἀπολλωνίῳ χρήματα διδῶ, καὶ ὁ διδούς ἄξιος νομίζεται, λήψεται δεόμενος φιλοσοφίας δὲ μισθον οὐ λήψεται, κἂν δέηται.

μγ'.—τοῖς οἰησισόφοις.

Εἰ λέγει τις εἶναι γνώριμος ἑμῶς, λεγέτω καὶ μένειν ἔνδον, ἀπέχεσθαι λουτροῦ παντός, ζῆα μὴ κτείνειν, μὴδὲ ἔδειν σάρκα, ἀπαθὴς εἶναι φθύνου κακοηθείας μίσους διαβολῆς ἄχθρας, τοῦ τῶν ἐλευθέρων ὀνομάζεσθαι γένους, ἢ φυλακτέος πλάσματα φέρων τρόπου τε καὶ ἥθους καὶ λόγων ψευδῶν ἁλλοτρίου βίου πίστιν. ἔρρωσθε

μδ'.—Ἐστιαίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ.

Τί θαυμαστόν, εἴ με τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἰσοθεὸν ἡγουμένων, τινῶν δὲ καὶ θεόν, μόνῃ μέχρι νῦν ἡ πατὴρ ἀγνοεῖ, δι' ἣν ἐξαιρέτως ἐσπούδασα λαμπρὸς εἶναι; τουτὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ὑμῖν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, ὥς ὁρῶ, γέγονε φανερόν, ὥς εἰμι ἀμείνων παλλῶν λόγους τε καὶ ἥθος. ἐπεὶ πῶς ἂν μου κατεγινώσκετε χαλεπὴν κατώγνωσιν ὥς ὑπομνήσεως τὴν

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XLII.—TO THE PLATONIC THINKERS.

If anyone offers money to Apollonius, and he considers the donor to be worthy, he will accept it, if he is in need; but for his philosophy he will take no reward, even though he be in want.

XLIII.—TO THOSE WHO ARE PUFFED UP WITH WISDOM

If anyone professes to be my disciple, let his profession be that he remains within his house, that he abstains from all bathing, that he kills no living creature, nor eats flesh, that he is exempt from feelings of jealousy, of spite, of hatred, of slander, of enmity, in order to bear the name of a free man and belong to their class. For surely he must beware of carrying about a pretence of manners and character and of language which he merely feigns, in order to make others believe that he leads the life which he does not. Farewell.

XLIV.—TO HORTIANUS, HIS BROTHER.

OTHER men regard me as the equal of the gods, and some of them even as a god, but until now my own country alone ignores me, my country for which in particular I have striven to be distinguished. What wonder is there in this? For not even on you my brothers, as I perceive, has it clearly dawned that I am superior to most men both in my language and in my character. For otherwise how could you judge me so hastily as to need to be reminded at all of matters about which, as about no others, even

ἀρχὴν δεομένων, περὶ ὧν μόνων οὐδὲ τῶν ἡμαθιστάτων ἂν τις περιμείνειε διδαχθῆναι; λέγω δὲ πατρίδας τε καὶ ἀδελφῶν. καίτοι οὐ λήληθεν ὑμᾶς, ὥς καλῶς ἔχον ἔστι πᾶσάν τε γῆν πατριδα νομίζειν, καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀδελφοὺς καὶ φίλους, ὥς ἂν γένος μὲν ὄντας θεοῦ, μιᾶς δὲ φύσεως, κοινωνίας δ' οὔσης λογου τε παντὶ καὶ πᾶσι καὶ παθῶν τῆς αὐτῆς, ὅπη γε καὶ ὅπως ἂν τις τύχη γενομανός, εἴτε βαρβαρός, εἴτε καὶ Ἕλληρ, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἄνθρωπος. ἀλλ' ἔστι γὰρ πως τὸ συγγενές ἡκατασοφιστον καὶ πᾶν ἀνακλητικὸν αὐτοῦ τὸ οἰκεῖον. οὕτως ὁ Ὀμηρικὸς Ὀδυσσεύς, ὥς φασιν, οὐδὲ ἀθανασίαν ὑπὸ θεᾶς δεδομένην Ἰθακῆς προὔτ. μῆσεν. οἷῳ δ' ἔγωγε τὸν νόμον τόνδε καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀλογῶν ζῶων πεφοιτηκότα. οὐ γάρ, ὅποσον πτηνον, καλιῶν ἀπύκνιτον ἰδίων, πᾶν τε βύβιον παρασύρεται μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ φέροντος, ἐπ' αἰνέσει δὲ μὴ νικηθῆναι, θηρία μὲν γὰρ οὔτε λιμὸς οὔτε κόρος ἔπεισεν ἔξω φάλαῶν μεῖναι, ἔνα τούτων ἡ φύσις ἤνεγκεν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ταῦτα σοφον λεγόμενον, ᾧ καὶ πάντα τὰ λοιπὰ γῆ πᾶσα παρέχῃ, μνήματα οὐκ ἔχει δεῖξαι τὰ πατέρων

μέ.—τ φ α ὁ τ φ.

Εἰ τῶν ὄντων τὸ τιμιώτατον φιλοσοφία, πεπιστεύμεθα δ' ἡμεῖς φιλοσοφεῖν, οὐκ ἂν ὀρθῶς ὑπολαμβάνοίμεθαμισαδελφοι, καὶ ταῦτα δι' αἰτίαν

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the dullest persons are likely to resent instruction, to wit about country and brethren.² Nevertheless you must be aware that it is a noble thing to regard the whole earth as your country and all men as your brethren and friends, seeing that they are the family of one God, that they are of one nature, and that there is a communion of each and all in speech, and likewise in feelings, which is the same no matter how or where a man has been born, whether he is barbarian or whether is a Hellenic, so long only as he is a man. But there is, it must be admitted, a kindness which overrides philosophical theory, and a familiarity which attracts to itself everything that shares it. So the Odysseus of Homer, as they relate, did not prefer even immortality when a goddess offered it, to Ithaca. And for my own part I notice that this law pervades even the animal kingdom, for there is not a single bird that will sweep away from its own nest, and though the fishermen may drag the tenants of the deep from their lair, yet they will return unless they are overcome. As for wild beasts neither hunger nor satiety induces them to remain outside their holes. And man is one of these creatures that nature hath so produced, even though he bear the name of sage, for whom all the earth may supply everything else, but can never call up before his eyes the sepulchres of his fathers.

XLV.—TO THE NAME.

If philosophy be the most precious thing in existence, and if we are convinced that we are philosophers, we cannot rightly be supposed to hate our brethren, and that for a mean and liberal

ἀγεννή τε ἅμα καὶ ἀνελεύθερον. χρημάτων γὰρ
δήπου χάριν ἢ ὑποψία, τούτων δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἢ
φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπειρώμεθα καταφροναῖν, ὥστε τοῦ μὴ
γράφειν εὐλογώτερον ἂν εἴη πρόφασιν ἐτέραν
ὑπονοεῖν. ἐφυλαττομένη γὰρ ἀληθῆ μὲν γράφων
ἀλαζῶν δοκεῖν, ψευδῇ δὲ ταπεινός, ὧν ἑκάτερον
ἐπίσης ἀνιάρων ἀδελφοῖς τε καὶ φίλοις ἂν εἴη
νυνὶ μάντοι καὶ τοῦτο δηλῶ—συγχωροίη γὰρ ἂν
ἴσως τὸ δαιμονιον—ὅτι συμβαλὼν τοῖς ἐν Ῥόδῳ
φίλοις, μετ' ὀλίγον ἐκείθεν ἐπάνειμι πρὸς ὑμᾶς
λήγοντος ἥαρος.

με.—Γόρδις.

Ἦδικῆσθαί φασιν Ἑστιάϊον ὑπὸ σοῦ καὶ ταῦτα
φίλου γεγονότας, εἰ γὰρ σὺ τινος φίλος. ἔρα δὴ,
Γόρδιε, μὴ πείραν λαβῆς ἀνδρὸς οὐ δοκῶντος,
ἀλλὰ θντος. ἄσπασαι τὸν υἱὸν Ἀριστοκλείδην,
ὃν εὐχομαι μὴ παραπλησίον σοι γενέσθαι καὶ σὺ
δ' ἦσθα νέος ἄμεμπτος.

μζ'.—Τυανέων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ.

Προστάττουσιν ὑμῖν ἐπανιέναι πείθομαι. τοῦτο
γὰρ δὴ πρὸς ἓνα πόλει προπωδέστερον ἂν εἴη, εἰ
ἐνεκα τιμῆς μεταπέμποιτο πολίτην ἑαυτῆς, καὶ ὃν
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reason. For it appears our misunderstanding is on the point of money, and that is something which we tried to despise, even before we became philosophers, and therefore it is more likely and reasonable that you should suspect me of having neglected to write to you for some other reason than that. For in fact I was as much afraid to write you the truth, because you might think me boastful, as to write you less than the truth, for fear you might think me over-humble, and both of these things are equally annoying no less to brethren than to friends. Now however I have this information to give you. If heaven should perhaps consent, I will, after meeting my friends in Rhodes, shortly depart thence, and return to you towards the end of spring.

XLVI.—To Gordius.

They tell me that Hestienus has been wronged by yourself in spite of your having been his friend, if indeed you are the friend of anyone. Beware then, my Gordius, lest you find yourself in conflict not with the semblance of a man, but with the reality. My greetings to your son, Aristocleides, who may, I pray, never resemble yourself. And yet you, as a young man, were beyond reproach.

XLVII.—To THE SENATE AND PEOPLE OF TYANA.

You command me to return to you, and I obey. For the greatest compliment a city can pay to one of its own citizens is to recall him in order to do him honour. And during the whole time that I have

ἀπεδήμησα δὲ χρόνον, ἀπεδήμησα περιποιοῦν ἐμῶν,
εἰ καὶ ἐπαχθεὶς εἰπεῖν εὐκλείαν τε καὶ ὄνομα καὶ
εὐνοίαν καὶ φιλίαν πόλεων ἐπιφανῶν, ὁμοίως δὲ
καὶ ἀνδρῶν εἰ δὲ καὶ μειζονος ἔτι καὶ κρείττονος
ὑμαῖς ὑπολήψεως ἄξιοι, τό γε ἐμὸν καὶ τὸ παρὰ
τῆς ἐμῆς φύσεως ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξήρκει μόνον
δυνάμει τε καὶ σπουδῇ. ἔρρωσθε.

μη'. - Διοτίμω.

Ἐπλανήθης οἰηθαῖς δεῖσθαί με τινος ἢ παρ'
αὐτοῦ σοῦ, πρὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἦν μοί ποτε κοινόν τι
γεγονός, ἢ παρ' ἄλλου τινὸς ὁμοίου τε καὶ ὁμοίως.
ἦν δὲ οὐδὲ τὸ ἀναλυθὲν εἰς τι τῶν σοι σωτηρίων
πολύ τι. χαριεῖ δὴ μοι παθὼν εὖ δὴχ' ἀναλώματος.
τηρήσω γάρ μου τὸ ἔθος μόνως οὕτως ὅτι δε
τοῦτον ἔχω τὸν τρόπον καὶ ταύτην τὴν διέθεσιν
πρὸς ἅπαντάς μου τοὺς πολίτας, ἐγὼ γὰρ λέγειν
ὥς καὶ πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους, ἔξεστι μαθεῖν
παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν, εὖ παθόντων μὲν,
ὁσάκις ἐδεήθησάν τινος, ἀμοιβὴν δὲ αἰτηθέντων
μηδεμίαν. μὴ δὲ δυσχεράνης, εἰ δεόντως ἐπιτιμη
θεὶς ὁ ἐμὸς οἰκέτης ὑπὲρ τοῦ προσέσθαι τι τὴν
ἀρχήν, ἀπέδωκεν εὐθύς ὃ ἔλαβε Λυσίᾳ τῇ φίλῳ
σου, φίλῳ δὲ καὶ ἐμοῦ, ἐπεὶ μηδένα ἡπίστατο τῶν

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been away from your city, I have, although it may be presumptuous to say so, striven to win for you, by my sojourn abroad, good fame and name and good-will and the friendship of distinguished cities, and equally of distinguished men. And if you merit a still wider and higher consideration, it is only myself and my own natural gifts which are capable of an effort involving so much ability and seriousness. Farewell

XLVIII.—To Diotimus.

You make a mistake in supposing that I want anything either from yourself, with whom I have never had anything in common, or from any body else like you, or under like circumstances. But in fact, even what I have expended on any object conducive to your welfare has been inconsiderable. I shall be best pleased therefore, if you accept my kindness without incurring any expense yourself. For in no other way out this shall I retain my principles intact. And that this is my way, and thus my attitude towards all my fellow-citizens, I might almost say towards all men, you can learn from the rest of the citizens who have accepted my kindness, as often as they stood in need thereof, but who have never been asked to make any return. Do not then take it amiss, if I have rebuked my servant as he deserved, for having in the first instance accepted anything, and if he at once handed back to Lysias your friend and also a friend of my own, what he received, because he did not know personally any of your servants whom

καταλελειμμένων σου παίδων. εἰ δὲ δύο λόγοι
 περι ἑμοῦ λέγονται, λεχθήσονται δὲ καὶ ἐσύστανον,
 τί θαυμαστόν, ἀνάγκη γὰρ περὶ παντὸς ἄκρου
 δοκοῦντος καθ' ὅτιον ἐναντίους λέγεσθαι λόγους.
 οὕτως περὶ Πυθαγόρου, περὶ Ὀρφέως, περὶ Πλά-
 τωνος, περὶ Σωκράτους οὐκ ἐλέχθη μόνον, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ ἐγράφη τὰ ἐναντία, ὅπου γε μὴ τὰ ὅμοια καὶ
 περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἀγαθοὶ δέχονται
 τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον, ὡς ἂν ἔχοντες τι συγγενες, οἱ δὲ
 φαῦλοι τὸν ἐναντίον, καὶ ἔστι τοῦ τοιούτου γένους
 καταγελάειν, λέγω δὲ τοῦ χειρονοῦ. τοσοῦτα μόνον
 δίκαιον ὑπομνήσαι περὶ ἑμαυτοῦ τὸ νῦν, ὅτι περι
 ἑμοῦ καὶ θεοῖς εἴρηται ὡς περὶ θείου ἀνδρός, οὐ
 μόνον ἰδίᾳ τισὶ πολλάκις, ἀλλὰ καὶ δημοσίᾳ.
 ἐπαχθὲς λέγειν τι περὶ αὐτοῦ πλεῖον ἢ μεῖζον.
 ὑγιαίνειν εὐχομαι.

μθ'.—Φερουκίανφ.

Πάνν τοῖς πεμφθεῖσιν ὑπὸ σοῦ γράμμασιν
 ἦσθην, πολλὰν γὰρ οἰκειότητα καὶ γένους ἀνί-
 μνησιν εἶχε, καὶ πέπεισμαι δι' ἐπιθυμίας εἶναί
 σοι θεάσασθαι με καὶ ὑπ' ἑμοῦ θεασθῆναι. αὐτὸς
 οὖν ἀφίξομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὅτι τάχιστα, ὅθεν ἔχον
 τῶν αὐταθι. συμμίξεις δέ μοι πλησίον γενομένῳ
 πρὸ πῶν ἄλλων οἰκείων τε καὶ φίλων, ἐπεὶ καὶ
 προσήκει σοι τοῦτο.

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you had left behind. But that there are two accounts of me current, and that they will continue to circulate even in the future, need I be surprised? For it is inevitable in the case of everyone at all prominent in any way, that there should be contradictory accounts of him in circulation. It was so with Pythagoras, with Orpheus, with Plato, and with Socrates, not only were contrary statements made about them, but they were embodied in writing as well, and we need not be surprised seeing that even concerning God himself men's accounts differ from one another. However, good men by a sort of natural affinity will accept the truth, just as bad men will accept the opposite, and we can afford to laugh at such people, I mean the worst sort. This much only it is right for the moment to impress upon you about myself, that even the gods have spoken of me as of a divine man, not only on many occasions to private individuals, but also in public. I shall shock you if I speak more or more highly of myself. I pray for your good health.

XLIX.—To PHEKUCIANUS.

I AM very delighted with the letters which you have sent me, for they reveal much intimacy and reminiscence of my family, and I am sure that you are most anxious to see me, and to be seen by me. I shall therefore visit you as soon as possible, wherefore please remain at home. And you shall converse with me, when I have arrived at your residence, in preference to any of your other friends and intimates, since it is right that you should do so.

ν.—Εὐφρατη.

Ἐν γένει δαιμόνων καὶ ὁ σοφώτατος Πυθαγόρας ἦν. σὺ δ' ἔτι μοι δοκεῖς πορρωτάτω φιλοσοφίας εἶναι καὶ ἀληθινῇ ἐπιστήμῃ, ἣ οὐκ ἂν οὔτε κακῆινον κακῶς ἔλεγες, οὔτε τιμὰς τῶν ζηλούντων αὐτὸν διετέλεις μισῶν ἄλλο τί σοι νῦν πρακτέον ἂν εἴη· φιλοσοφίας γὰρ ἡμῖν βροτες, οὐδ' ἔτυχες οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ Μενελάου Πύρρῳ ἐν τῇ τῶν ὄρκων συγχύσει.

να'.—τὸ αὐτὸ.

Ἐπιτιμῶσί σοί τινες, ὥς εἰληφοσι χρήματα παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὅπερ οὐκ ἔστιν οἰκονομικόν, εἰ μὴ φαίνοιο φιλοσοφίας εἰληφέναι μισθὸν καὶ τοσαυταίαι καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον καὶ παρὰ τοσοῦτων καὶ περὶ σοῦ πεπιστευκυῖται εἶναι σε φιλόσοφον.

νβ'.—τὸ αὐτὸ.

Ἐάν τις ἀνδρὶ Πυθαγορείῳ συγγένηται, τίνα παρ' αὐτοῦ λήψεται καὶ ὅποσα, φαίην ἂν ἔγωγε νομοθετικὴν γεωμετρίαν ἀστρονομίαν ἀριθμητικὴν ἁρμονικὴν μουσικὴν ἰατρικὴν, πᾶσαν θείαν μαντικὴν. τὰ δὲ καλλίω μεγαλοφροσύνην μεγαλοψυχίαν μεγαλοπρέπειαν εὐσταθειαν εὐφηνίαν γνώσιν θεῶν, οὐ δοξάν, εἰδήσιν δαιμόνων, οὐχὶ

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I.—TO EUPHRATES.

EVEN the most wise Pythagoras belonged to the class of demons, but you still seem to me to be utterly remote from philosophy, and from true science, or you would neither abuse that great man, nor persist in hating certain of those who follow him. You should turn to something else now. For "you have missed your aim" in philosophy "nor have you hit it off" better than Pandarus, when he aimed at Menelaus, in the episode of the violation of oaths.

Hist. iv. 110.

II.—TO THE SAME PERSON.

THERE are those who rebuke you for having taken money from the Emperor. There would be nothing absurd in your doing so, were it not clear that you have taken money rewards for your philosophy on so many occasions and on such a large scale, and from so many persons, and from people whom you had got to believe that you were a philosopher.

III.—TO THE SAME PERSON.

If anyone converses with a Pythagorean, and asks what boons and how many he shall derive from him, I should myself answer as follows: he will acquire legislative science, geometry, astronomy, arithmetic, knowledge of harmony and of music, and of the physician's art, god-like divination in all its branches, and the still better qualities of magnanimity, greatness of soul, magnificence, constancy, reverence, knowledge and not mere opinion.

πιστι, φιλίαν ἑκατέρων, αὐτάρκειαν ἐκτένειαν
λιτότητα βραχύτητα τῶν ἀναγκαίων εὐαισθησίαν
εὐκινησίαν εὐπνοίαν εὐχροίαν ὑγείαν εὐψυχίαν
ἀθανασίαν, παρὰ σοῦ δέ, Εὐφράτα, τί λαβόντες
ἔχουσιν οἱ συνόντες, ἢ δηλονότι τὴν ἀρετήν, ἣν
ἔχεις;

νγ'.—Κλαύδιος Τυανέων τῇ Βουλῇ.

Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν ὑμέτερον πολίτην Πυθαγό-
ρειον φιλόσοφον, καλῶς ἐπιδημήσαντα τῇ Ἑλλάδι,
καὶ τοὺς νέους ἡμῶν ὠφελήσαντα τιμήσαντες
ἀξίαις τιμαῖς, αἷς πρέπει τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀνδρας καὶ
ἀληθῶς προΐσταμένους φιλοσοφίας, τὴν εὐνοίαν
ἡμῶν ἠθελήσαμεν ὑμῖν δι' ἐπιστολῆς φαιερὰν
γενέσθαι. ἔρρωσθε.

νδ'.—Ἀπολλωνιος δικαιοταῖς Ῥωμαίων.

Λιμένων καὶ οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ περιβύλων καὶ
περιπάτων ἐνίοις ὑμῶν πρόνοια, παιδων δὲ τῶν
ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἢ νέων ἢ γυναικῶν οὐθ' ὑμῶν
οὔτε τοῖς νόμοις φροντίς. ἢ καλὸν ἂν εἴη τὸ
ἄρχεσθαι;

νε'.—τῷ ἀδελφῷ Ἀπολλώνιος.

Φύσιν ἔχει τῶν τελειωθέντων ἕκαστον ἀπιέναι,
καὶ τοῦτο παντὶ γῆρύς ἐστι, μεθ' ὃ μηκέτι μένει.

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of the gods, direct cognisance of demons and not mere faith, friendship with both, independence of spirit, assiduity, frugality, limitation of his needs, quickness of perception, quickness of movement, quickness in breathing, excellence of colour, health, courage, immortality. And from you, Euprates, what have your companions obtained that they can keep? Surely no more than the excellence which you possess yourself.

LIII CLAUDIUS, TO THE SENATE OF TARRA.

APOLLONIUS your citizen, a Pythagorean philosopher, has made a brilliant sojourn in Hellas, and has done much good to our young men. Having conferred upon him the honours he deserved, and which are proper to good men who are so truly eminent in philosophy, we have desired to manifest to you by letter our good-will. Fare ye well.

LIV APOLLONIUS, TO THE CENSORS OF ROME.

SOME of you have taken trouble to provide harbours and public buildings and enclosures and promenades, but neither you yourselves nor your laws evince any solicitude for the children in your cities, or for the young, or for women. Were it not so it would be a fine thing to be one of your subjects.

LV.—APOLLONIUS TO HIS BROTHER.

EVERYTHING when it hath reached maturity hath a natural tendency to vanish away, and this as

μὴ δὲ σε λυπεῖται τῆς γυναικος ἢ ἐν ἰκμῇ τῆς
 ἡλικίας ἀποβολῇ. μηδέ, ἐπεὶ θάνατος τι λέγεται,
 κρεῖττον αὐτοῦ τὸ ζῆν ὑπολαμβάνει, χειρὸν ὅν τῷ
 παντὶ τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσι. γενοῦ δὲ ἀδελφὸς τυ-
 μαν κοινότατος φιλοσόφου, τὸ δ' ἐξαίρετον Πυθα-
 γορείου καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου, καὶ σου τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν
 αὐτὴν ποίησον. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐνεκαλούμεν τι τῇ
 προτέρᾳ, καὶ εἰκότως ἐδοκοῦμεν ὑποδειλιῶν, εἰ δ'
 ἢ μὲν σεμνὴ τε διετέλεσαν οὔσα καὶ φίλανδρον
 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπιζητήσεως ἀξία, τι καὶ διανοη-
 θέντες οὐκ ἂν ὅμοια καὶ περὶ τῆς μελλούσης
 προσδοκοίμεν, ἣν εἰκος ἂν ἐβελήσας καὶ ἡμέ-
 ρονα γενέσθαι μηδαμοῦ τῆς προτέρας ἡμελείᾳ
 κυκλωθείσης. δυσωπεῖται δέ σε καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀδελ-
 φῶν οὕτω μέχρι νῦν ἔχοντα τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ μὲν
 γὰρ σοὶ οὐδὲ γυνος οὐδεπῶ, τῷ νεωτάτῳ δὲ
 ἐλπὶς μὲν ἔτι παιδοποιίας, ἐν προκοπῇ δὲ γε τοῦ
 χρόνου, καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν ἂν τρεῖς γασγύναμεν, τρισὶ
 δ' ἡμῖν οὐδὰ εἰς ἴσος δὲ καὶ ὁ κίνδυνος τῇ
 πατρίδι καὶ τῷ βίῳ τῷ μεθ' ἡμῖν εἰ γὰρ ἡμεῖς
 ἡμείνου, τοῦ πατρὸς—ἑλλων δὲ καθ' ὃ πατήρ
 χείρους—πῶς οὐκ ἂν βελτίους ἐξ ἡμῶν εἰκὸς
 ἂν ὑπάρξαι, γενέσθωσαν οὖν τινες, οἷς παρα-
 θησόμεθα γοῖν ὑνύματα, ὥς ἡμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι

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old age for every man after which he remained no more. Let not therefore the loss of thy wife in the flower of her age grieve thee beyond measure, nor, because such a thing as death is spoken of, imagine that life is superior thereto, when it is altogether inferior in the eyes of one who reflects. Make thyself fact the mother of our that is a philosopher, in the common acceptance of the word, and in particular a Pythagorean and Apollonius, and restore the former estate of thy household. For if we had found anything to blame in thy former wife, we might reasonably expect thee to shrink from another union, but inasmuch as she was consistently busy and pure and attached to her husband, and therefore worthy of your regrets, what should lead us to expect that a second wife should not resemble her? Nay she would in all probability be encouraged to improve in virtue by the fact that her predecessor was not forgotten nor wronged by neglect of her memory. And I would pray thee seriously to concern thyself about the education of thy brethren as up to the present it is. For thy elder brother has never yet had offspring, and though thy younger brother may still look forward to my generation yet it is only in the far future, and so here are we three sons, the children of a single father and we three between us have not a single man. Wherefore there is a great risk no less for our country than for the life of our posterity. For if we are better than our father, though of course no far so, as he was our father, we are worse. How can we not reasonably expect our descendants to be still better? I trust then that there may be some to whom we may at least hand on our names as our ancestors desired.

συνύφηναι. ὑπὸ δακρυῶν οὐχ οἷος τε ἐγερόμην
πλειονα γράψαι, καὶ οὐδε εἶχον ἀναγκαιότερα
τούτων.

ις'.—Σαρδιανοίς.

Κροῖσος ἀπέβαλε τὴν Λυδῶν ἀρχὴν Ἄλυν
διαβίης, ἐλήφθη ζῶν, ἰδέσθῃ πέδαις, ἐπὶ πυρὰν
ἀνεβιβάσθῃ, τὸ πῦρ εἶδεν ἡμμέρον αἰρόμενον εἰς
ὑψος ἔζησεν, ἐδόκει γὰρ τῷ θεῷ τετιμημένος τι
οὖν ὕστερον· οὗτος ὁ πρόγονος ὑμῶν ἔμα καὶ
βασιλεὺς ὁ τασαῦτα παθὼν παρὰ τὴν ἡμίαν,
τραπέζης ἐκοινώνησε τῷ παλεμῷ, σύμβουλος ἦν
εὖνους, πιστὸς φίλος. ὑμῖν δὲ ἄσπονδα καὶ
ἀκήρυκτα καὶ ἀμείλικτα ἔτι τε ἡνέρα καὶ ἄθρα
τὰ πρὸς γονεῖς πρὸς τέκνα, τὰ πρὸς φίλους
συγγενεῖς φυλάτας ὀχθροὶ γεγύνατε μήτε Ἄλυν
διαβιάντες, μήτε δεξιόμενοί τινα ἄνθρωπον ἔξωθεν
καὶ ἡ γῆ φέρει καρπὸν ὑμῖν. ἄδικος ἡ γῆ.

ις'.—συγγραφεῦσι λογίοις

Φῶς παρουσία πυρός, ἢ οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως γένοιτο,
πῦρ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸ τὸ πῖθος, καὶ ὃ γίνεται, καίεται
γούν, φῶς δὲ ταῖς ὄψεσι μόνον αὐτὴν ἑαυτοῦ
παρέχεται μὴ βιαζόμενοι αὐτάς, ἀλλὰ πείθον.
ταῖνυν καὶ λυγὸς ὁ μὲν ὥσπερ πῦρ καὶ πῖθος, ὁ

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these for us. For my tears I am not able to write thee more, yet I have nothing more important than this to write,

LVI — TO THE PEOPLE OF SARDIS.

CROOKS lost the empire of the Lydians by crossing the river Halys. He was taken alive he was bound in chains, he was set upon the high mused pyre, he saw the fire, it and the flames rising aloft. He was saved, for it appeared that he was honoured and valued by the god. What then ensued? This man, your progenitor, and also your king who had suffered so much that he deserved not to suffer was invited to the table of his enemy and became his adviser and well wisher, his faithful friend. But you, in your relations with your parents, your children, your friends, kinsmen and tribesmen exercise nothing but treacherous, implacable irreconcilable hatred, and worse than this, unholy and godless frenzy. Ye have made yourselves hateful, by neither crossing the Halys, nor receiving among yourselves anyone from outside. And yet earth bears you her fruit. The earth is unjust.

LVII — TO CERTAIN LEARNED PERACISTS.

Light is the presence of fire, without which it could not be. Now fire is itself an affection, and that whereunto it comes, is of course burnt up. But light can only supply its own radiance to our eyes on condition of using not force to them, but persuasion. Speech therefore in its turn, resembles in its one aspect, fire which is the affection, and in its other,

δὲ ὥσπερ αἶγῃ καὶ φῶς ἐστίν· ὁ κρεῖττον ὂν, εἰ μὴ μεῖζοι εὐχῆς το ρηθησόμενον, εἴη μοι.

νη.—Ο ὑ α λ ε ρ ί η.

Θάνατος οὐδεις οὐδενὸς ἢ μόνον ἐμφύσει, καθύπερ οὐδε γένεσις ουδενὸς ἢ μόνον ἐμφύσει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ οὐσίας τραπέν εἰς φύσιν ἔδοξε γένεσις, τὸ δὲ ἐκ φύσεως εἰς οὐσίαν κατὰ ταῦτα θάνατος οὔτε γιγνομένου κατ' ἀλήθειαν τινος, οὔτε φθειρομένου ποτέ, μόνον δὲ ἐμφανοῦς ὄντος ἀοράτου τε ὕστερον, τοῦ μὲν διὰ παχύτητα τῆς ὕλης, τοῦ δὲ διὰ λεπτότητα τῆς οὐσίας, οὔσης μὲν αἰεὶ τῆς αὐτῆς, κινησεὶ δὲ διαφεραυσης καὶ στίσει. τοῦτο γὰρ που τὸ ἴδιον ἀνύγκη τῆς μεταβολῆς οὐκ ἔξωθεν γινόμενης ποθεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ὅλου μεταβάλλοντος εἰς τὰ μέρη, τῶν μερῶν δὲ εἰς τὸ ὅλον τρεπομένων ἐνυτητι τοῦ παντος· εἰ δὲ ἐρησεται τις τί τοῦτό ἐστι το ποτε μὲν ὁρατόν, ποτὲ δὲ ἀοράτον, ἢ τοῖς αὐτοῖς γινόμενον ἢ ἄλλοις; φαιη τις ἄν, ὡς ἔθος ἑκάστου ἐστι τῶν ἐνθαδε γενῶν, ὁ πληρωθέν μὲν ἐφάση δια τὴν τῆς παχύτητος ἀντιτυπιαν, ἀοράτον δὲ ἐστίν, εἰ κενωθείη διὰ λεπτότητα τῆς ὕλης, θία περιχυθείσης ἐκρυνεισης τε τοῦ περιέχοντος αὐτὴν αἰωνίου μέτρου, γεννητοῦ δ' οὐδαμῶς οὐδὲ φθαρτοῦ

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the radiance which is light. And I pray that the better which is better may be mine, unless indeed that which I speak of is beyond the reach of my prayer.

LVIII.—To VALERIUS.

THERE is no death of anyone, save it appears or only even as there is a birth of anyone or becoming except only it appears. For when a long passes from essence into nature we consider that there is a birth or becoming and in the same way that there is death when it passes from nature into essence, though in truth nothing either comes into being at any time nor is destroyed. But it is so apparent at one time and later in another, the former owing to the density of its material and the latter by the reason of the lightness or tenuity of the essence, which however remains always the same and is only subject to differences of movement and state. For this is necessarily the characteristic of change, caused not by anything outside, but by a conversion of the whole into the parts and by a return of the parts into the whole, due to the oneness of the universe. But if someone asks, What is this which is at one time visible and at another invisible, as it presents itself in the same or in different objects? It may be answered that it is characteristic of each of the several genera of things here, when it is full to be apparent to us because of the resistance of its density to our senses, but to be unseen in one it is emptied of its matter by reason of its tenuity, the latter being perforce shed abroad and flowing away from the strong measure which confined it, albeit the measure itself is never or at least not destroyed.

Τί δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς πλάνης ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀνέλεγκτον; οἶονται γάρ τινες, ὃ πεπόνθασιν, αὐτοὶ τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι, μὴ εἰδότες, ὥς ὁ γενηθεὶς διὰ γονέων γεγέννηται, οὐχ ὑπὸ γονέων, καθάπερ τε διὰ γῆς φύεν οὐκ ἐκ γῆς φύεται, πάθος τε οὐδὲν τῶν φαινομένων περι ἑκαστον, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον περὶ ἂν ἑκάστου. τοῦτο δὲ τί ἂν ἄλλο τις εἰπὼν ἢ τὴν πρώτην οὐσίαν ὀρθῶς ἂν ὀνομάσειεν; ἢ δὴ μόνη ποιεῖ τε καὶ πάσχει, πᾶσι γινομένη πάντα διὰ πάντων, θεὸς ἰδίος, ὀνόμασι καὶ προσωπαῖς ἀφαιρουμένη τὸ ἴδιον ἀδικουμένη τε καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἔλαττον. τὸ δὲ μεῖζον κλαίεται τις, ὅταν θεὸς ἐξ ἀνθρώπου γένηται τόποι μεταβίβει καὶ οὐχὶ φύσει. ὥς δὲ ἔχει τὸ ἀληθές, οὐ πενθητέον σοι θανάτου, ἀλλὰ τιμητέον καὶ σεβαστέον. τιμὴ δὲ ἡ ἀριστη τε καὶ πρεπουσα, εἰ ἀφείς θεῶν τὸν ἐκεῖ γενόμενον ἀνθρώπων τῶν πεπιστευμένων τὰ νῦν ἄρχοις, ἢ πρότερον ἡρχες. αἰσχρον, εἰ χρόνῳ, μὴ λογισμῷ γέννησι βελτίων, εἰ χρόνος καὶ τοὺς κακοὺς λύπης ἔπαυσε μέγιστον ἀρχὴν ἱκανή, καὶ μεγίστων

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Why is it then that error has passed unrefuted on such a score? The reason is that some imagine that they have themselves actively brought about what they have merely suffered and experienced, because they do not understand that a child brought into the world by parents is not begotten by its parents any more than what grows by means of the earth grows out of the earth: nor are phenomenal modifications or affections of matter properties of the individual thing, but it is rather the case that each individual thing's affections are properties of a single phenomenon. And this single phenomenon cannot be rightly spoken of or characterised except we name it the first essence. For this same agent and patient making itself all things unto all and through all (God eternal which in so far as it takes on the names and persons of individuals forfeits its peculiar character to its prejudice. Now this is of lesser importance, what is of greater is this, that some are apt to weep as when an ever Good arises out of mankind by mere change of place and not of nature. But in very truth of things you should not lament another's death but prize and reverence it. And the highest and only befitting honour you can pay to death is to resign unto God him that was here and continue to rule as before over the human beings entrusted to your care. You dishonour yourself if you improve less through your judgment than by lapse of time seeing that time alleviates the sorrows even of the wicked. High

The idea is that in death the divine substance which was embodied in a person of our name which was the main thing in it passes so that where there was only a human being, there is now God.

ἄρχων ἄριστος, ὅς ἂν αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἄρχῃ. ποῦ δὲ καὶ ὅσιον ἀπεύχεσθαι τὸ βουλήσῃ θεοῦ γενόμενον, εἰ τάξις ἐστὶ τῶν ὄντων, ἐστὶ δέ, καὶ θεὸς ἐπιστατὴ ταύτης, ὃ δίκαιος οὐ βουλήσεται ἀπεύχεσθαι τὰ ἀγαθὰ, πλεονεκτικὸν γὰρ καὶ παρὰ τάξιν τὸ τοιοῦτον, ἡγήσεται δὲ τὰ γινόμενα συμφέρειν προέλθε καὶ θεραπείεσαι, δίκασον καὶ παρηγόρησον τοὺς ἀθλίουκ, τῶν δὲ δακρύων οὕτως ἀποτρέψεις οὐ τὰ ἴδια τῶν κοινῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἰδίων προτιμητέον, οἶον δέ σοι καὶ τὸ τῆς παραμυθίας εἶδος· σὺν ὅλῳ τὸν υἱὸν ἔθνη πεπένθηκας. ἀμείψαι τοὺς μετὰ σοῦ λελυπημένους, ἀμείψῃ δέ, εἰς λυπούμενος παύσῃ, ταχίον ἢ εἰς μὴ προσέλθῃς φίλους οὐκ ἔχεις; υἱὸν δὲ ἔχεις. καὶ νῦν τὸν τεθυηκότα φῆσει τις τῶν νοῦν ἔχόντων. το γὰρ ὅν οὐκ ἀπόλλυται, διὰ τοῦτο ὅν, ὅτι ἔσται διὰ παντός, ἢ καὶ τὸ μὴ ὄν γίνεται, πῶς δ' ἂν γενοίτο μὴ ἀπολλυμένου τοῦ ὄντος; εἴποι ἂν ἕτερός τις, ὥς ἄσεβεῖς τε καὶ ἀδικοῖς. ἄσεβεῖς μὲν τὸν θεόν, ἀδικοῖς δὲ τὸν υἱόν, μᾶλλον δὲ κακείνον ἄσεβεῖς· βούλει δὲ μαθεῖν οἷόν ἐστι θανάτου; ἔνελε με πέμψας μετὰ ταύτην τὴν φωνήν, ἣν εἰς μὴ μεταμφέσῃ, παραχρήμα κρείττονί με σεαυτοῦ πεποίηκας.

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command is the most important of things and he will best succeed in the most important office, who has first learnt to govern himself. And what piety moreover is there in deprecating that which has happened by the will of God? If there is an order of reality, and there is, and if God presides over it, the just man will not desire to deprecate his blessings, for such conduct savours of avarice and violates that order: but he will consider that what happens is for the best. Go forward then and heal yourself dispense justice and console the wretched, so will you wipe away men's tears. You must not prefer your private welfare to the public, but the public to your private. And think what manner of consolation is offered you: the entire province has mourned with you for the loss of your son. Reward those who have grieved with you, and you will far sooner reward them by ceasing to mourn than by confining yourself in your house. "You have no friends?" But you have a son. "What the one who is just dead (you will ask)?" "Yes, will be the reply of all who reflect: "for that which exists is not lost, but exists by the very fact that it will be for ever. Or would you argue that that which has no existence comes into being? But how can that be without the destruction of that which is?" Another might say that you are impious and unjust. Impious towards God, and unjust towards your son, nay impious towards him rather than towards God. Would you then learn what death is? Send and slay me the moment I have uttered these words, and unless you can clothe them afresh with flesh, you have there and then made me superior to yourself.

ἔχεις χρόνον, ἔχεις γυναῖκα ἔμφρονα φίλανδρον, ὁλόκληρος εἶ, παρὰ σεαυτοῦ λαβὲ τὸ λείπον. Ῥωμαῖός τις τῶν πάλαι γεγονότων, ἵνα σώσῃ τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς νόμον τε καὶ κόσμον, υἱὸν ἰδίων ἀπέκτεινε καὶ στεφανώσας ἀπέκτεινε, πόλεων ἀρχεὶς πεντακοσίων Ῥωμαίων ὁ εὐγενέστατος. ταῦτα σαυτὸν διατίθης, ἐξ ὧν οὐδ' οἰκίας τις εὐσταθῶς ἄρξει, μήτι γε πόλεων τε καὶ ἐθνῶν. Ἀπολλώνιος εἰ παρῇν, Φαβοῦλλαν ἂν μὴ πενθεῖν ἔπαισεν.

νθ'.—Βασίλεὺς Βαβυλωνίων Ἰάργμος Νεογύνδῃ Ἰνδῶν βασιλεῖ.

Εἰ μὴ περίεργος ἦς, οὐκ ἂν ἦς ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοτρίοις πράγμασι δίκαιος, οὐδὲ ἂν ἀρχῶν ἐν Ἰνδοῖς ἐδικάζεις Βαβυλωνίοις. ποθεν γὰρ σοι γνωριμος ἦν ὁ ἡμέτερος δῆμος; νῦν δὲ ἐπείρασας ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐμήν, ὑποκοριζομενος ἐπιστολαῖς καὶ τοιαύτας ἀρχὰς καθίεις, καὶ πρόσχημα ποιούμενον τῆς πλεονεξίας τὴν φιланθρωπίαν. περνεῖς δὲ οὐδέν, οὔτε γὰρ λαθεῖν ἂν δύναιο.

ξ.—Εὐφράτη

Ἦν Πραξιτέλης Χαλκιδὲς μαινόμενος ἄνθρωπος. οὗτος ὥφθη παρὰ ταῖς θύραις ταῖς ἐμαῖς, ξίφος ἔχων ἐν Κορίνθῳ μετὰ σοῦ γνωρίμου

¹ Titus Manlius. See Livy, VIII. 7

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You have abundant time, you have a wife who is sensible, devoted to her husband, you are yourself sound in body, take from yourself whatever lacks. One of the ancient Romans, in order to uphold the law and order of his state, slew his own son, and indeed saw him after crowning him. You are a governor of fifty cities, and noblest of the Romans, yet this present humour of yours is such as to prevent you from affording a stable government even to your household, not to speak of cities and provinces. If Apollonius were with you, he would have persuaded Fabulla not to mourn.

LIX. THE KING OF THE BABYLONIANS, GARMOR, TO NEOXYNDON, THE KING OF THE INDIANS.

If you were not of a prying disposition, you would not be laying down the law in other people's affairs: nor as sovereign in India would you be playing the judge for Babylonians. For how came you to know anything about my people? But just recently you have made an attempt upon my kingdom, by trying to cajole me with your letters and by insinuating into my realm such magistrates as these, and you try to cloak under the veil of philanthropy your own aggressive designs. But you will not succeed at all for you cannot deceive me or take me in.

LX. —To RUPHARTES.

PHAXTELES of Calchis was a merchant. He appeared at my door in Corinth, together with your friend with a sword in his hand. What then is

τίς οὖν ἢ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς αἰτία, οὐ γὰρ πώποτε
σὰς βούς ἤλασα.

ἐπειὴ μάλα πολλὰ μεταξυ
οὔρεά τε σκίοντα θάλασσά τε ἤχησσαν
τῆς τε ἐμῆς φιλοσοφίας καὶ τῆς σῆς.

ξα'.—Λακεδαιμόνακι.

Ἀνάχαρσις ὁ Σκύθης ἦν σοφός, εἰ δὲ Σκύθης,
ὅτι καὶ Σκύθης.

ξβ'.—Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἀπολλωνίῳ.

Τῶν δεδομένων τιμῶν σοι ἀπεστείλαμεν τυδε
ἀντίγραφον σαμανόμενοι τῇ δημοσίᾳ σφραγίδι
ἵνα ἴδῃς.

Ψηφισμα Λακεδαιμονίων, καθὼς οἱ γέροντες
ἐπέκριναν Ἐνδιίρῳ εἰσηγησαμένῳ ταῖν ἀρχαῖν
ἔδοξε τέλεισί τε καὶ τῷ δήμῳ Ἀπολλώνιον Ἰνθα-
γυρῆιον ἡμεν πολίταν, ἔχειν τε καὶ γῆν καὶ οἰκῶν
ἐγκτασιν, ἐστύκαμεν δὲ καὶ ἐπισαμον εἰκόνα
γραφτῶν καὶ χαλκᾶν ἀρετῆς χάριν. οἶδε γὰρ οἱ
πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐτίμων ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς. ἐνομιζον
γὰρ ἡμεν Λυκούργῳ παῖδας, ὅσοι σύμφωνον θεοῖς
τὸν βίον αἴρουντο.

ξγ'.—Ἀπολλώνιος ἐφόροις καὶ
Λακεδαιμονίοις

Ἄνδρες ὑμῶν ἐθεασάμην ὑπῆμιν μὴ ἔχοντας,
τοὺς μηροὺς καὶ τὰ σκέλη λεῖους τε καὶ λευκοὺς,

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the reason of his attempting my life? For I have never driven off your oxen, seeing that between your philosophy and mine "there intervene ^{traces} very many shadowy mountains and an echoing ^{of ap.} sea."

LXI.—To LEMONAX.

ANACHARSIS the Scythian was a sage, but, if he was a Scythian, then it was because he was a Scythian.

LXII.—THE LACEDÆMONIANS TO APOLLONIUS.

We send you this copy of a decree conferring honour upon yourself, which we have sealed with the public seal, for your recognition thereof.

"The decree of the Lacedæmonians, according to the resolution taken by their senate on the motion of Lindarus.

"It was resolved by the government and people to make Apollonius the Pythagorean a citizen, and to bestow upon him the right to possess land and houses. And we have also set up an inscribed bronze, painted and made of bronze, to commemorate his virtues. For this is the way in which our fathers do honour to good men, for they regarded as sons of Lysurgas all who have chosen a way of life in accordance with the will of the gods."

LXIII. APOLLONIUS TO THE EPIGONI AND TO THE LACEDÆMONIANS.

I HAVE seen your men without any beards, with their thighs and legs smooth and white, clad in soft

μαλακὰς χλαῖδας ἡμφιεσμένους καὶ λεπτάς, δακτυλίους πολλοὺς καὶ καλοὺς περικειμένους, ὑποδεδεμένους ὑπόδημα τὸ Ἰωνικόν. οὐκ ἐπεγνων οὖν τοὺς λεγομένους πρέσβεις, ἢ δὲ ἐπιστολὴν λακεδαιμονικοὺς ἔφασκεν.

ξδ'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Καλεῖτέ με πολλάκις βοηθᾶν ὑμῖν τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν νέων ἐσόμενον. ἡ Σόλωνος δὲ πόλις οὐ καλεῖ με Λυκούργον αἰδεῖσθε.

ξε'.—Ἐφείσιον τοῖς ἐν Ἀρτέμίδι.

Ἔθος ὑμῖν ἅπαν ἀγιστάας. ἔθος δὲ βασιλικῆς τιμῆς, τὰλλ' ὑμαῖς ἐστιμώτερες μὲν καὶ δαιτυμονες οὐ μεμπτοί, μεμπτοὶ δὲ σύνοικοι τῇ θεῷ νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέρας, ἢ οὐκ ἂν ὁ κλέπτης τε καὶ ληστής καὶ ἄνδραποδιστής καὶ πᾶς, εἴ τις ἄδικος ἢ ἱερόσυλος, ἦν ὁρμώμενος αὐτόθεν τὸ γὰρ ἱερὸν τῶν ἀπυστερούντων μυχὸς ἐστίν.

ξε'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Ἦλθεν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλιάδος ἀνὴρ ἑλλήνην τὴν φύσιν, οὐκ Ἀθηναῖος, οὐδὲ Μεγαρεὺς γε, λῶον δ' ὄνομα¹ παροικήσων ὑμῶν τῇ θεῷ. δότε μοι τύπον ἔνθα μὴ καθαρσίῳν δεήσει μοι, καὶ περ ἔνδον ἀεὶ μένουσι.

¹ Οἱ παλαιὸι ἔγραψαν ἁγρηθῶν ἢ μετρηθῶν.

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lances and light, their fingers covered with rings, and their necks bedecked with necklaces, and shod with shoes of Ionic style. I did not therefore recognize your so-called envoys, though your epistle spoke of them as Lacedæmonians.

LXIV To the same.

You invite me again and again to reform your laws and your youth. Now the city of Solon does not invite me. — Reverence Lycurgus.

LXV To THOSE OF THE EPHESIANS WHO PRESENTED THE TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS.

You are devoted to holy ceremonies no less than to honouring the Emperor. In general I cannot condemn your custom of inviting and being invited to feasts, but I do condemn the people who by night and by day share the home of the goddess, otherwise I should not see issuing thence thieves and robbers and kidnappers and every sort of wretch or scoundrelous rascal — for your temple is just a den of robbers.

LXVI — To the same Persons.

THE one is come from Hellas a man who was a Hellenic by race, and though he was not an Athenian or indeed a native of Megara, yet he had a better name, and was intent upon making his home together with your goddess. So I would have you assign me some place, where I can stay without contracting a need of purificatory rites, though I always remain inside.

ξγ'.—τοῖς πύτοῖς.

Ἀνεῖται θύουσι τὸ ἱερόν, εὐχομένοις ὕμνουσιν
 ἰκέταις Ἑλλησι βαρβάροις ἐλευθέροις δούλοις,
 ὑπερφυῶς θεῖος ὁ νόμος. ἐπιγινώσκω τὰ σύμβουλα
 τὰ Διὸς τε καὶ Λητοῦς, εἴαν ἢ μόνα ταῦτα.

ξη' —Μιλησίοις.

Σεῖσμος ὕμῶν τὴν γῆν ἔσεισεν, καὶ γὰρ ἄλλων
 πολλῶν πολλύκις. ἀλλ' ἐπασχον μὲν ἡ ἡτύχουν
 ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ἐλευῖντες δέ, οὐ μισοῦντες ἀλλήλους
 ἐφαίνοντο. μόνοι δὲ ὑμεῖς καὶ θεοῖς ὄπλα καὶ πῦρ
 ἐπηνέγκατε, καὶ θεοῖς τοιούτοις, ὧν καὶ οἱ ἐτέρωθεν
 δέονται καὶ μετὰ κινδύνους καὶ πρὸ κινδύνων
 ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλόσοφον ἄνδρα προκρίτου ὑμεῖς
 Ἑλληνων δημοσίᾳ τὸ παῖγμα φήναντα πολ-
 λάκις, καὶ προαγορεύσαντα γενομένους τοὺς
 σεισμούς, αὐτόν, ὅτε ἔσεισεν ὁ θεός, ποιεῖν ἐλέγετε
 καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν. ὦ τῆς δημοσίας ἡμαθίας
 καὶ πατὴρ ὑμῶν λεγεται Θαλῆς

ξθ' —Τραλλιανοῖς.

Πολλοὶ πολλαχόθεν ἄλλοι κατ' ἄλλας αἰτίας,
 νεώτεροί τε καὶ πρεσβύτεροι, φοιτῶσι παρ' ἐμέ.
 τὰς φύσεις οὖν ἑνὸς ἐκάστου σκέπτομαι καὶ τοὺς
 τρόπους, ὡς ἐνι μάλιστα συνετώτατα, τὸ τε
 πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν ἐκάστου δίκαιον ἦθος ἢ

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LXVII To THE SAME PERSONS.

Your temple is thrown open to all who would sacrifice, or offer prayers, or sing hymns, to suppliants, to Hellenes, barbarians, free men, to slaves. Your law is transcendently divine. I could recognise the tokens of Zeus and of Leto, if these were alone.

LXVIII To THE MUSSIAN.

AN earthquake has shaken your land, as has often happened with the countries of many other people. But as the misfortunes which they suffered were unavoidable, so they exhibited towards our another feelings of pity and not of hatred. You alone have hurled against the gods both missiles and fire, and against such gods as people in either case must have, both after danger and before it. Nay more, when a distinguished philosopher of Hellenic race had often warned you patiently of the disaster in store for you, and had foretold the earthquakes that have happened, him, when the god actually shook your land, you began to accuse daily of having brought it about. Alas, for your public folly, and yet your forefather's name was Taulos.

LXIX.—To THE TRALLIAN.

MANY from all parts, some for one reason and some for another, flock to me both young and old. I then scan the nature of each individual and his manners, as closely as I can, and I mark his disposition towards his own city, to see whether it is just or the reverse,

• τοῦναντίον. εἰς τίνδε τὴν ἡμέραν οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιμι προκρίναι Ῥαλλιανῶι ὑμῶν οὐ Λυδούς, οὐκ Ἀχαιοὺς, οὐκ Ἰωνας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοὺς τῆς ἀρχαίας Ἑλλάδος θουρίους Κροτωνιάτας Ταραντίνους, ἢ τινὰς ἄλλους τῶν ἐκεῖ λεγομένων εὐδαιμόνων Ἰταλιωτῶν ἢ ἐτέρων τινῶν. τίς οὖν ἡ αἰτία, δέῃ ἢν ἀποδέχομαι μὲν ὑμῖς, οὐ γίνομαι δὲ τοιούτοις ἀνδράσι συνοικόν, καί περ ὧν γένος ἑμέτερον, ἄλλοτὲ ποτ' ἦν εἴποιμι. νῦν δὲ μόνον ὑμᾶς ἐπαινεῖν καιρὸς ἀνδρας τε τοὺς ἡγουμένους ὑμῶν, ὡς πολὺ κρείττους τῶν παρ' ἐτέροις ἀρετῇ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ μῖλλον τῶν παρ' οἷς γογγύονται

ο. -- Σάβιταις.

Ἀθηναίων ἀπόγονοί εἰσθε, καθὼς περ ἐν Ἱμαίῳ Πλάτων φησιν, οἱ δὲ τὴν κοινὴν ὑμῶν θεὸν ἐξορίζουσι τῆς Ἀττικῆς, Νηϊθ μὲν τὴν ὑφ' ὑμῶν, Ἀθηναίην δὲ τὴν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὀνομαζομένην, οὐ μένοντες Ἑλλήνες ὅπως δ' οὐ μένοντες, ἐγὼ φράσω γέρον σοφὸς οὐδεὶς Ἀθηναῖος, οὐ γὰρ ἔφυ γένους πᾶσα παντός, ὅτι μηδεμία μηδενός. ὁ κύλαξ παρὰ ταῖς πύλαις, ὁ συκοφάντης πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν, ὁ μαστροπος καὶ πρὸ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν, ὁ παρίσιτος πρὸ τῆς Μουνυχίας καὶ πρὸ τοῦ Πειραιῶς, ἢ θεὸς δὲ οὐδὲ Ζουνιον ἔχει.

οα' - Ἰωσιν.

Ἑλλήνες αἴεσθε δεῖν ὀνομαζεσθαι διὰ τὰ γένη καὶ τὴν ἔμπροσθεν ἀποικίαν, Ἑλλησι δ' ὥς περ

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but until this day, I do not find that I could prefer to you Trauans either Lydians, or Achæans or Ionians, or even the people of ancient Helas, the natives of Thurii, or Crotona, or Tarentum or any others of the peoples of Italy yonder who are called happy, or of any other races. What then is the reason, why so much approving of yourselves I yet do not take up my residence among so excellent a people, although I am of your own race? I will tell you on some other occasion, but at present I have only time to praise you, and say how much superior are your leading citizens in virtue and in speech to those of other cities, and still more to those among whom they have been.

LXX To the people of SAG.

As Plato says in his *Timaus* you are the descendants of Athenians, though they have expelled from Attica the goddess you have in common with them, who is called Neith by you, but Athene by them. They have ceased to be Hellenes, and why they have ceased to be, I will tell you. No wise and aged man is an Athenian for no Athenian ever grew a full beard, since you never saw one of them with any at all. The flatterer is at their doors, the sycophant stands before their gates, the pimp eyes before their long walls, the parasite in front of Munychia and in front of the Piræus, as for the goddess she has not even Senlun left to her.

LXXI To the IONIANS

You think that you ought to be called Hellenes because of your pedigrees, and because you were

ἔθνη καὶ νόμοι καὶ γλῶττα καὶ βίος ἴδιος, οὕτω καὶ σχῆμα καὶ εἶδος ἀνθρώπων. ἀλλ' ὑμῶν γε οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα μένει τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς νεας ταυτης εὐδαιμονίας ἀπολωλέκατε τὰ τῶν προγόνων σύμβολα. καλῶς οὐδὲ τοῖς ταφοῖς ἐκεῖνοι δεχόμενται ἂν ἄτε ἀγνωστας αὐτοῖς γενομένους, εἴ γε προτερου ἡρώων ἦν ὀνύματα καὶ ναυμείχων καὶ νομοθετῶν, ῥῆνι δὲ Λουκούλλων τε καὶ Φαβρικίων καὶ Λευκανίων τῶν μακαρίων. ἔμοι μὲν εἴη μᾶλλον ὄνομα Μυμνερμος.

οβ' — Ἐστιαίφ

Ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν Ἀπολλωνιος ἦν τρις τοῦ Μηνοδότου, σὺ δὲ ἄπαξ ἠθέλεις ὀνομιζεσθαι Λουκρίτιος ἢ Λουπερκος. τίνας σὺ ταύτων ἀπόγονος; αἰσχροί, εἰ ὄνομα μὲν ἔχῃς τινος, τὸ δὲ εἶδος αὐτοῦ μὴ ἔχῃς.

ογ'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Πατρίδας ἐσμὲν πορρωτέρω σὺν δαίμονι, ἤδη δε τα τῆς πολείως πρίνγματα ἐν νῆϊ ἐβαλομεν. ἡδεῖν μοῖρα πρὸς τέλος ἀνδρῶν, οἳ τὰν πρωταν λελόγχασι τιμάν ἄρξει δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν παιδιάρια καὶ μικρὸν ἐπανα ταύτων μίρακες. ἐνταῦθά που δέος, μὴ σφαλῇ τὰ ὑπὸ νέων κυβερνώμενα. σοὶ δ' οὐ δέος, ἐπεὶ βεβιωκαμεν.

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once on a time a colony of them, but just as the Hellenes are characterised by their customs and laws and language and private life so are men in general by their deportment and appearance. But as for you, most of you have abandoned even your names, nay, owing to this recent prosperity of yours, you have forfeited all tokens of your ancestors. It is quite right therefore that the latter should refuse to welcome you even in their tombs, on the ground that you are no longer recognizable by them. For whereas formerly they bore the names of heroes and sea-captains and legislators, they now bear names such as Lucullus and Fabricius and names of other blessed Lucianus. For myself I would rather be called Mimermus.

LXXII.—TO HESTIARUS.

Our father Apollonius had the name of Menodotus three over in his pedigree, but you wish to style yourself once for all Lucretius or Luperus. Of which of these are you the descendant? It is a disgrace to have a person's name without also having his countenance.

LXXIII.—TO THE SAME.

I AM far away by God's will from my country but I always ponder in my mind my city's affairs. The generation of those who won the first honour hastens to its end, and in future it will be a reign of children, and a little later on of babes. Here then is what we have to fear, lest the state governed by youth should go wrong, but you need not fear, for our lives are over.

οδ'.—τοῖς Στωικοῖς.

Ὡρα καὶ λιμὸς ἦν Βάσση, καίπερ ὄντων τῇ πατρὶ συχνοῦν χρημάτων. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἔφυγε Μέγαρίδῃ συν ἐνὶ τῶν λεγομένων ἐραστοῖν. ἅμα δὲ καὶ μαστροπῶν.—τροφῇ γὰρ αμφοτέροις εἶναι καὶ ἐφοδίων—ἔπειτα ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Συρίαν, ὑπεδέχετο δὲ τὸν ὠραῖον Ἰνύφριτης, καὶ εἴ τις ὁμοίως ἐδείκτο τοῦ τότε καλοῦ, ὥστε ἂν αἰρεῖσθαι τι τῶν ἀτόπων δι' εὐνοίαν.

οε'.—τοῖς ἐν Σαρδεσιν.

(1) παῖς Ἀλυαττεω σῶσαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πολὺν ἰδύνατος ἐγενετο καὶ ἡμῆχανος, καίπερ ὢν βασιλεύς τε καὶ Κροῖσος, ἡμεῖς δὲ ποίῳ πεποιθότες ἄρα λέοντι πόλεμον ἱσπανδὸν ἤρασθε, παῖδες νέοι πάντες, ἄνδρες, γέροντες ἰλλὰ καὶ παρθένοι καὶ γυναῖκες; Ἐρινύων νομισαὶ ἂν τις τὴν πόλιν εἶναι, καὶ οὐχι Δήμητρος. ἡ δὲ θεὰ φιλόανθρωπος· ὑμῖν δὲ τίς οὗτος ὁ χόλος,

ος τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Εἰκὸς εἰς πόλιν ἀρχαίαν τε καὶ μεγάλην ἐβελήσαι φιλόσοφον ἀρχαῖον παραγενέσθαι, καὶ παρεγενόμεν ἔν αὐτὸς ἐκῶν, κληθῆναι μὴ περι-
472

EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS

LXXIV.—TO THE STOICS.

Bassus was beautiful, but starving, although his sire had plenty of money. Accordingly he began by fleeing to Megara with one of his lovers so-called, and who was one of his pumps as well, for both the one lot and the other were in need of food and money for the journey. Then he fled thence and turned up in Syria. There the pretty youth met with a warm welcome from Isaphrates, and from anyone else who like Isaphrates was in need of the latest beauty, and was ready out of mere regard for that sage to choose for himself so odd an ideal.

LXXV.—TO THE PEOPLE OF SARDIS.

The son of Alyattes was unable to save his own city and had no resources left, though he was a king, and his name Croesus. Well, I would like to know what sort of lion you have put your trust in, that you should have embraced this treacherous war among yourselves, children and youths all alike, full-grown men and aged, nay even maidens and women? Or would you suppose that yours was a city of the Priuses rather than of Demeter. For this goddess is a lover of mankind, and I would know what all this spleen of yours is about.

LXXVI.—TO THE SAME PERSONS.

It is quite right that an old-fashioned philosopher like myself should be anxious to visit a city so old and considerable as your own, and I would willingly have visited it, without waiting for the invitation

μείνας, ως ὑφ' ἐτέρων πολλῶν, εἰ ποιήσῃ μίαν
 ὑμῶν τὴν πόλιν ἔμελλον ἤθῃ καὶ φύσει καὶ νόμῳ
 καὶ θεῷ, καὶ τὸ ὅσον ἐπ' ἑμοὶ πάντως ἂν ἐπαύσῃ,
 στάσις δέ, ὡς ἔφη τις, πολέμου χαλεπώτερον.

οἷ'.—Φοιτηταῖς.

Διὰ φιλοσοφίαν εἴρηται τῶν εἰρημένων ἕκαστον,
 οὐ δι' Εὐφραιτην. μὴ τὸ Πραξιτέλους ξίφος ἢ τὸ
 Λυσίου φάρμακον πεφοβήσθαι μέ τις δοξῇ καὶ
 τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶν Εὐφρατου.

οἷ' — Ἰάρχα καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν σοφοῖς.
 — οὐ μὰ τὸ Ταντάλιον ὕδωρ, οὐ με ἀμνήσατε.

οἷ'.—Εὐφράτη.

Οὐκ ἐπιλυγιζομένη ἡ ψυχή τὸ τοῦ σώματος
 αὐτάρκει οὐ δύναται ἑαυτὴν αὐτάρκη ποιῆσαι.

π'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Οἱ κρατιστοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βραχυλογηταὶ
 οἱ οὖν ἀδολέσχει εἰ ἡμιῶντο, ὡς ἀνιῶσι, οὐκ ἂν
 ἐμακρηγόρουν.

πα'.—τοῖς γνωρίμοις

Σιμωνίδης ἔλεγε μηδέποτε αὐτῷ μεταμελῆσαι
 συγῆσαντι, φθεγγαμένῳ δὲ πολλαῖς.

EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS

which so many other cities have sent me, if I had any hopes of reconciling your city with morality, or with nature or with law or with God. And I would have done in any case so much as in me lies, only faction, as some one has remarked, is crueller than war.

LXXVII. —To HIS DISCIPLES.

EVERYTHING that I have ever said, I have said out of consideration for philosophy, and not to please Euphrates. Let no one suppose that I have been afraid of the sword of Praxiteles, or of the poison of Lysias. For this too is the weapon of Euphrates.

LXXVIII. —To LARCLAS AND HIS SAGES.

No, by the water of Tantalus's, which you attacked me. (Cited by Porphyry, *De Styge*, sub fin.)

LXXIX. —To EUPHRATES.

THE soul which does not take trouble to train the body to be self-sufficient, is not able to make itself content with hate. (from the *Florilegium* of Stobæus, 10, 64.)

LXXX. —To THE SAME PERSON.

Men of light and leading use fewest words, for if cobblers felt as much annoyance as they inflict, they would not be so long-winded. (19, 29.)

LXXXI. —To HIS DISCIPLES.

SIMONIDES used to say that he had never had cause to repent of being silent, though he had often repented of having spoken. (38, 12.)

πβ'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Πολυλογία πολλὰ σφάλματα ἔχει, τὸ δὲ σιγᾶν ἀσφαλές.

πγ'.—Δηλίφι.

Ψεύδεσθαι ἀνελεύθερον, ἀλήθεια γενναῖον.

πδ'.—τοῖς γνωρίμοις.

Μηδέν με δόξετε ῥαδίως ἄλλοις παραινεῖν, αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς μάξης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης τῆς ἀκολουθοῦ ταύτῃ διαιτηγῆς ὢν, τοιαῦτα ὑμῖν παρεγγυῶ.

πε'.—Εἰδομένη.

Ἐξηλώσαμεν τὴν αὐτάρκειαν, οὐχ ὅπως τοῖς εὐτελέσι καὶ λιτοῖς πάντως χρώμεθα, ἀλλ' ὅπως θαρρῶμεν πρὸς αὐτά.

πς'.—Μακεδόνι.

Τῆς ὀξύθυμίας τὸ ἄνθος μαυα.

πς'.—Ἀριστοκλεῖ.

Τὸ τῆς ὀργῆς πάθος μὴ καθομιλούμενον, μηδε θεραπευόμενον, φυσικὴ νόσος γίνεταί.

EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS

LXXXII.—To THE SAME PERSONS.

LOQUACITY has many pit-falls, but silence none.
(36, 28.)

LXXXIII To DILIGER

To tell a lie is base, to tell the truth is noble,
(11, 20.)

LXXXIV.—To HIS DISCIPLES

Believe not that I lightly recommend to others anything. For I myself live upon raze, and I suit the rest of my diet to this dish, and I recommend a similar diet to yourselves (17, 15.)

LXXXV.—To INOMENA.

We have carefully trained ourselves to be content with little, not in order exclusively to use a cheap and common fare, but in order that we may not shrink therefrom. (17, 14.)

LXXXVI To MACKIN

QUICKNESS of temper blossoms into madness.
(20, 49.)

LXXXVII.—To ANASTOKLES

THE passion of anger, unless it is restrained by social intercourse and so cured, becomes a physical disease. (20, 50.)

πῆ.—Σ α τ υ ο φ.

Οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν μὲν ἰδίων ἁμαρτημάτων συνήγοροι γίνονται, τῶν δὲ ἑλλοτρίων κατηγοροί.

πθ'.—Δ α ν α ψ.

Οὐ κάμνει τί πράγματα πρᾶσσουμένα

ς'.—Δ ί ω ν ι

Τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι οὐδέν, τὸ δὲ γενέσθαι πονός.

ςα'.—τ ο ῖ ς ἡ δ ε λ φ ο ῖ ς.

Οὐδενὶ φθονητέον· ἀγαθοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἄξιοι κακοὶ δ' ἂν εὐτυχῶσι κακῶς ζῶσι.

ςβ'.—Δ ι ο ν υ σ ί φ.

Καλὸν, πρὶν παθεῖν, διδαχθῆναι, πηλίκον ἴστιν ἡσυχία

ςγ'.—Ν ο υ μ η ν ί φ.

Οὐ θρηνητέον οἷων φίλων ἔστερ ἵθιμεν, ἀλλὰ μνημονευτέον, ὅτι μετὰ τῶν φίλων τὴν καλλίστην βιοτὴν ἐβιοτεύσαμεν.

EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS

LXXXVIII.—To SATYRON.

Most men are as apt to palliate their own offences, as they are to condemn them in other people. (23, 15.)

LXXXIX.—To DANAUS.

A task once begun never worries. (29, 83.)

XC.—To DION.

Not to exist at all is nothing, but to exist is pain and weariness. (18, 82.)

XCI.—To HIS BROTHERS.

You must not feel envious of anyone, for while good men deserve what they have, the bad live badly even if they are prosperous. (38, 58.)

XCII.—To DIONYSIUS.

It is a good thing, before you suffer, to have learnt how great a blessing is tranquillity (58, 12.)

XCIII.—To NUMENIUS.

We must not mourn the loss of such good friends, but we must remember that the best part of our life was that which we lived in the society of our friends. (124, 35.)

εδ'. — *Η ε α ι τ ή τ η*.

Τὸ λυπούμενον ἄλλοτρίαις κακοῖς παραμυθού.

εε'. — *Κ ο ρ η λ ι α υ φ*.

Βραχὺς ὁ βίος ἀνθρώπων εὖ πράττουσι, δυστυχοῦσι δὲ μακρόν.

εε' — *Δ η μ ο κ ρ ά τ ε*.

Ὁ ὑπὲρ μικρῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἀνυπερβλίστως ὀργιζόμενος οὐκ ἐὰν διαγινῶσι τὸν ἁμαρτάνοντα, πότε ἔλαττον καὶ πότε μείζον ἠδίκησεν

εζ'. — *Λ ύ κ φ*.

Οὐ τὸ πένεσθαι κατὰ φύσιν αἰσχρὸν, ἀλλὰ το δι' αἰσχρὰν αἰτίαν πένεσθαι δνειδόν

EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS

XCIV To THEAETETUS.

CONSOLE a mother by representing to him the joys of other parents. (124, 37)

XCV.—To CORNELIANUS.

LIFE is short for the man who does well, but for him that is un lucky it is long. (121, 34)

XCVI.—To DEMONASTES.

ONE who shows excessive anger over small offences prevents the offender from hesitating, when he has offended at lesser things, and when in greater. (20, 51)

XCVII.—To LYCUS.

It is not poverty that is disgraceful by nature, but poverty due to a disgraceful reason is a reproach. (95, 9.)



THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΜΦΙΛΟΥ

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑ

ΤΗΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ ΕΙΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΤΤΑΝΕΑ

ΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΙΕΡΟΚΛΕΙ ΠΑΡΑΛΗΦΘΕΙΣΑΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ
ΤΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΝ

I

ΟΑΡ Ἄρ' οὖν, ὦ φιλότης, κέκεϊνά σε τοῦ συγγρα-
φέως ἄξιον ὑποθαυμάζειν, ἡ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ σωτήρῳ
τε καὶ διδασκάλῳ τὸν Ἰουαῖα συγκρινῶν παρε-
δοξολόγει, πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ
φιλαλήθει, οὕτω γὰρ εὖ ἔχειν αὐτῷ τὸν καθ' ἡμῶν
ἐπιγραφεὶν ἰδοκεῖ λόγον, οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη σπουδαῖον
ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἵστασθαι, μὴ αὐτοῦ ἰδία τυγχί-
νοντα, σφόδρα δὲ ἀναιδῶς ἐξ ἑτέρων οὐκ αὐτοῖς
μονονουχὶ νοήμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥήμασι καὶ συλλα-
βαῖς ἀσσεσυλημένα· ἡ τύχοι μὲν ἂν καὶ αὐτὰ
τῆς πρῶτης κοῦσης κατὰ καιρὸν ἀπελέγξῃς,
δυνάμει δ' ἤδη, καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἰδίας κατ' αὐτῶν
γραφῆς, ἀνατέτραπται καὶ προσηλέληγεται ἐν

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS,

THE SON OF PAMPHILUS, AGAINST THE
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA WRITTEN
BY PHILOSTRATUS, OCCASIONED BY THE
PARALLEL DRAWN BY HEROCLES BE-
TWEEN HIM AND CHRIST

I

So then, my dear friend, you find worthy of no CHAP.
little admiration the parallel¹ which, embellished with
many marvels, this author has drawn between the 1
name of Tyana and our own Saviour and teacher. For Heads of the
against the rest of the contents of the "Lover of Philosophers
Truth" (Philotheos), for so he has thought fit to strongly
entitle his work against us, it would be useless to take answered
my stand at present, because they are not his own, by Origen
but have been pilfered in the most shameless manner,
not only I may say in respect of their ideas, but even
of their words and syllables from other authorities.
Not but what these parts also of his treatise call for
their refutation in due season, but to all intents and
purposes they have, even in advance of any special
work that might be written in answer to them, been
upset and exposed beforehand in a work which in

¹ Or perhaps we should render "the parallel this writer
has paradoxically drawn," etc.

CA
I ὅλοις ὁκτὶ σὺγγράμμασι τοῖς Ὀριγέει γραφεῖσι
πρὸς τὸν ἀλαζονικώτερον τοῦ Φιλαλήθου ἐπιγε-
γραμμένον Ἑλίου Ἀληθῆ λόγον, ὃ τὰς εὐθύνας
ἀπαρλείπτως, ἐν ὅσοις εἰρήκαμεν, ὁ δεδηλωμένος
παραγαγὼν συλλήβδην ὅσα εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπύ-
θεσιν παντὶ τῷ εἰρηταί τε καὶ εἰρήσεται, προλα-
βὼν διελύσατο, ἐφ' ἃ τοὺς ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς τὰ καθ'
ἡμᾶς διαγινῶναι ἔχοντας φιλαλήθως ἀναπέμψαντες,
φέρει μόνην ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος τὴν κατὰ τὸν κύριον
ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τοῦ Φιλαλήθου τουτουὶ
λόγου παράθεσιν ἐπισκεψώμεθα, μηδὲν τι σπου-
δαῖον ἡγουμένοι πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐτέρωνθεν
ὑποσεσυλημένων αὐτῷ διαμύχεσθαι. μόνᾳ δὲ
εἰκότως νυνὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου ἐπισφύμεθα
εἶπει καὶ μόνῃ παρὰ τοὺς πωποτε καθ' ἡμῶν
γεγραφίτας ἐξαίρετος νῦν ταύτῃ γέγονεν ἡ τοῦδε
πρὸς τὸν ἡμέτερον σωτῆρα παραθεσίς τε καὶ
σύγκρισις.

II

CA
II Θαυμίζει γοῦν καὶ ἀποδέχεται θεῖα τινὲ καὶ
ἀρρήτη σοφία, οὐχὶ δὲ γοητείας σοφίσμασι
τεθαιματουργηκέναι φύσκων αὐτὸν, καὶ ταῦτα
ἀληθῶς αὐτὸς ἔχειν ὥς ἔτυχε πιστεύων, καὶ
ἀναποδείκτως ἀπισχυριζόμενος ἄκουε δ' οὖν, ἢ
φησιν αὐταῖς συλλαβαῖς " ἄνω δὲ καὶ κῆτω
θρυλοῦσι, σεμνύοντες τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὥς τυφλοῖς

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

as many as eight books Origen composed against CHAP
the book which Celsus wrote and—even more boast-
fully than the “*Lover of Truth*,”—entitled “*True*
Reason.” The work of Celsus is there subjected to
an examination in an exhaustive manner and on the
scale above mentioned by the author in question,
who in his comprehensive survey of all that anyone
has said or will ever say on the same topic has fore-
stalled any point on which your difficulties which I could
offer. To this work of Origen I must refer those
who in good faith and with genuine “*love of truth*”
desire accurately to understand my own position. I
will therefore ask you for the present to confine
your attention to the comparison of Jesus Christ
with Apollonius, as is to be seen in this treatise called
the “*Lover of Truth*,” without postponing on the
necessity of our meeting the rest of his arguments,
for these are pilfered from other people. We may
reasonably confine our attention for the present to
the history of Apollonius, because Hierocles, of all
the writers who have ever attacked us, stands alone
in selecting Apollonius, as he has recently done, for
the purposes of comparison and contrast with our
Saviour.

II

I need not say with what admiring approval he at- CHAP
tributes his theomaturgic feats not to the tricks of
wizardry, but to divine and mysterious wisdom, and
he believes they were truly what he supposes them
to have been, though he advances no proof of this
contention. Listen then to his very words: “In
their anxiety to exalt Jesus, they run up and down
prating of how he made the blind to see and worked

Hierocles
demonstrates the
divinity of
Jesus

517 ἄναβλέψαι παρασχόντα καὶ τινα τοιαῦτα δρᾶ-
 518 σαντα θαυμσια." εἶτα τινα μεταξὺ εἰπὼν ἐπι-
 519 λεγει "ἐπισκεψώμεθά γε μὴν, ὅσῃ βέλτιον καὶ
 520 συνετωτερον ἡμεῖς ἐκδεχομεθα τα τοιαῦτα, καὶ ἦν
 521 περὶ τῶν ἱναρετῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔχομεν γνώμην." καὶ
 522 ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν Προκοννησιον Ἀριστέαν καὶ
 523 Πυθαγόραν ὡς ἂν ἡρχαιοτεροὺς παρελθὼν ἐπιφέρει
 524 λέγων "ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν προγενοῦν ἡμῶν κατὰ τὴν
 525 Νερῶνος βασιλείαν Ἀπολλωνιος ἤκμασεν ὁ
 526 Τυανεύς, ὃς ἐκ παιδὸς κομιδῇ νεύει καὶ ἰσχυρῶς
 527 ἐν λίγαῖς τῇ Κιλικίᾳ κερύσσει τῷ φιλανθρωπῷ
 528 Ἀσκληπιῷ, πολλὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ διεπραξάτο, ὧν
 529 τὰ πλεῖστα παρὲς ὀλῶν ποιησομαι μνήμην."
 530 εἶτα καταλέγει ἀπὸ πρώτου ὀρξάμενος τὰ παρά-
 531 δοξα, μεθ' ἧ καὶ ἐπιλέγει ταῦτα κατὰ λαξιν·
 532 "τινὸς οὖν ἔνεκα τούτων ἐμνησθῆναι, ἢ ἐξ
 533 συγκρίναι τὴν ἡμετέραν περὶ τῆς καὶ Βεβαίαν ἐφ'
 534 ἐκκιστοῦ κρίσει καὶ τῇ τῶν Χριστιανῶν κοινῇ
 535 τητῇ, εἴπερ ἡμεῖς μὲν τὸν τα τοιαῦτα πεποιηκυῖα
 536 οἱ θεοὶ, ἀλλὰ θεοῖς κεχαρισμένον ἄνδρα ἡγνυμεθα,
 537 αἱ δὲ δὲ ὀλίγας τερατείας τινὰς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ θεοῦ
 538 ἀναγορεύουσι." τούτοις ἐπιφέρει μεθ' ἕτερα φη-
 539 σκων "κίεῖτο λογισασθαι ἄξιον, ὅτι τὰ μὲν
 540 τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος καὶ τινες τούτων
 541 παραπλήσιοι ἀποκομμάσιν, ἰσχυροὶ ψεύτται
 542 καὶ ὑπαιδευτὴ καὶ γοητὲς τὰ δὲ Ἀπολλωνίου
 543 Μάξιμος ὁ Λίγιος καὶ Διμῆς ὁ φιλοσοφὸς ὁ
 544 συνδιατρέψας αὐτῷ καὶ Φίλοστράτος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος,
 545 παιδευσέντες μὲν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἤκοντες, τα δ'
 546 ἀληθεῖς τιμῶντες διὰ φιλανθρωπίας, ἄνδρες γεν-
 547 ναιον καὶ θεοῖς φίλον πρυφεῖς μὴ βουλομενοι

THE TREATISE OF RUSEBIUS

certain other miracles of the kind " Then after an interval he adds as follows " Let us note however how much better and more sensible is the view which we take of such matters, and explain the conception which we entertain of men gifted with remarkable powers. And thereupon after passing heedlessly by Aristæus of Proconnesus and Pythagoras as somewhat too old he continues thus " But in the time of our own aurocrators, during the reign of Nero, there flourished Apollonius of Tyana, who from mere boyhood when he became the priest in Aegae of Cithæra of Asclepius, the lover of mankind worked any number of miracles, of which I will omit the greater number, and only mention a few. Then he begins at the beginning and enumerates the wonders worked by Apollonius, after which he continues in the following words " What then is my reason for mentioning these facts? It was in order that you may be able to contrast our own accurate and well established judgment on each point, with the easy credulity of the Christians. For whereas we reckon him who wrought such feats not a god, but only a man pleasing to the gods, they on the strength of a few miracles proclaim their Jesus a god. To this he adds after a little more the following remark " And this point is also worth noticing, that whereas the tales of Jesus have been vaingloriously trumped up by Peter and Paul and a few others of the kind, men who were idiots and devoid of education and wizards, the history of Apollonius was written by Maximus of Aegae, and by Damis the philosopher who lived constantly with him, and by Philostratus of Athens, men of the highest education, who out of respect for the truth and their love of mankind determined to give the publicity

CHAP
II

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. II. λαθεῖν." ταῦτα ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς Ἰεροκλεῖ τῷ
τὸν καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπιγεγραφότι Φιλαλήθῃ λυγὸν
εἴρηται.

III

III. Δάμω μὲν οὖν ὁ τὰ πολλὰ ξυνδιατρίψας τῷ
Ἀπολλωνίῳ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀσσυρίων γῆς ὀρμωμένος.
αὐτόθι τε πρῶτον ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας χώραν αὐτῷ
συμμίξας, τὴν ἐξ ἐκείνου μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῷ
γενομένην συνουσίαν ἱστόρησεν, ὁ δὲ Μάξιμος
κομιδῇ βραχεία τῶν κατὰ μέρος αὐτῷ πεπραγ-
μένων ἀνεγράψατο, ὃ γε μὴν Ἀθηναῖος Φιλό-
στρατος τὰ φερόμενα πάντα ὁμοῦ, ἀπὸ τε τῶν
Μαξίμου καὶ αὐτοῦ Δάμιδος καὶ ἄλλων, συνι-
γαγεῖν ἑαυτὸν φήσας, πάντων μάλιστα ἐπιτελῇ
τὴν ὑπὸ γενέσεως καὶ μέχρι τελευτῆς ἱστορίαν
τοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἄνδρα βίου πεποιήται.

IV

CAP. IV. Εἰ δὲ οὖν ἔξον τὴν ἐπικατηγορευμένην ἡμῶν
εὐχέρειάν τε καὶ κουφότητα καὶ τὴν τοῦ Φιλαλ-
ήθους ἀκριβῆ καὶ βεβαίαν ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ παραθεῖναι
κρίσιν, φέρε διαπνύμεθα, οὐχ ὅστις θεϊότερος
γεγύνηι, οὐδ' ὅποιος θαυμασιωτέρῃ τε καὶ πλείω
διεπράξατο παράδοξα, οὐδ' ὥς μόνος παρὰ τοῖς

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they deserved to the actions of a man at once noble CHAP.
and a friend of the gods." These are the very words II
used by Eusebius in his treatise against us which
he has entitled "Lover of Truth."

III

Now Dionys who spent so much of his time with CHAP.
Apollonius was a native of Assyria, where for the II
first time, on his own soil, at once into contact with Reverend of
him, and he wrote an account of his intercourse Life of
with the person in question from that time onwards. Apollonius
Maximus however wrote quite a short account of a
portion only of his career. Philostratus however,
the Athenian, tells us that he collected all the
accounts that he found in circulation, using both the
book of Maximus and that of Dionys himself and of
other authors, so he compiled the most complete
history of any of this person's life, beginning with
his birth and ending with his death.

IV

If then we may be permitted to contrast the CHAP.
reckless and easy credulity which he goes out of his IV
way to accuse us of, with the accurate and well- Inferior rôle
founded judgment on particular points of the accom-
"Lover of Truth," let us ask at once, not which of plished by
them was the more divine nor in what capacity one Apollonius
worked more vigorous and numerous miracles than
the other, nor let us lay stress on the point that our
Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ was the only man of

CAP.
IV

ἀνέκαθεν πρὸ μυρίων ὅσων ἐτῶν γενομένοις Ἑβραίων σοφοῖς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἤξειν εἰς ἄνθρωπους κατὰ θείαν ἐπί-
 πνοιαν προεφάρτετο οὐδ' ὥς πλείους ἐπὶ τὴν
 θείας διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ λόγον προὔτρεψατο,
 οὐδ' ὥς γηθισίους καὶ ὄντως ἰληθείς ἐκτίσαστο
 φοιτήτας, μονοουχὶ καὶ ὑπεραποθνήσκειν ἐτοιμῶς
 τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ παρεσκευασμένους, οὐδ' ὥς
 μόνος σωφρονος βίον διδασκαλείων καὶ ἐς τὸν
 μετεπειτα χρόνον συνεστήσαστο, οὐδ' ὥς τῇ ἰδίᾳ
 θεότητι τε καὶ ἀρετῇ τύσαν ἴσωςα τὴν οἰκουμένην,
 καὶ εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν μυρία πλήθη πανταχοθεν ἐπὶ
 τὴν θείαν αὐτοῦ διδασκαλίαν ἐπαγομένοις, οὐδ'
 ὥς τῶν πωποτε μόνος πρὸς ἁπαντῶν σχεδὸν
 εἰπεῖν ἄνθρωπων, ἀρχόντων τε καὶ ἄρχομένων,
 πλειστοῖς ἔτεσιν ἦδη πολέμουμηνος, κριττικῶν καὶ
 πάλυ δυνατωτέρως τῶν πικρῶς ἐλαυνόντων ἡπί-
 στων ἡποδεδεικται θεία καὶ ἀρρητῆς δυνάμει,
 τοὺς μὲν κατὰ καιρὸν ἐπανισταμένους αὐτοῦ τῇ
 θείᾳ διδασκαλίᾳ ραδίως μττωρ, τὸν δὲ παγεῖντα
 πρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ παραδοθέντα θείον λόγον εἰς
 ἄπειρον αἰῶνα καθ' ὅλης κρατύνων τῆς οἰκουμένης,
 οὐδ' ὥς εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν τῆς ἐνθεῖν δυνάμεως τὴν
 ἀρετὴν ἐπιδεικνυται, μαχθηροῦς τινας καὶ φαύλους
 δαιμονας, ψυχαῖς ἡνθρώπων καὶ σωμασιν ἐφε-
 δρευόντας, ὑπελαύνων δια μόνης τῆς ἀρρητου
 προστηγορίας αὐτου, ὥς αὐτῇ πειρᾷ κατεῖληφμεν,
 ταῦτα γὰρ περὶ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου ζητεῖν, μὴ καὶ
 τὰ ἐρωτᾶν ἄνοητον μανθὴν δὲ ἐπισκεψώμεθα τὴν
 τοῦ Φιλοστράτου γραφὴν δι' ἧς εὐθυνοῦμεν,

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whom it was prophesied, thanks to their divine CHAP
IV
 inspiration, by Hebrew sages who lived far back
 thousands of years ago, that he should once come
 among mankind, nor on the fact that he converted
 to his own scheme of divine teaching so many
 people, nor that he formed a group of genuine and
 really sincere disciples, of whom almost without
 exaggeration it can be said that they were prepared
 to lay down their lives for his teaching at a moment's
 call, nor that he alone established a school of sober
 and chaste living which has survived him all along,
 nor that by his peculiar divinity and virtue he saved
 the whole inhabited world, and still rather to his
 divine teaching men from all sides by tens of
 the sands, nor that he is the only example of a
 teacher who, after being treated as an enemy for so
 many years, I might almost say, by all men, subjects
 and rulers alike, has at last triumphed and shown
 himself far mightier, thanks to his divine and
 mysterious power, than the infidels who persecuted
 him so bitterly, those who in their time rebelled
 against his divine teaching being now easily won
 over by him, while the divine doctrine which he
 firmly laid down and handed on has come to
 prevail for ages without end all over the inhabited
 world, nor that even now he displays the virtue
 of his godlike might in the expulsion, by the mere
 invocation of his mysterious name, of sundry
 troublesome and evil demons which beset men's
 bodies and souls, as from our own experience we
 know to be the case. To look for such results in
 the case of Apollonius, or even to ask about them, is
 absurd. So we will merely examine the work of
 Philostratus, and by close scrutiny of it show that

ΓΑΡ ὥς οὐχ ὅτι γε ἐν φιλοσόφοις, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν
 ἐπιεικεσι καὶ μετρίοις ἀνδράσιν ἄξιον ἐγκρίνειν,
 οὐχ ὅπως τῷ σωτῆρι ἡμῶν Χριστῷ παρατιθεναι
 τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ὅσον ἐπὶ τῇ γραφῇ τοῦ παρὰ τῷ
 Φιλαλήθει παιδεύσεως μὲν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἤκοντος,
 τὸ δ' ἀληθες μὴ τιμῶντος συγγραφείως τοιοῦτος
 γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος
 Φιλόστρατος, ἐξ οὗ ῥαδίως ἂν καταμίβοιμεν καὶ
 τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν παιδεύσεως μὲν ἐπὶ
 πλείστον ἠκύντων, αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἐξητασμένως μὴ
 ἀπηκριβωμένων τῆς κατὰ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον
 ἱστορίας. ταύτων γὰρ ἡμῖν διευκρινηθέντων ὁμοῦ,
 τοῦ τε Φιλαλήθους τὰ ἀνωτάτω τε καὶ καθ' ὅλων
 δικαστήρια διειληφότος, ἢ κατὰ Χριστιανῶν
 βεβαία καί, ὥς αὐτος ἑαυτῷ δοκεῖ, ἀκριβῆς ἐφ'
 ἑκάστῳ κρισις φανερά καταστήσεται, ἡμῶν τε αὖ,
 οἱ μωροὶ καὶ βεβουκολημένοι νενομίσμεθα παρ'
 αὐτοῖς, ἢ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπικαλουμένη εὐχερειά τε
 καὶ κουφότης.

V

ΓΑΡ Ἄλλος μὲν οὖν ὁμόσε χωρῶν αὐτόθεν διέβαλλεν
 ἅν, βλασφημῶν ὥς ἐχθρὸν αὐτῷ καὶ πολέμιον τὸν
 καθ' οὗ τὸν λόγον ἐποιεῖτο, ἐγὼ δέ, ἐταῖρε, σοφόν
 τινα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα τὸν Ὑμανέα γεγενῆσθαι ἡγοούμεν,
 καὶ ἔτι γε τῆς αὐτῆς ἔχεισθαι διανοίας ἐκὼν εἶναι

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Apollonius was not fit to be classed, I will not say CHAP.
IV
among philosophers, but even among men of integrity and good sense, much less to be compared with our Saviour Christ, so far as we can depend on the work of a writer who, though according to the " Lover of Truth," he was highly educated, was in any case no respecter of truth. For such is his description of Philostratus the Athenian among others. In this way we shall easily appreciate the value of the rest of the authorities, who though, according to him, they were most highly educated, yet never by actual sifting of the facts, established them with any accuracy in the case of Apollonius. For when we have thoroughly examined these facts, we shall no doubt obtain a clear demonstration of the solidity and, as he arrogates to himself, of the accuracy in detail of the condemnation which the " Lover of Truth," who has at the same time taken possession of the supreme courts all over the province, passes on Christians, and at the same time of what they are pleased to call our reckless and facile credulity, for we are accounted by them to be mere foolish and deluded mortals.

V

ANOTHER controversionalist, by way of beginning CHAP.
V
the affair, would without demur abuse and malign the man against whom he directed his arguments, The laws of
Nature
on the ground that he was his enemy and adversary; I, however, my friend, used to regard the man of Tyana as having been, humanly speaking, a kind of sage, and I am still freely disposed to adhere to this

ΟΔΡ
 V βουλοίμην, καὶ σοι τὴν αὐτὸς ἐμαντοῦ περὶ αὐτοῦ
 δόξαν ἐκθείην ἂν ἐρωτῶντι· φιλοσόφων μὲν ὅτι
 τις βούλοιτο συγκαταλέγειν τὸν ἄνδρα, πέρα
 μηδὲν διανοχλῶν ταῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ μυθολογίαις, μὴ
 φθονεῖν, εἰ δ' ὑπερπηδᾷ τοὺς ὅρους καὶ φιλο-
 σοφίας ὑπέρτερα φρονεῖν εἴτε τις Δάμις Ἰσσύριος,
 εἴτε Φιλύστρατος, εἴτε τις συγγραφεὺς ἢ λογογρι-
 φος θρασύνοιο, λόγῳ μὲν ἐκτρεπόμενος γοητεῖαν,
 ἔργοις δὲ πλέον ἢ ῥήμασι ἐπιφορτίζων τὸν ἄνδρα,
 προσωπεῖον δίκην τὴν Πυθαγορείου ἐπιμορφαζύ-
 μενος ἀγωγὴν, οἰχθήσεται μὲν ἡμῖν ὁ φιλόσοφος,
 ὅς τις δ' ἂν τὸ τοῦ λέοντος ἐπικρυπτόμενος δέρμει,
 σοφιστὴς τις ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀγείρων κατὰ τὰς πόλεις,
 αὐτὸ τε τοῦτο γόης ἀτεχνῶς ἂν τὶ φιλοσόφοι
 φωραθήσεται.

VI

ΣΑΤ.
 VI Πῶς δὲ τοῦτό φημι καὶ πύθεν ὁρμώμενος,
 ἐρωτᾷς; μάνθανε· ὅροι φύσεως ἀρχαὶ καὶ μέσα
 καὶ τέλη τῆς τῶν ὅλων οὐσίας περιειληφότες,
 μέτρα καὶ θεσμοὶ ἅπασι, δι' ὧν τύδε τὸ πᾶν
 μηχανήμα τε καὶ ἀρχιτεκτόνημα τοῦ παντὸς
 κόσμου τελεσιουργεῖται διατέθενται νόμοις ἰσχύ-
 τοις καὶ δεσμοῖς ἀρρήκτοις, τῆς τὰ πάντα οἰκονο-
 μούσης προνοίας τὸ πάνσοφον βούλημα διαφυλάτ-
 τουντες. οὐκ οὐκ κινήσειέ τι καὶ μεταθείη τις ἂν
 496

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opinion, and I would like to set before you, if you CHAP. V
 ask it, my own personal opinion of him. If anyone
 wishes to class him with any philosopher you like,
 and to forget all the legends about him and not bore
 me with them, I am quite agreeable. Not so if
 anyone ventures, whether he be Dionys the Assyrian,
 or Philostratus or any other compiler or chronicler,
 to overleap the bounds of humanity and transcend
 philosophy, and while repelling the charge of
 wizardry in word, yet to bind it in act rather than in
 name upon the man, using the mask of Pythagorean
 discipline to disguise what he really was. For in that
 case his reputation for us as a philosopher will be
 gone, and we shall have an ass instead concealed in a
 lion's skin, and we shall detect in him a sophist in
 the truest sense, cadging for aims among the cities,
 and a wizard, if there ever was one, instead of a
 philosopher.

VI

Do you ask me what I mean and what are my CHAP. VI
 reasons for speaking thus? I will tell you. There
 are bounds of nature which prescribe and circumscribe
 the existence of the universe in respect of its
 beginnings and of its continuance and of its end,
 being limits and rules imposed on everything. By
 these this entire mechanism and edifice of the whole
 universe is constantly being brought to perfection;
 and they are arranged by unbreakable laws and
 measureable bonds, and they guard and observe the
 all-wise will of a Providence which dispenses and
 disposes all things. Now no one can change or alter
 the place and order of anything that has been once

τῆς τάξεως τῶν ἡπαξ διατεθειμένων. κεκριτῆται
 δ' οὖν θισμῷ φύσεως του θεῖον ὑπεραναιβαίνειν
 νόμον πῦς, ὅτε τις θρασύτερος τῶν ἐπέκεινα ἐπι-
 βαίνειν ἔνεστι ποθος. οὗτ' οὖν παρὰ φύσιν ὁ
 ἐνυδρος ἐπὶ τὴν χέρσον μεταβάς βιώνει δυνήσεται
 ἰχθύς, οὔτε το ἐν χέρσῳ τραφὲν τοῖς ὕδασι
 ἐγκαταδύσεται, τὴν ἐκείσε διηλεκτὴν μονὴν ἀσπαζύ-
 μενον, οὔτε μέγα πηδήσας μετέωρος τις τῶν ἐπὶ
 γῆς ἀρθῆσεται πρὸς ἄερα, συμπεριπολεῖν ἰετοῖς
 ἐπιθυμῶν καὶ μὴν ἐκεῖνοί γε κἄν ἐπὶ γῆς ἔλθοιεν
 βρισαντες ἐπὶ τὰ κάτω τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τοῦ
 πτεροῦ χαλίσαντες καὶ ἀνέντες τὴν φύσιν, ἐπεὶ
 καὶ τοῦτο θεοῖς ἄρισται νομοίς, ἐκ τοῦ ὕψους τὸ
 μετέωρον ὑποκαταβαίνειν δυνασθαι, οὐ μὴν καὶ
 ἔμπαλιν τὸ ταπεινὸν καὶ γεῶδες ἐπὶ τὸ μετέωρον
 αἶρεσθαι. ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπων γένος,
 ψυχῆς μετέχον καὶ σώματος, ὅροις περιγέγραπται
 θεοῖς. οὗτ' οὖν τῇ σωματι δὲ ἴμερος ἔλθοι ποτὲ
 τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς τις καταφρονήσας διατριβῶν, μὴ οὐχὶ
 τοῦπιτιμιον αὐτίκα τῆς ἀνοίας παρασχων, οὔτε
 τὴν ψυχὴν ἀρθεῖς φρονήματι καθιζεταί τῶν ἀνε-
 φικτων, ἢ μελαγχολίας νοσήματι ἂν περιπέσοι.

Σωφρονοῖ δ' ἂν ἁρτίοις μὲν τὸ σῶμα ποσιν ἐπὶ
 γῆς φερόμενος, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν παιδεῖα καὶ φιλο-
 σοφίᾳ σκηρῶντων εὐξαίτο δὲ καὶ τινα συνεργὸν
 ἀνωθέν ποθεν ἐκ τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν διατριβῶν ἔλθειν,
 καὶ τῆς ἐκείσε διδύσκαλον αὐτῷ φανήναι σωτηρίας.

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arranged, and if anyone is so venturesome as to wish to transcend his limits, he is restrained from transgressing divine law by the rule and decree of nature. So it is that the fish that lives in the waters is unable in defiance of nature to change on to dry land and live there, and on the other hand the creature bred on dry land will not plunge into the waters, and embrace there any permanent repose or abode; nor by any huge leap can any tenant of earth raise himself aloft into the air, from a desire to soar about with the eagles, and in turn although of course the latter can alight upon the earth, by depressing and lowering their faculty of flight, and by relaxing the working of their wings, and renouncing the privilege of nature,—for this too is determined by the divine laws, namely that beings able to soar aloft are able to descend from on high,—yet the converse is not possible, so that the lowly habitation of earth should ever raise himself into the welkin. In this way then the mortal race of men, while provided with soul and body, is yet circumscribed by civic bounds. Consequently he can never traverse the air with his body, however much he seems to linger upon the paths of earth, without instantly paying the penalty of his folly: nor by spiritual exaltation can he in less thinking attain to the unattainable, without falling back into the disease of melancholy.

It is wisest then for man, on the one hand to transport his body along the ground with the feet given him for the purpose: and on the other hand to sustain his soul with education and philosophy. But he may well pray that some one may come to help him from aloft from the paths of heaven, and reveal himself to him as a teacher of the salvation that is

CHAP
VI

Possibility
of a Soul
descending
to earth

347
 31 ἱερωμίνῳ γάρ τινι παραδείγματι, υποσῶντι μὲν τὴν
 ἱατρὸν ἐπιφοιτῶν θέμις, καὶ τὸν διδασκαλὸν εἰσα-
 γομένη τοῖς μαθήμασι συμφερεσθῆναι, καὶ τὸν ἄνω-
 πον καὶ ἐν ὕψει συγκαταίεσθαι τοῖς ταπεινοῖς, οὐ
 μὴν καὶ ἡμιπαλιν. ὕθεν δὴ θείαν μὲν φύσιν,
 εὐεργετὴν αὖσαν καὶ σωτῆραν καὶ προκοιτικὴν
 τῶν ἐπιπυγῶν ἀνθρώπων ποτε εἰς οὐλίαν ἐλθεῖν
 οὐδεὶς ἂν ὑπείργῃ λογος ὕψος θείας προκίας καὶ
 τούτου συγκριχόμενον, ἀγνοῦν γὰρ ἦν κατὰ τὴν
 Πλατωνα, ἀγαθῇ δὲ οὐδεὶς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἰγνύται
 φθουρὸν οὐκ οὐκ σωματῶν μόνων, ἀγαθὸς ὢν, οὐ τοῦ-
 το πᾶν διακυβερωμένη ἐπιμελησέσθαι, πολὺ πλεονὲς
 ψυχῶν, αἷς τὸ ὑθάνατον τε καὶ αυτοκρατορικὴν
 πεχυριστά, γέρας ταῦταί τε δῆτα οἷα τῆς οἰκνο-
 μίας ἀπύσεως κυρίως ὢν, καὶ χαρίτων, ὧν ἂν
 δωροίμενος αὐτὰς εὐεργετῇ τὴν φύσιν, οὐσῶν
 ἀντιληπτιαῖς, ἀκτῖνας ὥσπερ τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ
 φωτός δωρησέσθαι ἀφθονώς, τῶν ἡμῶς αὐτόν, ὅστις
 ὅτε, τοὺς μάλιστα προσεχέεις εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐπιταδῶν
 σωτηρίαν τε καὶ ἀντιληψὶν ἑκπεμπῶν αἱ εἰς τὴν
 εὐτυχῆσαι γένοιτο, τὴν διανοίαν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ καθ'
 ἀρχαίς καὶ τὴν τῆς θνητότητος ἀποσκεδύσαν
 οὐχλυν, θεῖος ἀληθὴς ἀναγραφέσθαι μέγαν τινά
 θεὸν ἀγαλματοφορῶν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κινεῖσθαι δῖόν
 ἂν οἷα τηλικούτος το πᾶντων ἀν' ὅρων γένος, καὶ
 μᾶλλον ἡλίου τὴν ἀκουμένην καταλαμπύρει, τοῖς
 γόν τῆς αἰδίου θεότητος καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐπιπύκνῃ συν-
 ὁρᾶσθαι καταλαμπῶν χρυσοῦ, οὐ μείον τῶν ἐξ
 ὁψυχῶν ὕλης δημιουργημάτων το τῆς εὐθείου
 παραδείγμα φύσεως παρσχημένος. καὶ ταύτη

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there For the following is a valid example to use CHAP.
VI
as it is right for the physician to visit the sick, and for the teacher to accommodate himself to the pupil who is entering upon his studies, and for a superior to quit his heights and condescend to the lowly, yet the converse is not right or possible. It follows then that there is no reason to prevent a divine nature, being beneficent and inclined to save and take providential care of things to come from associating itself with men, for this is allowed also by the rule of divine providence. For according to Plato God was good, and no good being can ever feel any jealousy of any thing. It follows that the controller of this universe being good, will not care for our bodies alone but much more for our souls, upon which he has conferred the privilege of immortality and free will. On these then, as lord of the entire economy and of gifts of grace, in bestowal of which we benefit our nature, he will, they being able to appreciate his bounty, bestow plentifully an illumination as it were of the light which streams from him, and will despatch the most intimate of his own messengers from time to time, for the salvation and succour of men here below. Of these messengers anyone so favoured by fortune having cleansed his understanding and disengaged the nest of mortality, may well be described as truly divine, and as carrying in his soul the image of some great god. Surely so great a personality will stir up the entire human race, and illuminate the world of mankind more brightly than the sun, and will leave the effects of his eternal divinity for the contemplation of future ages, in no less a degree affording an example of the divine and inspired nature than creations of artists

CAP. VI. μέν ἀνθρωπεία φύσις τῆς ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον κοινωνήσαι ἄν, ἄλλως δ' οὐ θέμις τοῖς ὄρους ὑπερβαίνειν, οὐδ' ἄπτερον ἔχοντα τὸ σῶμα τὰ τῶν πτηνῶν ἐπιτηδεύειν, οὐδ' ἄνθρωπον ὄντα τὰ τῶν δαιμόνων πολυπρυγμονεῖν.

VII

CAP. VII. Τίνα δὴτα ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον εἰσιύγεις, ὦ συγγραφεῦ. εἰ μὲν δὴ θεῖον καὶ φιλοσόφου κρείττονα, τὴν τε φύσιν ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον, τήρει μοι δε' ὅλης τῆς ἱστορίας τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, καὶ τοῦργον εἰσέτι νῦν ἐπιδείκνυθι τῆς θειότητος. ἥ γὰρ οὐκ ἀτοπώτατον τεκτόνων μὲν καὶ οἰκοδόμων καὶ μετὰ τὴν τῶν δημιουργῶν τελευτὴν ἐπὶ μήκιστον τοῦργον διαρκεῖν, ἀθάνατόν που σχεδὸν τῶν συστησαμένων τὴν μνήμην στηλιτεῖον, θείαν δὲ ἄρα φύσιν, ἀνθρώποις ἐπιλήμψασαν, σκοτιόν που καὶ μνυνθάδιον ἀποτελεῖν, οὐχὶ δὲ εἰς αἰῶνα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, μὴ εἰς ἓνα τινα Δάμνιν ἢ καὶ ἄλλους βραχεῖς πτωχεύουσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' εἰς μυρίων ὄσων ὠφελείας οὐ τῶν καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἐγνωρίζετο μόνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα γενησομένων τὴν πάροδον ποιουμένην; ταύτῃ τοι καὶ τοὺς πάλαι σοφοὺς ζηλωτάς τε καὶ διαδόχους ποιήσασθαι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀθανάτον ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀνθρώποις παρυσχημένους τὸ κατόρθωμα. εἰ δὲ

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made of lifeless matter. To this extent then human nature can participate in the super-human, but otherwise it cannot lawfully transcend its bounds, nor with its wingless body emulate the bird, nor being a man must one meddle with what appertains to demons.

VII

In what light then, this being so, do you envisage for us Apollonius, my good compiler? If as a divine being and superior to a philosopher, in a word as one superhuman in his nature, I would ask you to keep to this point of view throughout your history, and to put me out effects wrought by his divinity enduring to this day. For surely it is an absurdity that the works of carpenters and builders should last on ever so long after the craftsmen are dead, and raise as it were an immortal monument to the memory of their constructive ability, and yet that a human character claimed to be divine should, after shedding its glory upon mankind, finish in darkness its short-lived career, instead of displaying for ever its power and excellence. Instead of being so niggardly liberal to some one individual like Dionis and to a few other short lived men, it should surely make its coming among us the occasion of blessings, conferred on myriads not only of his contemporaries, but also of his posterity. Thus I ween is how the sages of old roused up earnest bands of disciples who continued their tradition of moral excellence, sowing in men's hearts a spirit truly immortal of progress and reform. If on the other hand you attribute to this

CHAP.
VII

Was Apol-
lonius a
superhu-
man being?

(A
VII) θνητὴν ὑπογράφεις τάνδρὰς τὴν φύσιν, ὅρα μὴ
πλεον, ἢ προσῆκε, ταύτῃ χαριζόμενος δίκην
ἀποίσεις παραλογίας.

VIII

CAP
VIII) Ἀλλὰ μὲν εἰσῆκται αὐτῷ θεῖος ἄνθρωπος, καὶ
θαλαττίου δαίμονος σχῆμά τε καὶ προσωπεῖον ἐπὶ
γενεσεως ἀναλαμβάνων. κυούσῃ γάρ, ὥς φησι, τῇ
αὐτοῦ μητρὶ φῶσμα ἦλθε θαλαττίου δαίμονος,
Πρωτεύς ὁ παρὰ τῷ Ὀμήρῳ ἐξαλλάττων. ἡ δὲ
οὐδὲν δείσασα ἤρετο αὐτόν, τί ἀποκνήσοι, ὁ δέ,
"ἐμέ," εἶπε "σὺ δὲ τίς;" εἰπούσης, "Πρωτεύς,"
εἶφη, "ὁ Αἰγύπτιος." εἶτα δὲ λειμῶνι τινα, καὶ
κύκλῳ τὴν γυναῖκα μαιεύεσθαι γραφεῖ, ὁπόθεν
αὐτὸ τοῦτ' εἴη ληφθέν, μὴ εἰπών· οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τού-
τοι ὑφηγητὴν Δάμιν τὸν Ἀσσύριον ὑπογράφεται.
ἀλλὰ καὶ οὐκ ἐς μακρόν τῆς αὐτῆς ἱστορίας αὐτῷ
Δάμιδι, οἷα δὴ θέας ὄντα φύσεως, τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον
εἰσάγει αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα λέγοντα "ὦ γέ, ὦ ἑταῖρε,
πασῶν τῶν φωνῶν ξυνίημι, μαθὼν οὐδεμίαν" καί,
"μὴ θαυμάσῃς, οἶδα γὰρ καὶ ἃ σιωπῶσιν οἱ
ἄνθρωποι." καὶ πάλιν ἐν Ἀσκληπιοῦ τιμώμενον
πρὸς τοῦ δαίμονος, καὶ πρόγνωσιν φυσικὴν τινα
καὶ ἀδίδακτον ἔχειν ἐκ παιδός, κρείττονά τε
ἄτεχνως ἀνθρώπου φῦναι αὐτὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς γενέσεως

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man a mortal nature, take care lest by endowing him CHAP.
with gifts which transcend mortality, you convict VII
yourself of fallacy and miscalculation.

VIII

But enough of this. His hero is introduced to us CHAP.
as a divine man, who assumes from birth the guise VIII
and personality of a demon of the sea. For he says
that to his mother when she was about to bear her
child there appeared the figure of a demon of the
sea, namely Proteus, who in the story of Homer ever
changes his form. But she in no way frightened,
asked him what she would bring to birth, and he
replied "Myself." Then she asked "And who
are you?" "Proteus," he replied, "of Egypt." And
then he writes about a certain meadow and about
swans, that assisted the lady to bear her child,
though without telling us whence he derived this
particular. For assuredly he does not attribute this
story to Darius the Assyrian writer. But a little
further on in the same history he represents Apol-
lonius as using in token of his being of a divine
nature these very words to Darius himself: "I my-
self, my companion understand all languages though
I have learned none." And again he says to him:
"Do not be surprised, for I know what men are
thinking about, even when they are silent." And
again in the temple of Asclepius he was much
honoured by the god, and is said to have possessed
a certain natural gift of prescience which he did not
acquire by learning, from very childhood. We learn,
in a word, that he was born superior to mankind in

CAP
VIII

καὶ δι' ὅλης ἡμῶν τῆς ἱστορίας ὑπογράφει. λύσαν-
τος γοῦν ἑαυτὸν ποτε ἀπὸ δεσμῶν ἐπιφέρει λέγων
"τότε πρῶτον ὁ Δάμις φησὶν ἀκριβῶς ξυνεῖναι
τῆς Ἀπολλωνίου φύσεως, ὅτι θεία τε εἶη καὶ
κρείττων ἀνθρώπου. μὴ γὰρ θύσαντά τι, πῶς
γὰρ ἐν δεσμοτηρίῳ, μηδὲ εὐξάμενον, μηδὲ εἰπόντα
τι καταγελάσαι τοῦ δεσμοῦ." ἐπὶ τελευτῇ δὲ
τάφον μὲν αὐτοῦ μηδόλως ποι γῆς εὕρισκεσθαι,
χωρῆσαι δὲ εἰς οὐρανὸν αὐτῷ σώματι μεθ' ὕμνων
καὶ χορείας λέγει. εἰκότως δὴ οὖν οἶα ὄντα
τοσοῦτον "θειότερον ἢ Πυθαγόρας Ἑμπεδοκλῆς
τε καὶ Πλάτων φιλοσοφία" τὸν ἄνδρα προσεληλυ-
θέναι φησί. οὐκοῦν ἐν θεοῖς ἡμῶν διὰ τούτων
ἀναγεγράφθω ὁ ἄνθρωπος.

IX

CAP
IX

Καὶ ὁ φόβος ἀπέστω τῆς τῶν φωνῶν ἀπασῶν
αὐτοφυοῦς καὶ αὐτοδιδάκτου συνέσεως. τι δῆτα
οὖν ἐς διδασκάλου ἄγει αὐτόν, καὶ τὸν μηδεμίαν
φωνὴν μεμαθηκότα διαβάλλει ὡς ἂν ἐξ ἀσκή-
σεως καὶ μελέτης, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ φύσεως Ἀττικὸν
γενομενον τὴν γλῶτταν, φησὶ γάρ τοι, ὡς
"προῖον ἐς ἡλικίαν γράμματα τε καὶ μνήμης
ἰσχύς ἐδῆλου καὶ μελέτης κράτος καὶ ἡ γλῶττα
αὐτῷ Ἀττικῶς εἶχε" καὶ "γεγονότα δὲ αὐτὸν
ἔτη τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ἄγει ἐς Ταρσοὺς ὁ πατήρ
παρ' Εὐθύδημον τὸν ἐκ Φωκίας, ὃς ῥήτωρ

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

general, and so he is described from the first moment of his birth throughout his history. Anyhow on one occasion after he had loosed himself from his bonds, his historian adds the remark "Then Damiſ declares he for the first time clearly understood the nature of Apollonius, that it was divine and superior to humanity. For without offering any sacrifice,—for how could he offer one in the prison?—and without offering any prayer, without a single word, he just laughed at his fetters. And at the end of the book¹ we learn that his grave was nowhere to be found on earth, but that he went to heaven in his physical body accompanied by hymns and dances. Naturally if he was so great as he is described in the above, he may be said "to have won all philosophy in a more divine manner than Pythagoras, or Empedocles, or Plato." For these reasons we must surely class the man among the gods.

IX

Well, we will not grudge him his natural and self-taught gift of understanding all languages. But if he possessed it, why was he taken to a school-master, and if he had never learnt any language whatever, why does his historian malgn him and declare that, not by nature, but by dint of close study and application, he acquired the Attic dialect? For he tells us outright "that as he advanced in youth he displayed a knowledge of letters and great power of memory, and force of application, and that he spoke the Attic dialect." We also learn that "when he reached his fourteenth year his father took him to Tarsus, to Euthydemus of Phocæa, who was a good

¹ Or reader "And at death we," etc.

CAP. IX. *τε ἀγαθὸς ἦν καὶ ἐπαίδευε τοῦτον, ὁ δὲ τοῦ διδασκάλου εἶχετο.*” εἶτα “*ξυνεφιλοσόφουν αὐτῷ Πλατῶνειαί τε καὶ Χρυσίππειοι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιπάτου. διήκουε δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἐπικούρου λόγων, οὐδὲ γὰρ τούτους ἀπεσπούδαζε, τοὺς δὲ Πυθαγορείους ἀρρήτῳ τινὶ σοφίᾳ ξυνελάμβανε.*” τοσαῦτα ὁ μηδεμίαν μαθὼν φωνὴν θείᾳ τε δυνάμει “*ἂ καὶ σιωπῶσιν ἄνθρωποι*” προλαβὼν ἐξεπαιδεύετο.

X

CAP. X. *Ὁ δὲ διαλυτὸν αὐθις αὐτὸν θαυμάζει, ἐς ὅσον συνέσεως τῆς τῶν ζώων φωνῆς ἦλθε, καὶ ἐπιφέρει λόγων, “καὶ ἐς ξύνεσιν δε τῆς τῶν ζώων φωνῆς ἦλθε, καὶ ἔμαθε δὲ τοῦτο διὰ τῶν Ἀραβίων πορευόμενος, ἄριστα γινώσκόντων τε καὶ πραττόντων αὐτό. ἔστι γὰρ τῶν Ἀραβίων κύκνων ἤδη καὶ ὀρνίθων μαρτυρομένων ἀκούειν, ὅποσα οἱ χρησμοί. ξυμβάλλονται δὲ τῶν ἀλόγων σιτούμενοι τῶν δρακόντων οἱ μὲν καρδίαν φασίν, οἱ δὲ ἥπαρ.” ἐνταῦθα πάντως πον δρακόντων καρδίας δηπον καὶ ἥπατος τὸν Πυθαγορείον ἐμφύχων τε τροφῆς ἀπεχόμενον καὶ μηδὲ θύειν δαίμασιν ἐπιτολμῶντα, εἰκὸς ἦν ἀπογεύσασθαι, ὥς ἂν καὶ τῆς παρὰ τούτοις κοινωνήσοι σοφίας. πρὸς γὰρ*

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rhctor, and gave him his education, while Apollonius CHAP IX
 clung to his teacher. We further learn that "he
 had as fellow students members of the school of
 Plato and of Chrysippus and members of the Peri-
 patetic set. That he also diligently listened to the
 doctrines of Epicurus, because he did not despise
 even them, though he grasped the teachings of
 Pythagoras with a certain indescribable wisdom."
 So varied was the education of one who had never
 learnt any language, and who by his divine power
 anticipated "the thoughts of men even when they
 are silent."

X

AND after an interval our author again expresses CHAP X
 his admiration at the ease with which Apollonius
 understood the language of animals, and he goes on He knew
the lan-
guage of
animals
 to tell us the following: "And moreover he acquired
 an understanding of the language of animals, and
 he learnt this, too, in the course of his travels through
 Arabia, where the inhabitants best know this
 language and practise it. For the Arabians have a
 way of understanding without difficulty swans and
 other birds when they presage the future in the
 same way as oracles. And they get to understand
 the dumb animals by eating, so they say, some of
 them the heart and others the liver of dragons."
 In this instance, then, it seems anyhow to have been
 the case that the Pythagorean who abstained from
 animal food and could not even bring himself to
 sacrifice to the gods, devoured the heart and liver of
 dragons, in order to partake in a form of wisdom
 that was in vogue among the Arabs. After learning

CAI' ^χ τοιῶνδε διδασκομένῳ, πῶς ἂν ἄλλως μὴ οἴχῃ τὰ ὅμοια τοῖς διδασκάλοις ζηλώσαντι κατορθοῦτο τυ ἐπιτήδευμα, ἔχομεν δὴ οὖν πρὸς τοῖς καταλελεγμένοις καὶ τοῖς Ἀραβίων σοφοῖς, διδασκάλους τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκονιστικὴν τἀνδρος ἐπιστήμης, ἀφ' ἧς εἰκότως ὀρμωμενος ὕστερόν ποτε τὸν στρουθον, ὅ τι καὶ βούλοιο συγκαλῶν τοῖς ἐτέροις ἐπὶ τροφήν, προειπῶν, θαῦμα μέγιστον παρέχειν ἔδοξε τοῖς παροῦσι. ταύτῃ δὴ καὶ τὴν ὑπεσφυγμένην ὅσον οὐπω λάβαιναν ἅμα τοῖς ὀκτῶ σκυμνοῖς κατὰ τὴν εἰς Ἀσσυρίους ὁδὸν θεασάμενος, ἀντίκα τῷ θεάματι συμβαλὼν τῆς ἐσομένης αὐτῷ παρὰ Πέρσαις διατριβῆς τὸν χρόνον ἐμαυτεῖναιτο.

XI

CAI' ^{χι} Ἀκολουθε δὲ τῇ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀραβίοις φοιτήσῃ ἐγχειρεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ παρὰ Πέρσαις ὃ αὐτὸς συγγραφεὺς ἱστορεῖ· τῷ γάρ τοι Δάμειδι, ὃς μόνος φοιτητῆς ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐταῖρος, ὑπαγορεύσας παρὰ τοὺς μύγους ἰέναι, μόνος αὐτός, ὥς ἂν μὴ μετ' ὠγνώμενος δηλαδὴ τὰ τῆς μαγείας μαυθάνοι, μεσημβρίας τε καὶ ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας τὰς μετ' αὐτῶν ἐποιεῖτο σχολάς. ἔτι δὲ Οὐαρδάνῃ Βαβυλωνίῳ εἰς λόγους ἐλθόντα, βασιλεῖ ᾧ δὲ πῶς λέγειν αὐτὸν παρατίθεται "σοφία δέ μοι Πυθαγόρου Σαμίου ἀνδρός, ὃς θεοὺς τε θεραπεύειν ᾧδε με ἐδιδάξατο, καὶ ξυνιέναι σφῶν ὀρωμένων τε καὶ οὐχ ὀρωμένων, φοιτᾶν τε ἐν διαλέξεσι θεῶν." τίς δ' αὐτῷ ταῦτα συγχωρή-

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under such masters, how could he attain to their accomplishments otherwise than by imitating their example? We must therefore add to the teachers whom we have already enumerated the sages of Arabia who taught him his knowledge of augury, and thus no doubt inspired him subsequently to foretell what the sparrow meant when he called his fellows to a meal, and so to impress the bystanders with the idea that he had worked a mighty miracle. And in the same way when he saw the freshly-shorn woman with her eight whelps by the side of the road which led into Assyria, he immediately conjectured from what he saw the length of their future stay in Persia, and made a prophecy thereof.

XI

AND in just keeping with his visits to the Arabians were the studies he undertook among the Persians also, according to the account given by the same author. For after forsoaking Darius, so we are told, to go to the magi, though Darius was his only pupil and companion, he went alone to school with them at midnight and about midnight, alone in order not to have as his companion in the study of magic one who was clearly without a taste for such things. And again when he came to converse with Vardap the Babylonian king, it is related that he addressed him as follows: "My system of wisdom is that of Pythagoras, a man of Samos, who taught me to worship the gods in this way and to recognize them, whether they are seen or unseen, and to be regular in converse with the gods." Who can possibly allow

CHAP.
X

CHAP.
XI
His visits
to the Magi

He pre-
ferred the
wisdom of
Pythagoras

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 εἶπεν, ὅτι Πυθαγόρα μὲν εὐδαιμονία τις τοιαύτη
 καταλείλεται γραφή, οὐδ' ὑπορρητὰ τινα συγ-
 γραμματα, ὥς κ' ἂν ὑποποιήσαι αὐτὸν ἐξ ἐκείνων
 ὀρμασθαι, ὃ δὲ γε διδασκαλοὶ αὐτῷ τῇ κατὰ
 Πυθαγόραν φιλοσοφίας εὐδὲν τι διαφέρειν τῶν
 ἑπικουρειῶν πρὸς αὐτοῖς μαμαρτυρηταὶ τοῦ φιλο-
 στρατου, ὥδ' ὡς εἰρηκευτοῦ " διδασκαλὸς μὲν ἦν
 αὐτῷ τῶν Πυθαγορου λόγων οὐ πάντ' ἐπαινεῖται,
 οὐδ' ἐπεργῇ τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ χρωμένοι γαστρι τε
 ἡττων καὶ ὑφροδισίων, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἑπικουρὴν
 ἐσχηματιστο, ἦν δὲ αὐτὸς ἐκείνους οὐκ ἐξ Ἑλλά-
 εως τοῦ Πόντου, τὰς δὲ Πυθαγορου γυνώμας
 ἐγγινώσκον, ὥσπερ οἱ ἑρμῆες δὲ μανθάνουσι παρὰ
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων " φανερὴν τῆς ὑποψίας, π' παρὰ τούτου
 λαοὶ τις τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς διαλεξέας τὴν
 συνέσει αὐτὸν ἐληφεναι, ἀλλὰ δὴ συγκρατησθῆναι
 καὶ ἑτέρων ὑφ' ἡγήτων αὐτὸν ἀπαγορεύειν, καὶ τοὶ γε
 τοῖς συγγραφίαις τοῦτο μὴδ' ὅπως ἐπιστημηκεμένοι
 τις δὴ οὐκ αὐτῶν συνέσει τε καὶ φρονήσει εἰς
 διαλεξέας θεῶν ὀρμαίνων καὶ οὐκ ὀρμαίνων αὐτοὺς
 τε ὥς ἀπὸ Πυθαγορου μάθων εἶδεναι διδασκαλεῖσθαι
 τε ἑτέροις ἐπ' ἡγελλετο καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὁ περιε-
 ητος Πλάτων, πάντων γε μάλιστα τῆς Πυθαγορου
 κεκοιμημένης φιλοσοφίας, οὐτ' Ἀρχιτακτοὺς οὐτ'
 αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους οὐ τὰς Πυθαγορου γραφῇ παραδόντες
 οὐκ ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίας, οὐδ' εἰ τινα, ἄλλοι γινώσκοντες
 ταῦτά τε γινώσκοντες, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ γινώσκοντες
 γραφῇ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοὺς παραδιδόμενοις ἐπὶ τοιαύτη
 τῇ ἐσσημνύμεντο σοφίᾳ, οὐκ οὐκ ἐπὶ ταῖς, ἀλλ'

THE TEACHING OF PYTHAGORAS

this to be true of him seeing that Pythagoras ^{HAR} himself has left no scripture of the kind nor any secret writings such that we can even suspect him to have had secret reserves at his disposal. As for his teacher of the Pythagorean philosophy it is testified that it was in no way better than the Epichurean by Philostephanus himself who speaks of him as follows.

He had as a teacher of the system of Pythagoras not a very good man nor one who put his philosophy into practice for he was the slave of his wife and his desires and inclined to believe that it Epichurean. And if what was said of him of Heraclitus Ponticus. But he had a good acquaintance with the tenets of Pythagoras just as we have seen of what they learn to say from him. What ridiculous nonsense to pretend that Apollonius has derived from this man his gift of conversing with the gods. But let us for the moment admit that there were other exponents of the system from whom he may have learnt although the author nowhere gives us hint of any such thing. Still we must ask was there then ever any one of these teachers that professed either to know or to teach others how to recognise and frequent in their conversations gods whether seen or unseen? Why, even the famous Plato although more than anyone else he shared in the philosophy of Pythagoras and Aristotle too, and Philoarchus the one man who has handed down to us in writing the conversations of Pythagoras and any others who were disciples of the philosopher and have handed down to his posterity his opinions and tenets in writing none of these ever boasted of any such form of wisdom. It follows then that he learnt

CAP. οὐκ ἀπὸ Ίνθαγουρου τὰ τοιαυτὰ μαθὼν, προσχίματι
 XI σεμνολογῶν ἐπιγρίφεται τὴν τοῦ φιλοσόφου
 πρόσρησιν. ἵνα δὲ καὶ παραλογώτατα τὸ ψεῦδος
 ὡς ἀληθές τις γεγονέναι συγχωρήσειεν, οὐκ οἶδ',
 ὅπως ἐξ αὐτοῦ λέγων ἐκείνου τοῦ Σαμίου, πρὸ
 μυρίων ὄσων ἐτῶν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γενομένοι, τὰ
 περὶ τούτων αὐτὸν μεμαθηκέναι. οὐκοῦν πρὸς τοῖς
 Ἀραβίοις καὶ τοῦτον διδάσκαλον αὐτοῦ τῆς δὴ
 νομιζομένης ἱπορρήτου περὶ θεῶν ἐπιστήμης ἐπι-
 γραπτέον. εἰ δὴ οὖν θείας ἦν φύσεως, καταέφυσται
 αὐτοῦ τοὺς διδασκάλους ὁ λόγος, εἰ δ' ἀληθὴς ἦν
 οὗτος, ψευδὴς ἦν ὁ μῦθος, καὶ οὐκ ἀληθὴς ἡ περὶ
 τοῦ θείου γεγονέναι αὐτὸν γραφή.

XII

CAP. Οὕτω μοι τοῦ Πρωτέως τὸ φάσμα πολυπραγ-
 XII μονεῖν ἔπεισι καὶ τὴν περὶ τούτου πίστιν
 αἰτεῖν, οὐδὲ τῶν παρ' αὐτῷ κύκνων τὰς ἀπο-
 δείξεις, οἷς γελοῖως τὴν μητέρα τίκτουσαν αὐτὸν
 μαιεύσθαι ἱστορεῖ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῆς περὶ τοῦ
 σκηπτοῦ μυθολογίας τὸν μάρτυρα παρέχειν
 ἀξιῶ, οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τούτων, ὡς ἔφην, Διμῆς
 ἡμῖν συνίστωρ ἀφίξεται, μακρῷ ὕστερον ἐν Νίνῳ
 τῆς Ἀσσυρίας τάνδρῃ συνάψας. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν
 εὖ μάλα προθύμως τοῖς εἰκουσι τε καὶ ἀληθείας
 ἐχομένοις πειθόμενος, εἰ καὶ μείζονά τινα καθ'

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these things not from Pythagoras, but from other sources, and with a wilful affectation of solemnity he only labe s himself with the philosopher's name. But admitting, though it is against all probability, that he is not lying, but telling the truth, we are still at a loss to know, how he can pretend to have acquired this lore from the Samian himself above mentioned, inasmuch as the latter deceased some thousand years before him. Therefore we must reckon among the Armenians this teacher a so who communicated to him a knowledge of the gods of so mysterious character as he imagines this to be. If then he was of a divine nature, it follows that the story of his teachers is a pure fiction. On the other hand if the story was true, then the legend was false, and the ascription in the book that he was divine is devoid of all truth.

XII

I HAVE no wish to enquire curiously about the ghost of Proteus, or to ask for confirmation of it, nor to demand proof of his ridiculous story that swans surrounded his mother and assisted her to bring him into the world, equally little do I ask him to produce evidence of his fairy-tale about the thunder-bolt, for as I said before he cannot anyhow claim the authority of Demis for these particulars, inasmuch as the latter joined him much later on in the city of Nineveh of Assyria. I am however quite ready to accept all that is probable and has an air of truth about it, even though such details may be somewhat exaggerated and highly-coloured out of

CHAP
XII
Eusebius will accept all that is probable

CAP
XII

ὑπερβολὴν ἐν ἔπαινον ἀνδρὸς ἡγαθοῦ λέγοιτ' αὖν, πιστὰ καὶ παραδεκτέα εἶναί μοι δοκῶ. ὅτι μὴ μόνον τὰ τερατώδη καὶ ληρὸν πλέα. οὐκ οὖν φθονοίην, εἴ φησιν ὁ συγγραφεὺς γενοῦς τε ἀρχαίων καὶ τῶν οἰκιστῶν ἀνημμένον τῷ ἀνδρὶ γεγονέναι, καὶ πλουτῶν, εἰ οὕτως ἔτυχεν, ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐγχωρίους ἅπαντας, διδασκάλων τε νέον ὄντα οὐ μόνον τῶν δεδηλωμένων τυχεῖν, ἀλλ', εἴ δοκεῖ, καὶ τούτων αὐτὸν διδάσκαλον καὶ καθηγητὴν γεγονέναι. ἔστω δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐντροχῆς καὶ τὰ κοινά, ὡς τὸν εἰς Ἀσκληπιοῦ θεραπείας χάριν ἀφυγμένον διὰ γνώμης ἀρίστης ἀπαλλάξαι τῆς ἀρρωστίας· νοσοῦντι γάρ δὴ ὑδέρου παθεῖ κατάλληλον ἐγκρατείας ὑποθέσθαι δίαίταν τῷ κύμνοντι, καὶ ταυτὴ αὐτὸν ἡγία καταστήσαι, καὶ τούτῳ γε τῆς φρονήσεως ἱποδεκτὸν το μαιράκιον, καὶ ὡς τὸν πολυτελῶς θύειν παρεσκευασμένον εἴρξεν, οἷα εἰκὸς ἐπὶ κακίᾳ διαβεβοημένον, καὶ γὰρ δὴ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἀπάντων πλουσιωτατόν τε καὶ περιφανέστατον αὐτὸν ὑποτίθεται. καὶ ἐν σωφροσιν δ' αὐτὸν φθόνος οὐδεις ἐγγράφειν, ὅτι τε πρὸς τὸν ἐραστὴν πειρώμενον αὐτοῦ τῆς ὥρας διελοδορησατο, καὶ γυναικείας ἐτι καθαρὸν ἑαυτὸν μίξεως διὰ τέλους, ὡς ὁ λογὸς φησὶν, ἤγαγε.

Πιστὰ δ' ἔστω καὶ τὰ τῆς πενταετοῦς κατὰ Πλυθαγοραν σιωπῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ τί, ὅπως ταύτην διήνυσεν, ἐπαίνου ἀξία. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ὅσα

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compliment to a good man, for I could still bring myself to accept them, as long as they are not ^{XX} undeniably wonderful and full of nonsense. I do not therefore mind the author telling us that Apollonius was of an ancient family and really descended from the first settlers, and was rich, if it were no beyond all other people of that region, and that when he was young he not only had the distinguished teachers mentioned but of others I will allow that he became himself their teacher and master in learning. I grant too, in addition, that he was skilled in ordinary matters, and so was able by giving the best of advice to rid of his menady one who had come to the temple of Asclepius in order to be healed. For we read that he suggested to a man afflicted with dropsy a regime of dietetic well suited to cure his disease, and in that way restored him to health. And so far we must needs commend the youthful Apollonius for his good sense. On another occasion he very properly excluded from the temple a man who was notorious for his wickedness, although he was prepared to offer the most expensive sacrifices, for he represents the man in question as the richest and most distinguished of all the people of his region. Nor would any one object to his being classed among the temperate, inasmuch as he repelled with insults a sower who designed to corrupt his youth, and so, as the narrative informs us, kept himself throughout pure of intercourse with women.

We can also believe the story of his keeping silence for five years in the spirit of Pythagoras, and the way moreover in which he accomplished this row of abstinence was praiseworthy. As this and the like

^{CAP}
^{XII} τοιαῦτα ἀνθρώπινα, καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς φιλοσοφίας καὶ ἀληθείας οὐ πόρρω δεχοίμην ἄν, περι πολλοῦ τὸ εὖγνωμόν τε καὶ φιλάληθες τιμώμενος· τὸ γέ τοι κρεῖττον ἀνθρώπου τὴν φύσιν ὑποτίθεσθαι, καὶ παρὰ ποδας ἐναντιολογεῖν τῆς τε δοθείσης ἀμνημονεῖν ὑποθέσεως, ἔχειν ψόγον ἄν καὶ διαβολὴν αὐτῷ τε τῷ γράφοντι καὶ πολὺ πρότερον τῷ γραφομένῳ περιώψειν ἡγοῦμαι.

XIII

^{CAP}
^{XIII} Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου συγγράμματος ἐπίωμεν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου. τὴν ἀπὸ Περσίδος ἐπ' Ἰνδούς πορείαν ἄγει παραλαβὼν αὐτὸν ὁ λόγος εἰτά τι πεπονθὼς ἀπειροκαλον, ὅσπερ τι παρίδοξον, δαιμόνιον τι, δ καὶ ἔμπουσαν ὀνομάζει κατα τὴν ὁδὸν ἰδόντα λοιδορίαις ἅμα τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀπελάσαι φησί, καὶ ζήων δὲ εἰς τροφήν αὐτοῖς προσαχθέντων, εἰρηκέναι αὐτὸν τῷ Δύμῳ, ὡς ἄρα συγχωροίῃ αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἐταίροις σιτεῖσθαι τῶν κρεῶν, τὸ γὰρ ἀπέχεσθαι αὐτῶν, αὐτοῖς μὲν εἰς οὐδὲν ὁρᾶν προβαίνειν, εαυτῷ δὲ εἰς ἅ ὁμολόγηται πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἐκ παιδός· καίτοι τίς οὐκ ἂν ὑπορήσειεν, ὅτι μὴδ' αὐτὸν, ὃν μόνον ἐδοκεῖ τοῦ βίου ζηλωτὴν

518

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is merely human, and in no way incongruous with philosophy or with truth, and I can therefore accept it, because I set a very high value upon candour and love of truth. Nevertheless to suppose that he was a being of superhuman nature, and then to contradict this supposition at a moment's warning, and to forget it almost as soon as it is made—this I regard as reprehensible and calculated to fester a suspicion not only on the author, but yet more on the subject of his memoir.

XIII

THESE particulars we have taken from the first book of Pseudostratus, and let us now go on to consider the contents of the second. The story takes him on his travels and brings him from Persia to India. He next shows a want of good taste by relating, as if it were a miracle, how Apollonius and his companions saw some sort of demon, to which he gives the name of Enypnia, along the road, and of how they drove it away by dint of abuse and bad words. And we learn that when some animals were offered them for food, he told Darius that he was quite willing to allow him and his companions to eat the flesh, for as far as he could see their abstinence from meat had in no way advanced their moral development, though in his own case it was imposed by the philosophic profession he had made in childhood. And yet is it not moved by anyone that he should not have hindered Darius, as his next friend, and as the only disciple and follower of his life that he had, and the

CAT
XIII κεκτήσθαι καὶ προὔτρεπεν ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν, εἰργεν
οἷα φίλτατον τῆς τῶν ἐμψύχων, ὥς ἂν οὐχ
ὀσίας κατὰ Πυθαγόραν τροφῆς, ὁ δ' οὐκ' οἶδ'
ὅποιῳ λόγῳ λέγων μὲν οὐ συνοίσειν ἑαυτῷ,
κείνοις δ' οὐδὲν ὁρᾶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀποχῆς προβαίνον
ὠμολόγει;

XIV

CAT
XIV Ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Φιλύστρατος ὁ τάλιθές τιμᾶν πρὸς
τοῦ Φιλαλήθους μεμαρτυρημένος, ὅρα τῆς ἀληθείας
ὅποια δείγματα παρίστησι γενόμενον παρ' Ἰνδοῖς
τὸν Ἀπολλωνίου παραστήσασθαι φησιν ἑρμηνέα,
καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ προσδιαλεγέσθαι Βραχάτη, τοῦτο δ'
εἶναι τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἄνυμα, καὶ ὁ μικρῷ
πρόσθει κατ' αὐτὸν πασῶν γλωσσῶν συνελς νῦν
αὖ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἑρμηνέως δέχεται. καὶ πάλιν ὁ
τὰ κατὰ διάνοιαν ἀνθρώπων εἰδὼς καὶ μόνον
οὐχὶ κατὰ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς θεὸν

κωφοῦ τε ξυσιελς καὶ οὐ λαλέοντος ἀκούων

δι' ἑρμηνέως ἀνερωτῶ, ὅποια τις εἴη τῷ βασιλεῖ
δείματα, ἡγεμόνα τε ἄξιοι τῆς ἐς Βραχμᾶνας πορείας
γενέσθαι τινα αὐτῷ καὶ μεταξὺ ὁ μὲν τῶν Ἰνδῶν
βασιλεὺς καὶ ταῦτα βίρβαρος ὢν τὴν φύσιν, τὸν
ἑρμηνέα ἐκποδὼν μεταστησάμενος, Ἑλλάδι χρήται
πρὸς αὐτὸν τῇ ὁμλίᾳ, παιδείαν καὶ πολυμήθειαν

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only one whom he was trying to convert to his philosophy, that he should not, I repeat, have tried to hinder him from consuming the flesh of living animals, that being an unwholy food according to Pythagoras, and that instead of doing so, he should tell him for reasons inexplicable to me that it will do no good to himself, and admit that he saw no moral advantage in them, produced by such abstinence? CHAP.
XVII

XIV

In the next place I would have you notice what sort of samples of truth are set before us by this Philostratus to whose truthfulness Hierocles the self-styled Lover of Truth bears witness. For we are told that when Apollonius was among the Indians, he employed an interpreter and through him held the conversation with Phraotes, for that was the name of the king of the Indians. Thus he, who just before, according to Philostratus, had an understanding of all languages, now on the contrary, according to the same witness, is in need of an interpreter. And again, he was read the thoughts of men, and almost like their god Apollo CHAP.
XV

“Understood the dumb and heard him who spake not”

has to ask, by means of an interpreter, what was the king's way of life, and he asks him to supply him with a guide on his journey to the Brahmins. And after an interval the other, who is king of the Indians, and a barbarian to boot, gets rid of the interpreter, and addresses Apollonius in Greek, and speaking in that language details to him his education and

ΕΛΛ. ενδεικνύμενος, ὁ δὲ οὐδ' ὧς, ὅτι δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς
 ΧΙΥ παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀμαθῶς ἔχει φωνῆς, δέον ἐπεφιλο-
 τιμήσατο.

XV

ΕΛΛ. Ἀλλὰ καὶ λαλῶντος Ἑλλάδι γλῶσση τοῦ
 ΧΥ Ἰνδοῦ ἐκπλήττεται, ἥ φησιν ὁ Φιλόστρατος
 ἰκόλουθα, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἑαυτῷ γράφων. πῶς γὰρ ἂν
 ἐξεπλήγη μὴ οὐχὶ βάρβαρον οἰηθεῖς, καὶ τὸν
 τοιοῦτον θαυμάσας οὐποτ' ἂν ἐλληνίσαι προσε-
 δόκησεν· εἰθ', ὥσπερ τι παραδόντα παράδοξον
 καταπλαγεῖς, καὶ τὸ τούτου ἔτ' ἄγνοῶν αἴτιον,
 "εἰπέ μοι," ἔφη ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ὦ βασιλεῦ,
 πόθεν οὕτως ἔχεις φωνῆς Ἑλλάδος, φιλοσοφία
 τε ἢ περὶ σὲ πόθεν ἐνταῦθα, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐς διδα-
 σκάλους γε, οἶμαι, ἀναφέρεις, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ εἶναι
 Ἰνδοῖς εἰκὸς διδασκάλους τούτου." αὐταὶ αἱ
 παράδοξοι τοῦ πάντα προγνώσει διειληφότος
 φωναί, ἃς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀμειβομενος, ὅτι τε σχοίη
 διδασκάλους καὶ οὔτινες οὗτοι, ἕκαστί τε πατρώθεν
 τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν συμβεβηκότων φράζει

Εἶτα καὶ τισι τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ δικάζαντος περὶ θησαυ-
 ροῦ φωραθέντος ἐν ἰογρῷ, ποτερά τῷ πριαμένη
 ἢ τῷ τὸ χωρίον υποδομένῳ δεοὶ νεῖμαι τοῦτον,
 ὁ πάντα φιλόσοφος καὶ θεοῖς κεχαρισμένος ἐρωτη-
 θεὶς ἐπικρίνει τῷ πριαμένῳ, λογισμὸν δὴ αὐτοῖς

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his wealth of learning. But Apollonius made the CHAP. XV
less neglected on this occasion to display, as he
should have done, his own perfect acquaintance with
their tongue.

XV

On the contrary he is astonished to find the CHAP. XV
Indian talking Greek as Pliny strains consistently it
would seem, with himself to say in our book. For
how could he be astonished thereto, unless he had
regarded him as a barbarian? And in spite of his
having a learned aim for what he was he could never
have expected him to talk Greek. In the sequel, as
if he were astonished at some exhibition of the
miraculous, as and were still unable to explain it Apol-
lonius says "Tell me, Iking, how you came to have
such faculty in the Greek tongue?" And where did
you get herewith the philosophy you possess? For
I do not think that you can say you owe it to teachers
anyhow for it is not likely that the Indians have
any teachers of this. Such are the wonderful
utterances to which one whose prescience included
everything gives vent, and the king answers them
by saying that he had had teachers and he tells
him who they were, and relates all the particulars of
his own history on his father's side.

Next we are told that the Indian had to judge be-
tween certain parties about a treasure which had been
hunted up in a find the question at issue being
whether this find ought to be assigned to the seller
or buyer of the place. Our supreme philosopher and
daring of heaven to ask of his son, and awards it
to the purchaser assigning his reason in these words.

ρήμασιν ἐπειπων, “ὡς οὐκ ἂν οἱ θεοὶ τὸν μὲν
 ἀφείλοντο καὶ τὴν γῆν, εἰ μὴ φαῦλος ἦν, τῷ δ’ αὖ
 καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ γῆν δοῦναι, εἰ μὴ βελτίων ἦν τοῦ
 ἀποδομένου.” ὥς κατ’ αὐτὸν δὴ συνάγεσθαι, τοὺς
 μὲν εὐπόρους καὶ πλοῦτφ διαφέροντας, καὶ
 αἰσχροτάτοι καὶ πανωλέστατοι τυγχάνοιεν, τρις-
 ευδαίμονας καὶ θεοφιλεῖς ἡγεῖσθαι, μόνους δ’
 ἄρα κακοδαίμονάς τε καὶ ἀθλίους τοὺς περυστά-
 τους, καὶ Σωκράτης, καὶ Διογένης, καὶ αὐτὸς
 ἐκεῖνος Πυθαγόρας τυγχάνη, καὶ ἄλλος, οἱ πάντων
 ἀνδρῶν σωφρονεστατοὶ τε καὶ ἐπιεικέστατοι
 εἶποι γὰρ ἂν τις ἐπόμενος τῷ λόγῳ, μὴ ἂν κατ’
 αὐτὸν τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς μὲν πένητας, τούτους δὲ
 αὐτούς, οἳ κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν διήνεγκαν, ἀφελέσθαι
 καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἰναγκαιαν τροφήν, μὴ οὐχὶ
 πᾶντως φαύλους ὄντας τὸν τρόπον, τοῖς δὲ τὸ
 ἦθος ἀκολαστοτέροις ἀφθονα καὶ τὰ μὴ ἰναγκαῖα
 παρασχεῖν, εἰ μὴ βελτίους ἐτύγχανον τῶν προ-
 τέρων, ἐξ ὧν παντί τφ καταφανῆς ἡ τοῦ συμ-
 περάσματος ἀτοπία.

XVI

CAP. XVI Ταῦτα καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δευτέρου παραθέμενοι, ἴωμεν
 ἐπὶ τὸ τρίτον, τὰ κατὰ τοὺς βεβημένους ἐποψό-
 μενοι Βραχμᾶνας· εὐθα δὴ τὰ ὑπὲρ θουόλην ἄπιστα
 καὶ εἴ τί περ ἄλλο τερατῶδές ποτε μυθολόγοις

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“That the gods would never have deprived the one of ^{CHAP} the land, if he had not been a bad man, nor would ^{XV} ever have given the other riches under the soil, unless he had been better than the seller.” We must conclude then, if we are to believe him, that men who are comfortably off and richer than their neighbours, are to be esteemed thrice happy and beloved of the gods, even though they should be the most shameless and abandoned of mankind; on the other hand only the poorest, say, even a Socrates, or a Diogenes, or the famous Pythagoras himself, or any other of the most temperate and fairest-minded of men, are to be esteemed ill-starred wretches. For if one follows the reasoning here used, one must allow that on its showing the gods would never have deprived the poor, that is to say, the very men who excel others, if judged by the standards of philosophy, even of a bare living and of the necessities of life, unless they had been utterly vile in character, and at the same time they have endowed those who are abandoned in their character with a plenty even of things that were not necessary to them, unless they proved themselves better than the others just mentioned, from which the absurdity of the conclusion is manifest to everyone.

XVI

AFTER setting before you those incidents out of ^{CHAP.} the second book, let us pass on to the third, and ^{XVI} consider the stories told of the far-famed Brahmins. ^{Aburdities in the third book} For here we shall have to admit that the tales of Thule, and any other marvellous legends ever in-

CAP. XVI τισὶν ἀναπέπλασται, εὖ μάλιστα καὶ ἀληθέστατα, ὥς ἐν παραθέσει τούτων, ἀναφανήσεται, οἷς καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἐπιστῆσαι ἄξιον, τῆς τοῦ Φιλαλήθους ἔνεκεν αὐθαδεΐας ἡμῖν μὲν εὐχέρειαν καὶ κοινότητα τρόπου περιέπτοντος, αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ τοῖς αὐτῷ παραπλησίοις τὴν ἀκριβῆ καὶ βεβαίαν μετὰ συνέσεως κρίσιν. ὅρα γοῦν, ἐφ' οἷς σεμνύνεται παραδόχοις, τῶν ἡμετέρων θεῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν προκρίνων τὸν Φιλόστρατον, ὥς μὴ μόνον παιδείας ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἤκοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀληθείαν ἐπιμεμελημένον.

XVII

CAP. XVII Πρώτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς Βραχμῆνας πορείᾳ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, γυνὴ τις αὐτῷ τὴν χρυαὴν εἰσάγεται ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐς ὀσφύν λευκοτάτῃ, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον μέρος τοῦ σώματος μέλαινα. τὰ δέ, προϊόντων τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Βραχμῆνας ὁδοῦ, ὕψη καταπεφυτευμένα τὸ πέπερι, καὶ τούτου πίθηκοι γεωργοί, καὶ παρύδοχοί τινες τὸ μέγεθος δράκοντες, ὧν ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς λαμπάδες ἀπορριπτοῦνται πυρός, οὓς εἴ τίς ἀνέλοι, εὖροι ἂν, φησι, παραδόχους λίθους ἐν ταῖς κεφαλαῖς τῷ τοῦ Γύγου τοῦ παρὰ τῷ Πλάτῳ παραπλησίους καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ πρὸ τοῦ τῶν Βραχμῶν λόφου. ὥς δὲ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφίκοντο, σανδαρίκινον ἐνταῦθα φρέαρ ὕδατος ἰδεῖν παραδόχον, καὶ κρατῆρα πλησίον πυρός, οὗ φλόγα ἀναπεμπέσθαι μοιβδῶδη,

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vented by any story-tellers, turn out to be by comparison with these quite reliable and perfectly true. It is anyhow worth our while to examine these, because this self-styled lover of truth has not scrupled to fasten on ourselves a charge of reckless credulity and levity of character, while claiming for himself and for those like him an accurate judgment, well based on an understanding of the fact. Note then the sort of miracles on which he prides himself, when he prefers Philostratus to our own divine evangelists, on the ground that he was not only a most highly educated man but most attentive to the truth.

CHAP
XVI

XVII

To begin with then, on the way to the Brahmins, Philostratus introduces us to a lady who met Apollonius, and who, from her head down to her loins, was wholly white in colour, while the rest of her person was black. The mountains again as they went forward on the road to the Brahmins, were planted with pepper trees, and the axes cultivated the same, and then there were certain dragons of extraordinary size, from whose heads were thrown off sparks of fire, and if you slew one of them, he says that you found marvelous stones upon the head rivaling the gem of Gyges, as mentioned in Plato. And all this was before they reached the hill on which the Brahmins lived. And when they reached this, we read that they saw there a well of sandarac, full of wonderful water, and hard by a crater of fire, from which there arose a lead-coloured flame, and

CHAP
XVII
told them
the tales
of the
Brahmins

CAP. XVII
 δύο τε πίθους λίθου μέλανος, τον μὲν ὁμβρων, τὸν δὲ ἀνέμων, ἀφ' ὧν τοὺς Βραχμῖνας, οἷς ἂν εἰεν τῆς χώρας ἔλεφ, χορηγεῖν ἑλλεί γε καὶ ἀγάλματα παρ' αὐτοῖς Ἀθηνᾶς Πολυκίδος καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου καὶ Διονύσου Λιμναίου, καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν Ἑλληνικῶν θεῶν, Ἱάρχαν δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων διδάσκαλον καλεῖσθαι, ὃν καὶ ἰδεῖν καθεζόμενον πολλοὺ γε δεῖ φιλοσοφικῶ, σατραπικῶ δ' ἂν μῖλλον σχήματι ἐφ' ὑψηλοτάτου διφρου. χαλκοῦ δὲ μέλανος οὗτος ἦν καὶ πεποίκιλτο χρυσέαις ἀγάλμασιν, οἷα δὴ εἰκὸς τεχνουργῶν βαναύσων τρόπον πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρῳ μοχθοῦντας τοὺς φιλοσόφους τεχνουργεῖν, ἥ καὶ θαυματοποιῶν δίκην αὐτόματον ἀποτελεῖν τὸ δημούργημα, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν μετ' αὐτὸν διδασκάλων δῖφροι χαλκοῖ μέν, φησιν, ἄσημοι δ' ἦσαν καὶ ἥτιον ὑψηλοί. ἔδει γάρ ποι πάντως τυράννον σχήματι προνομίας τῆς ἐν ἀγάλμασι καὶ χρυσῶ τον τῆς θείας φιλοσοφίας ἀξιοῦσθαι διδάσκαλον.

XVIII

CAP. XVIII
 Πρῶτον δὲ τὸν Ἱάρχαν ἰδόντα φησὶ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἐξ ὀνόματός τε προσεπεῖν Ἑλλάδι τῇ φωνῇ, καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ παρὰ Φραῳτοῦ κομίζου, ἐπιστολὴν αἰτῆσαι, κατὰ πρόγνωσιν ἤδη τοῦτο προειληφότα ἐνδείξασθαι τε τὸ ἔνθεον τῆς προγνώσεως προειρηκότα, ὡς ἄρα ἐνὶ γράμματι τῷ δέλτα λείποι ἢ ἐπιστολῇ ἄρξασθαι τε

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there were two jars there of black stone, the one of which contained rain, and the other winds, from which the Brahmins supply such people of the country as they are pleased to favour. Besides this they found among them images of Atacne Polias and of Apollo Pythias, and of Dionysus of the Lake and of certain other Hellenic gods. And the master of them all was named Iarchas, and they saw him sitting on a very lofty throne in a state of potap that was far from philosophy, but rather appropriate to a satrap. And this throne was made of black bronze and was decorated with golden images, such as we might of course expect philosophers to fabricate when they take to working like base mechanics at forge and steel, even if they do not like conjurers make their hand work to move by itself. But the thrones upon which the rest of them, who were inferior teachers to him, were sitting, were, he says, of bronze, but not incised and not so high. For I suppose they could not help bestowing upon the teacher of so divine a philosophy the privilege of having images and gold on his throne, just as if he were a tyrant.

CHAP.
XVII

XVIII

AND we are told that Iarchas, the moment he saw Apollonius, addressed him by name in the Greek tongue, and asked him for the letter which he brought from Phraotes, for he had already received this by dint of his foreknowledge, and by way of parading the inspired character of his prescience, he told him before he set eyes on the epistle, that it was one letter short, namely of a *delta*, and he began

CHAP.
XVIII
Prescience
and wisdom
of Iarchas

ἀπειρακάλως εὐθύς ἰπὸ πρῶτης ὁμιλίας, ἵπει
ροπλούτου δίκην, ἐνεπιδείκνυσθαι τὸ τῇν προγινω
σεως πλεονέκτημα, πατέρα καὶ μητέρα καταλέ
γοντα τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, γένος τε καὶ τροφήν καὶ
παιδείαν, καὶ τὰς κατὰ χρόνους ἀποδημίας καὶ τὴν
εἰς αὐτὸν πορείαν, καὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν πεπραγμένα
τε αὐτῷ καὶ ὠμλημένα. εἶτα δέ φησιν αὐτὸς οὗτον
ὁ θαυμάσιος συγγραφεὺς τοὺς Ἱεραχμάνους ἦμα τῷ
Ἀπολλωνίῳ χρисαμένους ἤλεκτρινη φερμικῇ λού
σασθαι, καὶ περιστάντας ὡς ἐν χορῷ τὴν γῆν τυψαί
ταῖς ῥάβδοις, τὴν δὲ κυρτωθεῖσαν ἀναπέμψαι
αὐτοὺς εἰς δίπηχυν τοῦ ἀέρος, ἐστάναι τε αὐτοὺς
μεταίρους ἐν αὐτῷ ἀέρι ἐπὶ τι χρόνου διάστημα
ἔλκειν δὲ καὶ πῦρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου, ὅτε βούληται,
αὐτομάτως. τούτοις δ' ἐπιφέρει παράδοξον οὐ θαυμα
τολογος, ὡς ἄρα τρίποδες Πυθικοὶ τετταρες ἐξε
κυκληθῆσαν αὐτόματοι φοιτῶντες, καὶ εἰκαζέει δὴ
οὖν αὐτοὺς τοῖς Ὀμηρικοῖς, οἶνοχοοὺς τε ἐπὶ ταυτοῖς
ἐκ χαλκοῦ διακόνοὺς τὴν ὕλην ἴστησι τετταρις
ἐπιλεγει δὲ, ὡς ἄρα καὶ ἡ γῆ αὐτομάτως ὑπεστομ
νυτο αὐτοῖς πύας. τῶν δὲ τριπόδων μὲν δύο,
φησὶν, οἶνου ἀπέρρου, αἱ δὲ ἑτεροὶ δύο, ὁ μὲν ὕδατος
θερμοῦ κρυσιν παρέιχεν, ὁ δ' αὖ ψυχροῦ. τοὺς δὲ
οἶνοχοοὺς τοὺς χαλκοὺς ἀρύεσθαι εὐμित्रας τοῦ τε
οἶνου καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος, περιελαύνειν τι κύκλῳ τὰς
κύλικας, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς πυτοῖς.

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

at once in a vulgar manner in that very first inter-
view. He is a man who has got wealth for the first CHAP.
XV
time and does not know how to use it to show off
his superiority as a seer, by running off the names of
Apollonius father and mother and telling him all
about his family and upbringing and education and
about his particular voyages abroad and about his
journey thither to himself and about what he had
done himself he said to his companions on the road.
And next this wonderful author tells us that the
Hierodemes after assembling themselves together with
Apollonius with an ancient oak frag. took a bath
and then sitting round as if reclining struck the
earth with their staves and the earth arose itself
up and elevated them some two cubits into the air
so that they stood ere elevated up in the air itself
for many considerable length of time. And he
relates that they drew down fire from the sun
without any effort on their part and whenever they
closed. And the miracle monger adds another
miracle to these, when it is that there were four
tripods he knows of Pythia which whirled them-
selves forth, moving of their own accord and he
goes so far as to compare these to the tripods in
Hellas and he says that there were set upon them
cup bearers to serve in the banquet four in number
and made of bronze. And in addition he tells us that
the earth too after was grown beneath them of her own
accord and unasked. And of these tripods two he says,
ran with wine and of the other two the one supplied
hot water and the other cold. And the cup bearers of
bronze drew for the guests in due mix are both the
wine and the water and pushed round the cups in a
circle, just as they are handed round in a symposium.

XIX

CAP.
XIX

Ταῦτα Ἱεροκλεῖ τὰ ἀνωτάτω καὶ καθόλου δικαστήρια πεπιστευμένῳ, μετὰ πολλῆς ἀνετάσεως ἀληθῆ καὶ πιστὰ εἶναι δοκεῖ, καὶ ἡμῶν μὲν εὐχέρεια καὶ κουφότης πλείστη ὅση κατέγνωσται παρ' αὐτῷ, αὐτὸς δὲ τοιαῦτα Φιλοστράτῳ πιστεύων, αὐτοῖς δὴ ῥήμασι σεμνύνεται λέγων, “ἐπισκεψώμεθά γε μὴν, ὅσῳ βέλτιον καὶ συνετώτερον ἡμεῖς ἐκδεχομεθα τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ ἦν περὶ τῶν ἐναρέτων ἀνδρῶν ἔχομεν γνώμην”

XX

CAP.
XX

Ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ δὴ τῷ συμποσίῳ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν Φιλόστρατον βασιλεὺς ἐγχωριζὼν Ἰνδοῖς εἰσάγεται συμπίνων τοῖς φιλοσόφοις, τοῦτον δὲ ἐνυβρίζειν καὶ ἐμπαροινεῖν φιλοσοφία, μεθύσκεισθαί τε παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀντιπαρεξάγειν Ἠλίῳ καὶ ἀλαζονεύεσθαι ἱστορεῖ καὶ πάλιν τὸν Ἀπολλωνιον δι' ἐρμηνέως τὰ παρὰ τούτου μανθάνειν, καὶ αὖ πάλιν πρὸς αὐτὸν διαλέγεσθαι, ὑπερμηνεύοντος τοῦ Ἰαρχα' καὶ πῶς οὐ θαυμάζειν ἄξιον, ὅπως τὸν οὕτως ὑβριστὴν καὶ ἀτοπώτατον παροινεῖν καὶ μεθύσκεισθαι παρὰ τηλικούτοις εἰκὸς ἦν, ὃν οὐδὲ παρεῖναι ἄξιον ἐν φιλοσόφῳ, μὴ τί γε καὶ ἰσοθέων ἐστία, τί δὲ μοι ἰσοθέους τούτους καλεῖν

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

XIX

SUCH are the stories which Hierocles, who has been entrusted to administer the supreme courts of justice all over the province, finds true and reliable after due enquiry, at the same time that he condemns us for our excessive credulity and frivolity, and after himself believing such things when he finds them in Philostratus, he proceeds to brag about himself and says (I quote his very words) "Let us anyhow observe how much better and more cautiously we accept such things, and what opinion we hold of men gifted with such powers and virtues."

CHAP.
XIX
Credulity of
Hierocles

XX

IT was after such a symposium, according to the same Philostratus, that a king who was sojourning in India is introduced to drink with the philosophers, and we hear that he took occasion to insult philosophy with drunken jests, and that he got so tipsy in their presence as to hurl defiance at the Sun and brag about himself. All this we learn, and that Apollonius once more, by means of an interpreter, learned his history from him and conversed in turn with him, Iarchas interpreting between them. Surely it may well excite our wonder that so insolent a fellow and so great a buffoon was allowed to get drunk and show off his tipsy wit among such great philosophers, when he was unworthy even to be present at a meeting of philosophers, much less at the hearth of men who were equal to gods? But what possesses me to call them the peers of gods and

CHAP.
XX
Drinking
hours of the
Arabians

CAP
XX
 καὶ τῆς ἀξίας ἐνυβρίζειν τοὺς ἄνδρας, οπότε
 πυθομένοι τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, τίνας ἑαυτοὺς ἡγαῶν
 ται, θεοὺς ἔφη ὁ Ἱάρχας, ὃς καὶ τοῖς συμπόταις,
 οἷα δὴ θεοί, φιλοσόφου μὲν ἤκιστα τρόπῳ, πολλοῦ
 γε δεῖ, μή τί γε μᾶλλον, οὐ ἔφησε, θεοῦ ἀξίως,
 ἐς τὴν φιλίαν ἐπικύπτων ἐξῆρχεν, ἡ δέ, φησιν ὁ
 συγγραφεύς, ὥς ἄρα ἐπότηζεν ἱκανῶς πάντας,
 καὶ ἐπέδιδου, καθωπερ αἱ ὑπέρρητοι πηγαὶ τοῖς
 ἀνιμωμένοις.

XXI

CAP
XXI
 Μετὰ ταῦτα κοιναὶ λόγων ὁμιλίαι καὶ σπου-
 δαιολογίαι τῶν φιλοσοφῶν, τοῦ μὲν Ἱάρχα
 διδάσκοντος, ὥς ἄρα ποτὲ αὐτῷ ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν
 ἑτέρῳ ἀνθρώπῳ βασιλεὺς γένοίτο σωματι, καὶ
 τοιαδὲ τινα αὐτῷ πεπραγμένα εἶη, τοῦ δὲ Ἀπολ-
 λωνίου, ὥς νηὶς Αἰγυπτίας ποτὲ γένοίτο κυβερ-
 νητης, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα διαπράττειτο, πεύσεις τε
 καὶ ἀποκρίσεις ἐκάστων, ὧν καὶ τῆς σοφίας
 ἄξιον μηδαμῶς παρεκθέσθαι τὴν μνήμην. ἐρέσθαι
 δέ φησι τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, εἰ ἔστι παρ' αὐτοῖς
 χρύσεον ὕδωρ — ὃ τοῦ σοφοῦ καὶ παραδόξου
 πύσματος καὶ περὶ ἀνθρώπων δὲ ὑπὸ γῆν οἰ-
 κούντων καὶ Πυγμαίων ἄλλων καὶ σκισπόδων
 ἀνερωτᾶν, καὶ εἰ γίγνοιτο παρ' αὐτοῖς ζῶον τετρά-
 πουν, ὃ λέγεται μαρτιχόρα, ὃ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνθρώ-

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

chaff them about their dignity? Why, when Apollonius asked them whom they considered themselves to be, "Gods," answered Iarchas, who I suppose in his quality as god, as little as could be in the style of philosopher, save the mark, may surely betraying an equally scant respect for the dignity of the god whom he professed himself to be, set the example of drinking to his fellow-banqueters by stooping down over the bowl, which, as our author is careful to tell us, supplied plenty of drink for all of them, and refreshed itself, as do holy and mysterious wells for those who fill their pitchers from them.

CHAP.
XX

The power
the gods.

XXI

AFTER this there was general conversation and some serious discussion among the philosophers, in the course of which Iarchas explained that his own soul had once been in the body of another man who was a king, and that in that state he had performed this and that exploit, while Apollonius told them that he had once been the pilot of a ship in Egypt, and had accomplished all sorts of exploits which he enumerated to them. Then they put questions to each other, and received answers, which in the name of wisdom have scant title to be recorded at all. Thus we learn that Apollonius asked if they had any golden water among them. What a clever and marvelous question. And he also asked about men who live underground, and about others called pigmææ and shadow-footed men, and he asked if they had among them a four-footed animal called a martichora, which has a head like that of a man, but

CHAP.
XXI

Full of
questions
asked in
indis-
creetness

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXXI πῶς εἰκάσθαι, λέοντι δὲ ὁμοιωῖσθαι τὸ μέγεθος, τὴν δὲ οὐρὰν ἐκφέρειν πηχυαίας καὶ ἀκανθώδεις τὰς τριχάς, ἃς βάλλειν ὥσπερ τοξεύματα ἐς τοὺς θηρῶντας· καὶ τοιαῦτα μὲν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἀνερωτᾶν, τὸν δὲ Ἰάρχαν διδάσκειν αὐτὸν περὶ μὲν τῶν Πυγμαίων, ὥς ἄρα εἶεν οἰκοῦντες μὲν ὑπόγειοι, διατρίβοντες δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰώγγην ποταμὸν ζῶντες, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων, ὥς ἀνύπαρκτα εἶη.

XXII

CAP. XXXII Ἐριον ἐπὶ τούτοις φερόμενον αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ γῆς ἐς ἐσθῆτος ὕλην ὁ Φιλόστρατος ἀναγράφει, πάντως δὴπου τῶν φιλοσόφων ἱστὸν ἐποιοχόμενων καὶ θαλασιουργίας ἐς ἐσθῆτος κατεργασίαν ἐκπονουμένων—οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰσῆκται παρ' αὐτοῖς γυναικεῖον φύλον—εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῦτο φήσειεν αὐτόματον αὐτοῖς παραδόξως δὴ ἱερὰν ἐς ἐσθῆτα μεταφύεσθαι. φέρειν δ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ῥάβδον καὶ δακτύλιον ἀπόρρητον ἔχοντα ἰσχύν. εἰτα παραδοξοποιᾶι τοῦ Βραχμᾶνος, ὥς δαιμονῶντα δι' ἐπιστολῆς ἀνακαλέσασθαι, ὥς χωλεύοντα καταψήσας τὸν γλουτὸν θεραπεύσειεν, ὥς τυφλῷ τὸ βλέπειν καὶ ἀδρανεῖ τινι τὴν χεῖρα σφᾶν χαρίζοιτο. πολλὰ κινεσθὰ γένοιτο πραγμάτων ἡμᾶς ἀπολύσαντι τῷ συγγραφεῖ· δῆλα γάρ, ὥς ἔληθῇ καὶ ταῦτα, ὅτε βροντὰς

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THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

rivals a lion in size, while from its tail projects hairs like thorns a cubit long, which it is accustomed to shoot out like arrows at those who hunt it. Such then were the questions which Apollonius put to the sages, and Iarchas instructed him about the pigmies, and told him that they were indeed people dwelling underground, but spent their lives on the other side of the river Ganges, but as to the other things which he asked about, Iarchas said that they never had existed at all.

CHAP.
XXI

XXII

AFTER that Philostratus described a wool which the earth grew for them to supply material for their dress, from which we must infer that these philosophers plied the loom and occupied themselves with spinning wool in order to make their raiment, for we do not hear of any woman being smuggled into their community, but perhaps he means that by a miracle the wool grew of its own initiative into their sacred garments. And we hear that each of them carried a staff and a ring which was imbued with mysterious power. There follow a series of miraculous performances on the part of the Brahman,—how for example he recalled to his senses by means of a letter one who was possessed with a demon, how by stroking a man who was lame he healed his dislocated hip, how he vouchsafed to restore a man's hand that was withered, and to a blind man gave sight. Our blessings on an author who saves us so much trouble. Can we doubt that these stories are true, when his very insistence on

CHAP.
XXII
Silly tale of the Brahman

Eusebius does not like the miracles of him: his wrought by Iarchas

CAP.
ΣΧΙ'

καὶ ἀνέμους ἐν πίθοις τρίποδάς τε ἐκ λίθου φοιτῶντας αὐτομάτως καὶ οἶνοχόους ὑπὸ χαλκοῦ περιελαύνειν ἐν κύκλῳ τὰς κύλικας προιστορήσας, διὰ τῆς περὶ τούτων ὡς ἀληθῶν ἀφηγήσεως καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ὑπάντων ἐξέφηνέ τε καὶ διήλεγξε τὴν μυθολογίαν. εἰρηκέναι δὲ φησιν ὁ Φιλόστρατος τὸν Δάμνυ δίχα τῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας καὶ τῷ Ἰάρχῃ συμφιλοσοφῆσαι τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, εἰληφέναι τε παρ' αὐτοῦ δακτυλίους ἑπτὰ ἐπωνύμους ἀστέρων, οὓς καὶ φορεῖν αὐτὸν καθ' ἕνα πρὸς τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἡμερῶν.

Ταῦτα δὲ νῦν εἰπὼν ὁ τάληθὲς τιμᾶν παρὰ τῷ Φιλαλόθῃ νευομισμένος μεθ' ἕτερα τῆς γραφῆς, ὥς ἂν δὴ γοητεῖαν τῶν Βραχμάνων καταγνοῦς, καὶ ταύτης ἐλεύθερον καταστήσαι τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον φροντίσας, ἐπιφέρει φάσκων κατὰ λέξιν "ἰδὼν δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς τοὺς τρίποδας καὶ τοὺς οἶνοχόους καὶ ὅσα αὐτόματα ἐσφοιτᾶν εἶπον, οὐθ', ὅπως σοφίζονται αὐτά, ἤρετο, οὔτε ἐδεήθη μαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπήνει μὲν, ζηλοῦν δὲ οὐκ ἤξιον" καὶ πῶς, ὦ οὗτος, οὐκ ἤξιον; ὁ δίχα τοῦ Δίμυδος σπουδὴν ποιούμενος συμφιλοσοφεῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸν μόνον ἑταῖρον, ὅτι καὶ πρῶττοι, λανθάνειν δεον ἡγούμενος, πῶς δὲ οὐκ ἤξιον ζηλοῦν ὁ τοὺς τῶν ἀστέρων ἐπωνύμους καταδεχόμενος δακτυλίους, καὶ ταυτοὺς ἀναγκαῖον τιθέμενος διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου φέρειν πρὸς

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

the truth of his earlier tales. I refer to those of lightning and wind kept in jars, and of tripods of stone ~~moving~~ ^{MAP} about of their own accord and of cup-
bearers ²²¹⁵ passing round the cups in a circle, but ~~to say~~ and exposes the mythical character of existing one which he was to tell us. The narrative moreover declares that Demetrius related how carefully Apollonius was not allowed himself from being present at the philosophical ~~seances~~ ^{seances} which he held with ~~his~~ ^{his} friends, and he says that Apollonius was given by the latter seven rings which were called after the stars and that he wore those rings one upon the days successively called by their names.

Through we learn this much on this occasion from a gentleman who is concerned in the ~~Love~~ ^{Love} of Truth to have had a respect for facts ~~farther~~ ^{farther} on in his book as if by way of countering the wizardry of the Hermetians and as if he was anxious to set at Apollonius of the charge of having dabbled therein he adds the following remark which I repeat ~~textually~~ ^{textually}. But when he saw among the Indians the tripods and the cup-bearers and the other figures which I have said existed of their own accord he did not either ask ~~how~~ ^{how} they were contrived, or desire to learn, but although he praised them, he disclaimed any wish to imitate them. And how insignificant was, did he discern any wisdom of the kind. Is this the man who was careful to exclude Demetrius from the philosophical ~~seances~~ ^{seances} he held with them and who thought it his duty to counsel them his only companions all that he had done in these ~~seances~~ ^{seances}? And how could he have disclaimed any wish to imitate them when he accepted the seven rings named after the stars, and used it needful to wear those all through the

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP
XXII τα ὀνόματα τῶν ἡμερῶν, καίτοι γε ἀπόρρητον, ὥς
φῆς αὐτός, ἔχοντας ἰσχύν, εἰ δὲ καὶ δοθείη τὸ μὴ
ζηλοῦν ἡξιοκέναι αὐτον, ὥς μὴ εὖ πράττοντα,
οὐκ ἐξήλου δηλονότι. πῶς οὖν ἐπῆνει, ἐφ' οἷς
μὴ ἡξίου ζηλοῦν; εἰ δ' ὥς θείως ἐνεργούντας
ἐπῆνει, πῶς οὐκ ἐξήλου τὰ ἐπαίνων ἄξια; ἀλλὰ
γὰρ μετὰ τὴν παρὰ τούτοις διατριβὴν παλινο-
στοῦντα αὐτὸν ἅμα τοῖς ἐταίροις ἐληλυθέναι
φησὶν ἐς τὴν τῶν Ὀρειτῶν χώραν, ἐνθα χαλκαὶ
μὲν αὐτοῖς αἱ πέτραι, χαλκῇ δὲ ἡ ψάμμος, χαλκοῦ
δὲ ψῆγμα οἱ ποταμοὶ ἀγουσι.

XXIII

CAP
XXIII Καὶ τοσαῦτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τρίτον σύγγραμμα,
ἐπίωμεν δ' ἤδη καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς ἐπανελθόντα φησιν
ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδῶν χώρας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, κοινωνὸν
τῶν θεῶν πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν ἀνακεκηρῦχθαι,
οἳ καὶ τοὺς κάμνουτας ὥς αὐτὸν ἐφ' ὑγείᾳ παρέ-
πεμπον, καὶ δῆτα ὥς ἐξ Ἀράβων καὶ μυγῶν καὶ
Ἰνδῶν παράδοξόν τινα καὶ θεῖον ἡμῖν αὐτὸν
ἀγαγών, παραδόξων ἐντεῦθεν ἀφηγημάτων καταρ-
χεται. καίτοι ἂν τις εἴποι εὐλογως, ὅτι δὴ εἰ
θειοτερας ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπου φύσεως ἦν, πάλαι,
ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν ἔδει, πρὸ τῆς δὲ ἐτέρων μεταληψέως
τῶν θαυμασίων κατάρχεσθαι, περιττὴ δ' ἂν καὶ
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rest of his life upon the days severally named after them, and that although, as you say yourself, they had a secret power in them. Even if we grant that he did not aspire to imitate these inventions, it is clear that his disclaimer was not due to their being meanly. How then could he praise things which he disdained to imitate? If he praised them, as being divinely operated, why did he not imitate things so praiseworthy? To crown all, on his return after he had stayed with them, we learn that he arrived with his companions at the country of the Orbitæ, where he found the rocks and the sand and the dust which the rivers bring down to the sea, all alike made of bronze.

XXIII

ALL this is contained in the third book of Philo-
stratus, and let us now pass on to those which follow.
We learn that when he had returned from the
country of the Indians to the land of Hellas, the
gods themselves proclaimed him to be the companion
of the gods, inasmuch as they sent on to him the
sick to be healed. And, indeed, as if his visit to the
Arabs and to the Magi and to the Indians had
turned him into some marvellous and divine being,
our author, now that he has got him some again,
plunges straight into a lengthy description of his
miracles. And yet one might fairly argue that if
he had been of a diviner than merely human nature,
then he ought long before, and not only now, after
entering into relation with other teachers, to have
begun his career of wonder-working, and it was

CHAP
XXIII

The pre-
dictions of
Apollonius

LAF
ΣΣIII

ἡ ἐξ Ἀρρίβων αὐτῷ μάγων τε καὶ Ἰνδῶν διὰ σπουδῆς ἐπεχειρεῖτο πολυμάθεια, εἰ δὲ τις κατὰ τὴν δοθεῖσαν ὑπῆρξεν ὑπάθεσιν· ἀλλ' οὗτός γε κατὰ τὸν φιλαλίθη συγγραφέα νῦν δὴ πάρεστι, μετὰ τοσούτους διδασκάλους τὴν σοφίαν ἐνεπιδεκνύμενος. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν, οἷα ἐξ Ἀρρίβων καὶ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς οἰωνιστικῆς ὁρμώμενος τὰν στρουθύν, ὅτι καὶ βούλοιτο τοὺς ἐτέρους ἐπὶ τροφὴν παρακαλῶν ἐφερμηνεύει τοῖς παροῦσιν, εἴτα δὲ λοιμοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ προαισθόμενος προμαντεύεται τοῖς πολίταις. τὴν δ' αἰτίαν καὶ τούτου ἐν τῇ πρὸς Δομετιανὸν ἀπολογίᾳ αὐτὸς παρατίθεται. ἐρομένον γὰρ τοι αὐτόν, ὁπόθεν ὁρμώμενος τούτο προείποι, "λεπτοτέρα," ἔφη, "χρῶμενος, ὦ βασιλεῦ, διαίτη πρῶτος τοῦ δεινοῦ ἡσθόμεν".

Καὶ τρίτον δ' αὐτοῦ θαῦμα γεγονὸς ἱστορεῖ, ὡς δὴ ἀλεξήσαντος τὸν λοιμόν, ὅπερ εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς ἐπὶ τέλει κατ' αὐτοῦ κατηγορίαις οὐ τέθεικεν ὁ συγγραφεὺς, ὅτι μὴ παρῆν, ὡς εἶκας, αὐτῷ δι' ἀπολογίας ὑπολυσασθαι τὸ ἔγκλημα, φέρε δ' οὖν ὁμῶς αὐτοὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐς φανερόν υποθῶμεθα, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ταύτην εὐθυνοντες. εἴ τιτι γὰρ οὐκ εἴη σαφές, ὅτι δὴ πολὺ τὸ πλάσμα καὶ ἀπατηλὸν γοητείας τε ὡς ἀληθῶς ἔμπλεον,

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superfluous for him to take so much trouble to acquire the multifarious lore of Arabs and of Magi and of Indians. If he was really what the initial assumption made by Eusebius assumes him to have been. But anyhow, according to the truth-loving author, we have now got him back again, ready to show off the wisdom which he has acquired from so great masters, and as one fresh from Arabia and equipped with the science of augury in vogue among the idolaters of that country, he begins by interpreting to the bystanders what the sparrow wanted and intended when it summoned its fellows to their dinner. Next he has a presentation of the plague in Ephesus, and warns the citizens of what is coming. And he himself sets before us in his *Apology to Domitian* the explanation of this pre-
CHAP XXIII
 sentiment. For when the latter asked him what was his prediction, he answered: "Because my prince, I use a very light diet, I was the first to scent the danger."

And then he relates a third miracle of him which was nothing less than that of his averting the plague. Although the author has been careful not to include this story in the final count retained against Apollonius, probably because it was impossible for him to rebut a charge founded upon it by any defence which he could offer, we nevertheless will, if you will allow us, publish the story and give it full publicity, because our doing so will render needless any further criticism of it. For if anybody feels the shadow of doubt about the matter, the very manner in which the story is told will convince him that fraud and make-believe was in this case everything, and that if

story of the
 plague
 averting

αὐτοῦ ὁ τρόπος ἀπελέγχει τῆς ἱστορίας· τὸν γάρ
 τοι λοιμὸν ὑποτίθεται ἐν εἵδει πτωχεύοντος καὶ
 ῥάκεσιν ἡμφισμένου πρεσβύτου ἀνδρὸς ἐωρᾶσθαι,
 ὃν καταλεύειν ἐπικελευσαμένου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου
 πρότερον μὲν πῦρ βάλλειν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, εἴθ'
 ὕστερον βληθέντα λίθοις, κύνα συντετριμμένον καὶ
 παραπτύοντα ἀφρόν, ὡς οἱ λυττῶντες, φανῆναι,
 εἰρηκέναι δ' αὐτὸν περὶ τούτου καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς
 τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Διομετιανὸν ἀπολογίᾳ ταῦτα
 γραφεῖ· "τὸ γὰρ τοῦ λοιμοῦ εἶδος, πτωχῷ δὲ
 γέροντι εἴκαστο, καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἰδὼν εἶλον, οὐ
 παύσας νόσον, ἀλλ' ἐξελῶν." τίς δὴ οὖν ἐπὶ
 τούτοις οὐ μέγα τὴν τοῦ θαυματοποιοῦ γελάσεται
 παραδοξοποιῶν, ζῶν ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ λίθων ὑπο-
 πύπτον βοalaίς, συντριβόμενόν τε πρὸς ἰνθρώπων
 καὶ ἀφρόν παραπτύον τὴν τοῦ λοιμοῦ φύσιν
 ἀκούων, ὃς οὐδ' ἄλλ' ὅτιοῦν τυγχάνει ἢ φθορὰ
 καὶ κάκωσις ἀέρος, ἐπὶ τὸ νοσῶδες τρεπομένου τοῦ
 περιέχοντος ἐκ πονηρῶν τε καὶ φαύλων ἀναθυμιά-
 σεων, ἧς λόγος ἱατρικὸς παραδίδωσι, συνισταμένον;
 καὶ ἄλλως δ' ἂν τὸ φάσμα διευθυνθείη, ἐπεὶ περ
 μόνῃ τῇ τῶν Ἐφεσίων πόλει, ἀλλ' οὐχι καὶ τοῖς
 ὁμόροις τὸν λοιμὸν ἐπισκῆψαί φησιν ὁ λόγος,
 ὅπερ πῶς οὐκ ἂν γένοιε κάκωσιν τοῦ περιέχοντος
 πεπουθότος, οὐ γὰρ δὴ κατακλεισθὲν μόνῃ ἂν
 ἐφηδρευσεν τῷ περὶ τὴν Ἐφεσον ἀέρι τὸ νοσημα.

ever anything recked of wizardry this did. For he CHAP
pretends that the plague was sent in the form of
an aged man, a beggar and dressed in rags, who,
when Apollonius ordered the mob to stone him,
began by shouting *hee* from *he* cry, and afterwards,
when he had been overwhelmed by the stones
thrust at him he appeared as a dog and crossed and
vaulted from man to dog and so. And so we see that
Apollonius mentioned this episode also in the
discourse he addressed to the autocrat Domitian, as
before. For the form of the plague, and it
resembled an aged beggar, was both seen by me,
and when I saw it I overcame it not by stating the
cause of the disease but by utterly destroying it.
When I went ash after *seeing* this was I almost laugh-
ingly at the cause, *imagining* of this *thunder*
thunder? For we see that in nature of the plague
was a living creature and as such exposed it all over
to the eyes of our bystanders and to the slanders
of stones they hurled at it and that it was crushed
by men, and vaulted from when at the time a
plague is nothing in the world but a corruption
and vitiation of the atmosphere, the circumstance of
air being changed into a noxious condition composed
of noxious and *was* *examinations* no medical theory
teaches us. And on other grounds too this story
of the phantom plague can be exposed. For the
story tells us that it afflicted the city of Ephesus,
and did not visit the neighbouring populations,
and how could this not have been the case if the
surrounding atmosphere had undergone vitiation?
For the infection could not have been confined to
one spot, nor have leaved the air of Ephesus
alone,

CAP.
XXIV

Τέταρτον αὐτῷ παράδοξον Ἀχιλλέως ἦν ψυχὴ πρότερον μὲν ἐν χλαμύδι πεντάπηχης, εἶτα δωδεκάπηχης τὸ μέγεθος παρὰ τῷ ἰδίῳ αὐτοῦ μνήματι φαινομένη, Θερταλούς τε κατατιωμένη, ὅτι δὴ τὰ ἐναγίσματα αὐτῷ, ὥς ἔθος ἦν, οὐκ ἐπετέλουν, μηνιδῶσά τε εἰσέτι Τρωσὶ τῶν ἐς αὐτὸν πεπλημμελημένων, καὶ προστάττουσα τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ πέντε λόγους, οὓς ἂν αὐτὸς τε βούλοιτο καὶ αἱ Μοῖραι συγχωροῖεν, ἀνερέσθαι. εἴθ' ὁ πάντα εἰδὼς καὶ τῶν μελλόντων πρόγνωσιν αὐχῶν ἔτι ἄγνωσέ, εἰ τάφου τύχοι Ἀχιλλεύς, καὶ εἰ Μουσῶν θρήνοι καὶ Νηρηίδων ἐπ' αὐτῷ γεγόνασι, καὶ περὶ τούτων αὐτὸν ἀνερωτᾷ καὶ διαπυνθάνεται, εἰ Πολυξένη ἐπισφαγείη αὐτῷ, καὶ εἰ Ἑλένη ἐς Τροίαν ἐληλύθει, ὥς σεμνὰ γε καὶ κατεπείγοντα εἰς τὸν φιλόσοφον βίον τοῦ ἥρωος καὶ σπουδῆς ἄξια ἐρωτήματα. θαυμάζει δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις, εἰ τοσοῦτοι ἥρωες παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐνὶ χρόνῳ γεγόνασι, καὶ εἰ ἀφίκετο ἐς Τροίαν Παλαμήδης, τὸν δὴ θεῶν ὀρωμένων τε καὶ οὐχ ὀρωμένων ὁμιλητὴν τοιαῦτα ἄγνωσιν, καὶ περὶ τοιούτων ἀνερωτᾶν, ποίας οὐχὶ γενοίτ' ἂν αἰσχύνῃς; εἰ μὴ ἄρα, ἐπειδὴ νεκροῖς ομιλῶν εἰσῆκται, ἐπὶ τὸ

XXIV

THE fourth wonder which he relates is how the soul of Achilles appeared to one by its own request, dressed the first time in a tunic and five cubits high, and subsequently growing till it was twelve cubits in stature, and accusing the Phrygians for not continuing according to custom to offer him the due ~~funeral~~ rites, and furthermore still nursing wrath against the Trojans for the wrong which they had committed against him, and bidding Apollonius ask him questions on five topics such as he himself might desire to learn about and the Pales permit him to know of. We next learn that the ~~concurrent~~ one, who consisted of his presence and ~~form~~ ~~existence~~ was still ignorant of whether Achilles was ~~seen~~ ~~heard~~, and of whether the Muses and Nereids had bestowed their dirges upon him. And accordingly he asked Apollonius about those matters, and enquired most earnestly whether Polyxena had been slain over his tomb, and whether Helen had really come to Troy,

questions surely of a most solemn kind, and such as to stimulate others to read the philosophical treatise of the hero, besides being a treatise of much importance. Thereupon he falls to wondering if there had ever been among the Hellenes so many heroes all at one time, and whether Patroclus had ever reached Troy. Surely it was disgraceful in the extreme that one who was the companion of gods, whether seen or unseen should know so little of such matters as to need to ask questions again and again about them? Unless indeed because in this scene he is introduced as associating with the dead, the

STAT.
1213
The ghost
of Achilles

CAP. Ψυχρότερον μεταποιεῖ τὰς πεύσεις ὁ συγγραφεύς,
 ΣΧΙΥ ὥς ἂν ὑπεκλύσειε τὴν ὑπόνοιαν τοῦ πέρα τῶν
 προσηκόντων αὐτὸν περιειργάσθαι δοκεῖν καὶ γὰρ
 δὴ καὶ ἀπολογούμενον αὐτὸν ὑπογράφει, ὅτι μὴ
 κατὰ νεκρομαντείαν ὁ τρόπος αὐτῷ τῆς φανείσης
 ὁψέως γένοιτο, “οὔτε γὰρ βόθρον,” εἶπεν,
 “Ὀδυσσεὺς ὀρυζόμενος, οὐδ’ ἀρνῶν αἵμασι
 ψυχαγωγήσας, ἐς διάλεξιν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἦλθον,
 ἀλλ’ εὐξάμενος ὀπόσα τοῖς ἥρωσιν Ἴνδοί φασι
 δεῖν εὐξασθαι.” καὶ ταῦτα νῦν πρὸς τὸν ἑταῖρον
 ὑποσεμνύεται ὁ μηδὲν μαθεῖν παρ’ Ἰνδῶν, μηδὲ
 ζηλώσαι τὴν παρ’ αὐτοῖς σοφίαν πρὸς τοῦ συγ-
 γραφέως μεμαρτυρημένους.

XXV

CAP. Τί δῆτα οὖν, ὦ οὗτος, εἰ μὴ τις ἦν κακοήθης
 ΣΧΥ περιεργία, μηδε τὸν ἕνα σοι καὶ γνήσιον καὶ
 μόνον ἑταῖρον Δάμνῳ κοινωνὸν ἐποιοῦ τῆς θαυ-
 μαστῆς ταύτης ὁψέως τε καὶ ὁμιλίας; τί δ’
 οὐχὶ καὶ δι’ ἡμέρας τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐξῆν, ἀλλὰ τῶν
 νυκτῶν ἅωρὶ καὶ μόνον; τί δὲ καὶ ἤλαυνον
 τὴν τοῦ ἥρωος ψυχὴν ἀλεκτρυόνων βοαί;
 “ἀπῆλθε γάρ,” φησι, “ξὺν ἀστραπῇ μετρίᾳ, καὶ
 γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἀλεκτρυονες ἤδη ῥέδῃς ἤπτουντο”
 δαίμοσι μὲν οὖν πονηροῖς γένοιτ’ ἂν ἴσως ὁ τῆς
 ὥρας ἐπιτήδειος εἰς περιέργους ὁμιλίας καιρὸς,
 ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ ἡρωίδι ψυχῇ, ἣν τῆς παχείας τοῦ
 548

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author intentionally gives a frigid turn to his questions, in order to avert the suspicion of his having irreligiously pryed into the secrets of magic. For we may notice he represents him as arguing in his Apology that there was no colour of necromancy in the manner in which the spectre appeared to him, and says "For without digging any trench like Odysseus, and without tempting the souls of the dead with the blood of lambs, I managed to converse with Achilles, merely by using the prayers which the Indians declare we ought to make use of in addressing heroes. This is how Apollonius now brags to his companion, although our author testifies that he had learned nothing from the Indians nor felt attracted by their wisdom.

CHAP.
XXIV

XXV

WHAT then is the reason, my good fellow, sup- posing that there was no devilish curiosity here at work, why he would not allow Dams, whom you admit to have been his sole and genuine and single companion, to share with him in this marvelous vision and interview? And why, too, was he not able to do all this by daytime, instead of doing it in the dead of night and alone? Why, too, did the mere cry of the cocks drive away the soul of the hero? For he says, "It vanished with a mild flash of lightning, for indeed the cocks were already beginning to crow." I cannot but think that evil Demons would have found such an hour seasonable and appropriate for their devilish interviews, rather than the soul of a hero which, having been freed from the

CHAP
XXV
Knowing
nigglets
that an
evil spirit
appeared to
Apollonius

ΓΑΡ.
 XXV σώματος ἐλευθερωθεῖσαν ὕλης ἀγαθὴν καὶ πανά-
 ρετον εἶναι χρεών. ὁ γε μὴν εἰσηγμένος ἐνταῦθα
 δαίμων βάσκανος καὶ φθονερὸς τὸν τρόπον, οργίλος
 τε καὶ ταπεινὸς τὴν διάθεσιν ὑποτιετύπωται. ἢ
 οὐχὶ τοιοῦτος ὁ τὸν Ἀντισθένην μεираκίον τι
 σπουδαῖον ὡς ἂν δὴ φιλοσόφῳ συνέπεσθαι τῷ
 Ἀπολλωνίῳ πειρώμενον ὑπείργων, προστάττει
 γὰρ τὸ μὴ ποιεῖσθαι αὐτὸν συνέμπορον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ
 φιλοσοφίας, ἐπιλέγων τὴν αἰτίαν. "Πριαμίδης τε
 γάρ," φησιν, "ἱκανῶς ἐστὶ καὶ τὸν Ἑκτορα ὑμῶν
 οὐ παύεται." πῶς δὲ οὐκ ὀργίλος καὶ ταπεινὸς ὁ
 Θετταλοῖς, ὅτι μὴ θύοιεν αὐτῷ, θυμούμενος, καὶ
 Τρωσίν, ὅτι δὴ πρὸ μυρίων ὄσων ἐτῶν εἰς αὐτὸν
 διημαρτήκασιν, μὴ καταλλασσόμενος, καὶ ταῦτα
 θύουσι καὶ συνεχῶς σπενδομένοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν
 Παλαμήδους τάφον αὐτῷ ἀγάλματι φανύλως ἐρριμ-
 μένῳ ἀναλαβεῖν ἐγκελευόμενος,

XXVI

ΓΑΡ.
 XXVI Τὸ μέντοι πέμπτον καὶ ἕκτον θαῦμα οὐ
 πολλῆς ἂν δέοιτο τοῦ λόγου διατριβῆς εἰς
 ἀνδείξιν τῆς τοῦ γρύφοντος εὐχερείας δαίμονας
 γὰρ ἀπελαύνει ἄλλῳ ἄλλον, ἢ φασιν, δαίμονι,
 τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἰκαλίστου μεираκίου, τὸν δὲ ἐπὶ
 πλάστως εἰς γυναικείαν μορφήν σχηματιζόμενον,

550

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crass matter of the body, must necessarily be good CHAP.
XXV
and unalloyed. In any case the demon conjured up on this occasion is represented as of a malignant and envious disposition, both rancorous and mean in humour. For how else can we characterise one who drove away Antisthenes, a poor youth so serious that he was endeavouring to become a follower of the philosopher Apollonius? For Achilles insists that he shall not initiate him in his philosophy, and he adds the reason, "For," says he "he is too much of a descendant of Priam, and the praise of Hector is never out of his mouth." And how could he be other than rancorous and mean, if he was wrath with the Thessalians for not sacrificing to him, and still refused to be reconciled to the Trojans, because thousands of years before they had sinned against him, and that although the latter were continually sacrificing and pouring out oblations to him? The only exception is that he ordered Apollonius to restore the tomb of Palamedes, which together with his statue had fallen into decay.

XXVI

THE fifth and sixth miracles however in this book CHAP.
XXVI
do not stand in need of much argument and discussion, so thoroughly do they prove our writer's easy credulity. For Apollonius, as they say, drives out one demon with the help of another. The first of the demons is expelled from an incorrigible youth, while the second disguises itself by assuming the form of a woman: and the latter our clever author

CAP.
XXVI

ταυτοῖ δὲ τὸν δαίμονα ἔμπουσεν καὶ λήμαν
 αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασιν ὁ σοφώτατος ἀποκαλεῖ. το γὰρ
 μὴν ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολέως μετὰ ταῦτα κόριον.
 ὁ τι δὴ μετὰ θανάτου ἐπὶ δευτέραν ζῆν ἔγραψεν.
 ἀπιστήτατον καὶ αὐτῷ δοξαν τῷ Φιλοστράτῳ
 παραιτητέον. ἐν δισταγμῷ μέντοι ἀμφιβαλλει,
 μὴ ἄρα σπινθήρ τις ψυχῇ ἐνυπάρχων τῇ παιδί
 τοις θεραπεύοντας ἐλαλήθει. λέγεσθαι γάρ
 φησιν, "ὥς ψακαῖοι μιν ὁ Ζεὺς, ἡ δὲ ἀτμίς
 ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου." καὶ γὰρ δὴ εἰ ἀληθῶς αὐτῷ
 τοιάνδε ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ῥώμης ἐπέπρακτο, οὐκ ἂν
 ἐλελήθει βασιλεῖα τε πρῶτον καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτὸν
 ὑπάρχοντες ἅπαντας. μάλιστα δὲ τὸν φιλόσοφον
 Εὐφράτην ἐγχευριαζόντα κατ' ἐκαῖνο καιροῦ καὶ
 ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης διατριβόντα, δε δὲ, εἰς ὕστερον
 τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ κατηγορίαν, ὥς δὴ κατὰ γοητος,
 ὑποβαλλεῖν ἱστόρηται. παντὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ τοῦτο,
 εἰ δὴ τοῦτο γεγονός ἦν, ταῖς ἄλλαις κατ' αὐτοῦ
 διαβαλαῖς πρὸς τοῦ κατηγοροῦ συγκατείλεκτο.
 καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν μέρει καὶ κατ' εἶδος αὐτῷ πεπραγ
 μένα τσαῦτα, μυρία δὲ καὶ ἄλλα καταπρυγνῶσιν
 αὐτὸν λέγων προμαντεύσασθαι τε καὶ προειρη
 κέναι γραφεῖ, καὶ ὡς Ἀθηνησοὶ βουλευθέντα μνηθῆ
 ναι τὰ Ἐλευσίνια ὁ τῆδε εἶρξεν ἱερεῖς, μὴ ἂν ποτε
 φησας μνησεσθαι γοητα, μηδὲ τὰ Ἐλευσίνια
 ὑνοῖσαι ἀνθρώπων μη καθαρῶς τὰ δαιμόνια. ἀλλὰ
 καὶ τῷ ἀσελγῶς ἀγειροῦντι κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην, καὶ
 τὰς Νέρωνος μετὰ κινάρας ἐπὶ μισθῷ διεξιόντι

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calls by no other names than those of Empusa and Lamia. As for the damsel whom he is said subsequently to have brought back again to life in Ephe after she had had the story clearly impressed on her mind as being extremely incredible, and we may safely report it. Anyhow he hesitates and doubts whether after all a spark of life might have not figured on in the girl unnoticed by her attendants. For he says that according to report it was raining at the time, and a vapour exhaled from the face of the girl. Anyhow if such a miracle had really been wrought in Ephe itself it could not have escaped the notice first of the emperor and after him of his urban magistrate, and last of all of the philosopher Epicurus who at the time was in the country and was staying in Ephe, who, as we must infer, is reported to have launched against Apollonius the accusation of being no other than a wizard. It would certainly too had it actually occurred have been included by the accuser among the other charges levelled against him. What just these and no more are the more particular and special achievements of Apollonius although there are a myriad other cases in the book in which his miracle sayings and prophecies are set down to his gift of foreknowledge, and we learn that at Athens when he desired to be initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries the priest there would not admit him and declared that he would never initiate a wizard nor throw open the Eleusinian mysteries to a man who was addicted to impostor rites. We also hear almost a legend of one who went begging about Rome rehearsing the songs of Heron on his lyre for pay, and we are told that

CHAP.
XXII.
The girl
brought back to
life
as reported

CAP
XXVI ὥδαις, μισθὸν ἐπιδούναι τοῖς ἐταίροις τῆς σοφῆς
ταύτης ἐπιτηδεύσεως ὁ φιλοσοφώτατος διὰ τὸν
Νέρωνος φόβον προστάττει.

XXVII

CAP
XXVII Ἐν ταύτοις καὶ τοῦ τετάρτου περιγραφέντος, ἐν
τῷ πέμπτῳ τῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφῆς εἰπὼν τινα
περὶ προγνώσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑποθαυμάσας ὁ
συγγραφεύς, ἐπιλέγει ταῦτα κατὰ λάξιν "ὅτι μὲν
δὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα δαιμονία κινήσει προέλεγε καὶ ὅτι
τοῖς γόητα ἡγουμένοις τὸν ἄνδρα οὐχ ὑγιαίνει ὁ
λόγος, δηλοῖ μὲν καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα, σκεψομεθα δὲ
κάκεινα· οἱ γόητες, ἡγοῦμαι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐγὼ
κακοδαιμονεστάτους ἀνθρώπων, οἱ μὲν ἐς βασάνους
εἰδώλων χωροῦντες, οἱ δ' ἐς θυσίας βαρβάρους, οἱ
δὲ ἐς τὸ ἐπαῖσαι τι ἢ ἀλεῖψαι, μεταποιεῖν φασι τὰ
εἰμαρμένα, ὁ δὲ εἶπετο μὲν τοῖς ἐκ Μοιρῶν, καὶ
προέλεγε, ὡς ἀνάγκη ἔσεσθαι αὐτά, προέλεγε δὲ
οὐ γοητεύων, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν οἱ θεοὶ ἔφαινον· ἰδὼν δὲ
παρὰ τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς τοὺς τρίποδας καὶ τοὺς οἰνο-
χοοὺς καὶ ὅσα αὐτόματα ἐσφοιτᾶν εἶπον, οὐθ'
ὅπως σοφίζονται αὐτὰ ἤρετο, οὔτε ἐδείχθη μαθεῖν,
ἀλλ' ἐπήνει μὲν, ζηλοῦν δὲ οὐκ ἤξιον." ταῦτα δὲ
λέγων δῆλός ἐστι τοὺς περιβοήτους Ἰνδῶν φιλο-

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this most philosophic of teachers out of fear of Nero MAP
XXVI
ordered his companions to bestow applause on him in
recognition of his never accomplished.

XXVII

Such are the contents of the fourth book, and in CHAP
XXVII
the fifth book of his history after a few remarks
about his gift of prescience our author is so lost in
admiration as to add the following remark, which I
repeat exactly: "That then he was enabled to
make such forecasts by some divine impulse, and
that it is no sound inference to suppose as some
people do, that Apollonius was a wizard is clear from
what I have said. But let us consider the following
facts: wizards, whom for my part I reckon to be the
most unfortunate of mankind, claim to alter the
course of destiny, either by tormenting the ghosts
whom they encounter, or by means of barbaric
sacrifices, or by means of certain incantations or
amulets. But Apollonius himself submitted to the
decrees of the Fates, and foretold that they must
needs come to pass, and his foreknowledge was not
due to wizardry, but derived from what the gods
revealed to him. And when among the Indians he
beheld their tripods, and their dumb writers and
other automatons which I described as entering the
room of their own accord, he neither asked how
they were contrived nor wished to learn. He only
praised them but did not aspire to imitate them."
Such a passage as the above clearly exhibits in the
light of wizards the famous philosophers of India.

ΣΑΤ
 ΣΧΥ.ΙΤ σοφους γόητας ὑποφαίνων. περὶ γάρ τοι γοήτων
 ποιούμενος τὸν λόγον μνημονεύει καὶ τούτων, σοφί-
 ζεσθαι δὴ τὰ παράδοξα λέγων αὐτοὺς καὶ τόν,
 περὶ οὗ ὁ λόγος, τῆς τοιασδὲ αὐτῶν σοφιστείας
 ὥς ἂν μὴ ἀστείας ἀλλοτριον ὑποτιθέμενος οὐκοῦν
 εἰ φαίνοιτο τούτους θεοὺς ἀποκαλῶν καὶ διδασκάλ-
 οὺς ἐπιγραφομενος αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀπολλωνιος, ὥρα
 ταῖς κατὰ τῶν διδασκάλων καὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπὶ γαίης
 διαβολαῖς. εἰσήκται δὴ οὖν παρ' οἷς φησι γιγναιῖς
 Αἰγυπτίων, ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς ταῦτα φάσκων· "οὐκ
 ἠπεικός τε παθεῖν μοι δοκῶ φιλοσοφίας ἡττηθεὶς
 εὐ κεκοσμημένης, ἦν ἐς τὸ προσφορον Ἰνδοὶ στεί-
 λαντες ἐφ' ὑψηλῆς τε καὶ θείας μηχανῆς ἐκ-
 κυκλοῦσιν, ὥς δὴ ἐν δίκῃ μὲν ἡγισθῆν, ἐν δικῇ
 δὲ ἡγοῦμαι σοφοὺς τε καὶ μακαρίους, ὦρα μανθά-
 νειν." καὶ μετὰ βραχεία φησὶν· "οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ
 θεοὶ τέ εἰσι καὶ κεκόσμηται κατὰ τὴν Πυθίαν,"
 καὶ Διομετιανῷ δὲ εἰσήκται λέγων· "καὶ τίς πρὸς
 Ἰάρχαν σοι πόλεμος ἢ πρὸς Φραωτὴν τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς;
 οὐδ' ἐγὼ μόνους ἀνθρώπων θεοὺς τε ἡγοῦμαι καὶ
 ἡξίους τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ταύτης," καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις
 δὲ ὁμοίως θεοὺς τε καὶ διδασκάλους τῶνδ' ἐπι-
 γραψας ὁ λόγος τοὺς δεδηλωμένους, δακτυλίους τε
 παρ' αὐτῶν εἰληφέναι ὁμολογήσαι αὐτοὺς, ἐπιλέ-
 λησται νῦν, καὶ συνδιαβέλλων τοῖς διδασκάλους
 τοῦ μαθητῆν οὐκ ἐπαίει.

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

For notice that when he is arguing about wizards, he mentions them too and says that their marvels were cleverly contrived indeed, but that his hero held himself carefully aloof from such their contrivances, on the ground that they were not moral. If therefore we find Apollonius calling these Indians gods, and enrolling himself as their disciple, we have no alternative but to bring him also under the imputation under which his teachers lay. And accordingly he is introduced as saying among the so-called Naked sages of the Egyptians, the following -I quote his very words- "It is then not unreasonable on my part, I think, to have yielded myself to a philosophy so highly elaborated, to a philosophy which, if I may use a metaphor from the stage, the Indians admit, as it deserved to be mounted, upon a lofty and divine metempsychosis; for they wove it out upon the stage. And that I was right to admire them, and that I am right in considering them wise and blessed, it is now time to learn." And after a little he says "for they are not only gods, but are adorned with all the gifts of the Pythian prophetess." And he is introduced to Domitian with these words on his lips: "What war have you with Larchus or with Phrynus, both of them Indians, whom I consider to be the only men that are really gods and that deserve this appellation?" And there are other passages also in which this history of Philostratus recognises the persons above mentioned as gods and teachers of the sage, and admits him to have accepted rings from them, but now he forgets all about it, and does not see that in maligning the teachers, he maligns the disciple.

XXVIII

CAP.
XXVIII

Ὑποβὰς δ' ἐν τῇ γραφῇ αὐλητὴν ὑποτίθεται, καὶ τὸν Ἀπολλωνιον ὥσπερ τινὸς οὔσης μεγίστης καὶ σοφωτάτης ἐπιστήμης, τρόπους αὐλήσεως μάλα σπουδαίως μακροῖς τοῖς διεξηγήμασιν εἵρουτα διεξέρχεται καὶ αὐτοκράτορα Οὐεσπασιανὸν οἶα δὴ θεῷ προσεύξασθαι αὐτῷ ἱστορεῖ, καὶ τον μὲν ὡς εὐχῇ εἰρηκῆναι τὸν Οὐεσπασιανόν· “ποίησόν με βασιλέα,” τὸν δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι “ἐποίησα.” καὶ τίς οὐκ ἂν μολήσειεν εὐλόγως τῆς ἀλαζονείας τὴν φωνήν, μανίας τὸ μηθὲν ἀποδέουσιν, ὅτε γε ἤδη αὐτὸς θεὸς καὶ βασιλέων ποιητὴς εἶναι φρονάττεται ὁ τῆς Αἰγυπτίας κυβερνητὴς νεῶς; τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος γεγονέναι τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τὸν Ἰνδὸν ὁμιλίαις μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἡμῶν δεδήλωκε.

XXIX

CAP.
XXIX

Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ οὗτος ἂν αὐτὸς δοκιμάζοι τῶν φιλοσόφων συμβούλους τῶν πρακτέων, γνωρίσαι αὐτῷ ἀξιούντι, κατὰ λέξιν φησὶν· “ἀγαθοὶ δὲ τούτων σύμβουλοι καὶ οἷδε οἱ ἄνδρες, τὸν Δίωνα δεῖξας καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην μήπω αὐτῷ ἐς διαφοράν ἤκοντα.” καὶ αὖθις, “ὦ βασιλεῦ,” εἶπεν, “Εὐφράτης καὶ Δίων πάλοι σοι γνώριμοι

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XXVIII

AND a little lower down in the book he brings a flute-player upon the stage, and he relates at length how Apollonius delivered himself with great gravity of long essays upon the different modes of playing the flute, as if it were the most important and clever of the sciences. And he relates how the Emperor Vespasian offered him prayers just as if he were a god, for we learn that Vespasian said in a tone of prayer: "Do thou make me Emperor," whereupon Apollonius answered; "I have made you so." What else can anyone do but loathe this utterance for its boastfulness, so nearly does it approach downright madness. For one who was the pilot of a ship in Egypt to boast of being himself a god already and a maker of kings? For Apollonius himself has informed us a little before in the course of his conversation with the Indian that his soul had previously been that of a pilot.

CHAP.
XXVIII
Apollonius
the king's
maker

XXIX

AND to the same Emperor, when the latter asks him to notify to him those whom he most approved of among philosophers as advisers and counsellors of his policy, Apollonius replies in these words: "These gentlemen here are also good advisers in such matters," and he pointed to Dion and to Euphrates, because he had not yet quarrelled with the latter. And again, he said, "My sovereign, Euphrates and Dion have long been known to you

CHAP.
XXIX
Relations
with
Euphrates

ΛΑΥ
 ΧΧΧ

ὄντες πρὸς θύραις εἰσὶν οὐκ ἡφρόντιδες τῶν
 σῶν. κἀλεῖ δὴ κἀκείνους ἐκ κοινὸν λόγον, σοφῶ
 γὰρ τὸ ἄνδρε." πρὸς ἃ Οὔεσπασιανος, "ἀκλεί-
 τους," ἔφη, "θύρας παρέχω σοφοῖς ἀνδράσιν."
 εἶγε τῆς προγνώσεως τοῦ ἡρώος Εὐφράτης νῦν
 ἀγαθὸς τε καὶ σοφός, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐκ διαφορὰν πῶ
 αὐτῷ ἐληλύθει· εἰ δ' ἔλθοι—ὅσον οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτ'
 ἔσται—ὅρα οἷα περὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ αὐτὸς πρὸς Δομι-
 τριανὸν γραφεὶ "καὶ μὴν ὅποσα γίνεταί φιλο-
 σόφῳ ἀνδρὶ κολακεύοντι τοὺς δυνατοὺς δηλοῖ τὰ
 Εὐφράτου· τοῦτ' ἄντε ὕψος, τί λέγω χρήματα.
 πηγαὶ μὲν οὖν αἰσι πλούτου, ἀπὸ τῶν τραπεζῶν
 ἤδη διαλέγεται κἀπὴλος ὑπακώπηλος τελώσης
 ὀβολοστάτης, πάντα γιγνόμενος τὰ πωλούμεναι τε
 καὶ πωλοῦντα, ἐντετύπνεται δὲ ἀεὶ ταῖς τῶν δυνα-
 τῶν θύραις, καὶ προσέστηκεν αὐταῖς πλεῖον καιρὸν
 ἢ οἱ θυρωροί, ἀπεληφθῆ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν θυρωρῶν
 πολλάκις, ὥσπερ τῶν κυνῶν οἱ λίχιοι δραχμὴν
 δε οὐδὲ φιλοσόφῳ ἀνδρὶ ποτε προέμενος, ἐπιτειχίζει
 νῦν τον ἑαυτοῦ πλούτου, ἐτέροις τον Αἰγύπτιον
 τουτονὶ βόσκων χρήμασι καὶ ὄξυνων ἐπ' ἐμὲ
 γλώτταν ἕξιν ἐκτετμήσθαι. Εὐφράτην μὲν δὴ
 καταλαίπω σοί, σὺ γάρ, ἦν μὴ κυλακας ἐπαινήης.
 εὐρησεις τον ἀνθρώπον κακίω ἢ ἐρμηνεύω" ὁ
 δὴ πρὸς τον πατέρα τον Οὔεσπασιανον σοφὸν
 καὶ ἀγαθὸν τον Εὐφράτην μαρτυρούμενος, πρὸς δὲ
 τον υἱὸν ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ διεξίπων, δηλὸς ἂν εἴη

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and they are at your door, and are much concerned THAT
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for your welfare. Summon them also therefore to your conference for they are both of them wise." Whereupon Vespasian answered, "I throw my doors open wide to wise men. What can we think of the presence of our men?" On this occasion Euphrates is both good and wise, because he has not yet quarrelled with him, but when he has, and before long he is going to. Then see how the same person writes to the Emperor Domitian, "And yet if you want to know how much a philosopher may attain by flattery of the mighty you have only to look at the case of Euphrates. For in his case why do I speak of wealth from that source? Why he has perfect ~~fortuna~~ is of wealth and already at the banks he discusses prices as a merchant might or a huckster, or a tax-gatherer or a low money-changer, for all these ways are his if there is anything to buy or sell. And he chugs like a hump to the doors of the mighty, and you see him standing at them more regularly than any doorkeeper would be, indeed he is often caught by the doorkeepers, just as greedy dogs might be. But he never yet bestowed a farthing on a philosopher, but he wallops up his wealth within his house, only supporting this Egyptian out of other people's money and sharpening his tongue against me, when it ought to be cut out. However I will leave Euphrates to yourself, for unless you approve of flatterers you will find the fellow worse than I represent him. Surely one who first bears witness to Vespasian the father that Euphrates is a wise and good man, and then inveighs against him in this style to his son, is openly convicted of poisoning

ΛΑΡ. ΚΧ X τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπαινῶν τε καὶ ψέγων. ἤρ' οὖν ὁ τὴν
 τῶν μελλόντων προειληφώς γνώσιν ἡγνυει, ὃς ἦν
 τε καὶ ἔσται τὸν τρόπον ὁ Εὐφράτης, καὶ γὰρ οὐ
 νῦν πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Οὐσπασιανοῦ
 διαβάλλειν αὐτὸν ὥς δὴ το ἦθος μοχθηρότατον
 βούλεται. πῶς δὴ οὖν τὰν τοιόνδε συνήστη
 βασιλεῖ, ὥς καὶ ἀκλείστους αὐτῷ διὰ τὰς παρ'
 αὐτοῦ συστάσεις τῶν βασιλεῶν ἀναπεπετίσθαι
 τὰς πύλας, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τυφλῶ, φασί, διήλον
 ὥς ἄρα πρόγνωσιν μὲν συκοφαντεῖται πρὸς τοῦ
 συγγραφέως ὁ ἄνθρωπος, εἴη δ' ἂν ἄλλως γενναῖος,
 πάλαι μὲν πρὸ πείρας ἀφθόνως ἑταίροις, κτάρ καὶ
 τῷ Εὐφράτῃ τῆς εἰς τὰ βασίλεια παρυδου κοινοῦ,
 ὅστερον δὲ τῆς διαφορας ἔνεκα τοιαῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ
 λέγων. οὐκ ἔγωγε διαβιλλεῖν ὁ λόγος βούλεται
 τὰν αἰδρα, ὥς ἂν τὸν Εὐφράτην συκοφαντοῦντα,
 φιλοσοφῶν γενόμενον τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδοξύτα-
 τον, ὥς καὶ ἐς δεῦρ', οἷς μετῄσσι φιλοσοφίας,
 ἄδεσθαι, ὃ καὶ μέγιστον λάβοι ἂν τις, εἰ βούλοιτο,
 παράδειγμα τῆς κατὰ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου διαβολῆς.
 εἰ γὰρ οὖν ὁ Εὐφράτης παρ' αὐτοῖς πάσῃ φιλο-
 σοφίᾳ διαπρέψαι ὁμολογηθεῖη, ὥρα μισοπονηρίαν
 μὲν ἐκείνου κατηγορεῖν, ἐπεξιόντος τοῖς ἰετύπως
 ὑπο τοῦδε ὀρωμένοις, τουτοῦ δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνου
 κατηγορουμένου φανλὴν περιβιάλλεσθαι δόξαν,
 ὅτι δὴ μὴ τὰν ἀρέσκοντα τῷ φιλοσοφῷ μετῆει
 βίον.

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and blaming the same person. Was it then the case (MAR. 111)
 that the man who was endowed with knowledge of the future did not know what the character of Euphrates was nor what it was going to be? For it is not now the first time but already in the case of Verres himself he is inclined to accuse him of being the worst of characters. How then is it that he recommended such a person to the sovereignty so warmly that in consequence of his recommendation the latter threw open to the citizens his house to him? Was it not clear to a blind man, as they say that in the matter of foreknowledge the fowls are instructed by his own behaviour, through what place ground he might be regarded as an honest man? For would suppose that a great and better he learned by experience to make a good return to the palace as free for his friends Euphrates included as for himself but was afterwards moved by the quarrel to use such language of him. I have no wish in thus arguing to accuse Apollonius of having falsely blamed Euphrates who was the most distinguished philosopher of all the men of his age, so much so that his praises are still on the lips of students of philosophy. Not but what anyone who was minded to do so could take this as a primary example of slander and backbiting and use it against Apollonius. For if Euphrates be really by their admission a better man than philosophy it is open to me to accuse his rival of conservatism when he attacks him for his monstrous conduct and to suppose that the latter contracted his evil reputation because he was thus attacked by him for pursuing that was the accusation, - as if not the satisfactory to a philosopher.

ΟΛΡ
 XXX Πάλιν ἐν τῷ ἔκτῳ παραδοξολογῶν ὁ μυθολόγος
 ἄγει μὲν αὐτόν, ἅμα τοῖς ἐταίροις καμηλῶ ὀχού-
 μενον, ἐφ' οὓς φησιν Ἀίγυπτίων γυμνοὺς φιλο-
 σόφους, ἔνθα δὴ προστάξαντος τοῦ γυμνοῦ
 πτελέα, φησί, τὸ δένδρον προσαγορεύει τὸν
 Ἀπολλώνιον ἐνάρθρῳ καὶ θήλει τῇ φωνῇ, καὶ
 τούτοις γε ἡμᾶς ὁ Φιλαλήθης πιστεύει ἄξιοι.
 εἶτα Πυγμαίους ἄνδρας ὑπὲρ τὴν τούτων ἱστορεῖ
 χώραν καὶ Ἀνθρωποφάγους καὶ Σκιόποδας,
 σάτυρον τε πρὸς τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου μεθυσκόμενον.
 ἐξ ἐκείνων δ' αὖθις ἐπάνεισιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰλλυρία,
 ὁμίλῃαι τε πάλιν αὐτῷ καὶ προγνωσεὶς ἀνακοι-
 νοῦνται πρὸς Τίτον, καὶ δηχθέντα ἔφηβον ὑπὸ
 λυττῶντος κυνός, ὃν δὴ καὶ ἐμαντεύσατο, ὅς τις
 εἶη τὴν ψυχὴν, ὅτι ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ποτὲ βασιλεὺς
 Ἀμασις, τῆς συμφορᾶς ἀπαλλάττει, μέχρι καὶ
 τοῦ κυνὸς ἐπιτείνας τὸ φιλάνθρωπον.

ΟΛΡ
 XXXI Τιτυὶ μὲν οὖν τὰ πρὸ τῆς κατηγορίας αὐτῷ
 πεπραγμένα, ἐπιστήσαι δ' ἄξιον δι' ὅλης τῆς
 πραγματείας, ὥς ὅτι κἂν ἀληθεύειν δοθῇ τῷ
 συγγραφεὶ τὰ παράδοξα, συνεργεῖα δαίμονος
 ἕκαστον αὐτῷ διαπεπράχθαι τούτων σαφῶς

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

XXX

IN the sixth book our story-teller resumes his tale of miracles, for he brings his hero, together with his companions, on camel-back to see those whom he calls the Naked philosophers of Egypt. Here then at the bidding of one of these sages an elm-tree, we are told, spoke to Apollonius in an articulate but feminine voice, and this is the sort of thing which the Lover of Truth expects us to believe. Then he has a story of pygmies who live on the other side of their country and of man-eaters and of shadow-footed men and of a satyr whom Apollonius made drunk. From these sages Apollonius is brought back again to Hellus, where he renews his interviews and his prophecies to Titus. Then we hear about a youth who was bitten by a mad dog. He is rescued from his distress by Apollonius, who forthwith proceeds to divine whose soul it was that the dog had inside him, and we learn that it was that of Amasis, a former king of Egypt, for the sage's humanity extended to dogs.¹

CHAP.
XXX
The visit to
the Naked
Philosophers
of Egypt

XXXI

THESE then are the achievements which preceded his accusation, and it behoves us to notice throughout the treatise that, even if we admit the author to tell the truth in his stories of miracles, he yet clearly shows that they were severally performed by Apollonius with the co-operation of a demon. For his

CHAP.
XXXI
Apollonius
miracles
due to the
co-operation
of evil demons

¹ Eusebius confuses the mad dog of VI 43 with the lamia of V 42.

δείκνυται. τό τε γὰρ τοῦ λαιμοῦ προαισθῆσθαι
 ἴσως μὲν οὐδὲ περίεργον ἂν δόξειεν, εἰ ἀπὸ
 λεπτοτάτης καὶ καθαρᾶς διαίτης κατείληπτο,
 ὡς αὐτὸς ἔφησεν, ἴσως δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ ἐξ ὁμιλίας
 δαίμονος αὐτῷ προμεμήνυτο. καὶ γὰρ ὅη καὶ τὰ
 λοιπὰ, ὅσα κατὰ πρόγνωσιν διειληφώς τε καὶ
 προσηρηκῶς εἰσῆκται, εἰ καὶ μυρίοις ἐλέγχοις ἐξ
 αὐτῆς πάρεστι τῆς τοῦ Φιλοστράτου γραφῆς
 εὐθύνειν, ὅμως ἵνα συγχωρηθεῖη καὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι
 ἀληθές, κατὰ περίεργον μηχανὴν εἶπομι' ἂν πρὸς
 δαίμονος αὐτῷ παρέδρου τινὰ τῶν μελλόντων,
 οὐδὲ γὰρ πάντα, κατείληφθαι. τοῦτο δὲ παρί-
 στησι σαφές τὸ μὴ δι' ὅλου καὶ περὶ πάντων
 τὴν πρόγνωσιν αὐτὸν ἀποσωζειν, ἀπορεῖν δὲ ἐν
 πλείστοις καὶ πυνθάνεσθαι δι' ἄγνοιαν, ὅπερ
 οὐκ ἂν, εἰ θείας ἀρετῆς μετῆν αὐτῷ, πεπόνθει.
 καὶ αὐτοῦ δὲ τὸ παύσαι τὸν λαιμόν, ὁποῖον εἴληχε
 τὸ δράμα, ὅτι φάσμα καὶ οὐδέν τι πλέον ἦν,
 προδεδήλωται. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ Ἀχιλλέως
 παρὰ τῷ αὐτοῦ μνήματι τί ἂν διατρέβοι, τὰς ἐν
 μακάρων νήσοις, ὡς ἂν φήσειέ τις, ἀπολείπουσα
 διαγωγὴς, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῦτο δαίμονος ἦν ἐπιφανείας
 παρουσία, καὶ τοῦ ἰσελγοῦς δὲ μαιρακίου σαφῶς
 ἔνοικον δαίμονα, καὶ πάλιν, ἣν ἔφησεν ἔμπουσύν
 τε καὶ λίμαν ἐμπεπαρωνηκέναι τῷ Μενίππῳ,
 μείζονι τάχ' ἴσως ἐξελέηλακε δαίμονι, ὁμοίως τε

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

perishment of the plague, though it might not CHAP
XXXI
 seem to be magical and uncanny if he used it, as he himself said, to the lightness and purity of his diet yet might quite as well have been a premonition imparted to him in intercourse with a demon. For though the other stories of his having grasped and foretold the future by virtue of his powers can be refuted by a thousand arguments which Philostorgius' own text supports, nevertheless if we allow this particular story to be true I should certainly say that his apprehensions of futurity was anyhow in some cases though it was not so in all due to some unseen co-operation of a demon that was his familiar. This is clearly proved by the fact that he did not retain his gift of foreknowledge uniformly and in all cases, and was at fault in most cases and had through ignorance to make excuses, as he would not have needed to do if he had been endowed with divine power and virtue. And the very cessation of the plague, according to the particular turn which was given to the drama, has already been shown to have been a delusion and nothing more. Moreover, the soul of Achilles should not have been lingering about his own monument, quitting the islands of the Brest and the places of repose as people would probably say. In this case too it was surely a demon that appeared to Apollonius and in whose presence he found himself. Then again the Lucanian youth was clearly the victim of an indwelling demon, and both he and the Lamians and the Lamiæ which is said to have played off its mad pranks at Menippus, were probably driven out by him with the help of a more important demon, the same in

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XXXI

αὐτὸ καὶ τὸν τὰς φρένας παρατραπέντα νεανίαν
ὑπὸ τοῦ λυττῶντος κυνός, αὐτόν τε τὸν δαιμονῶντα
κύνα τῇ αὐτῇ μετήλλαξε μεθόδῳ. ὅρα δὴ οὖν,
ἔφην, τὴν πᾶσαν αὐτῷ παραδοξοποιῖαν, ὡς διὰ
δαιμονικῆς ἀπετελεῖτο ὑπουργίας. τὸ γὰρ τῆς
ἀναβιωσάσης κόρης, εὐγ' ἔμπνους ὑπῆρχε, σπιν-
θῆρα ψυχῆς κατὰ τὸν συγγραφέα καὶ ἱκμάδα
ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου φέρουσα, περιαιρετέον τῆς
θαυματοποιίας· οὐ γὰρ ἂν, ὡς καὶ πρόσθεν ἔφην,
σιωπῇ τὸ τηλικούτο παρεδόθη ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ἑρώμης
βασιλέως ἐπιπαρόντος γεγεννημένον.

XXXII

CAP.
XXXII

Μυρία μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα πάρεσθιν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν
ἀναλέξασθαι συγγραμμάτων, τό τε ἐν αὐτοῖς
εὐέλεγκτον καὶ ἀσύστατον μυθῶδες τε καὶ
τερατώδες ἀπευθύνειν. ὅμως, ἐπεὶ γε οὐδὲ πολλῆς
τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἄνδρα δεῖται σπουδαιολογίας, οὐχ ὅτι
γε ἐν θεοῖς καὶ παροδόχοις καὶ θαυμασίοις, ἀλλ'
οὐδ' ἐν φιλοσόφοις παρά τισι τῶν νῦν μνήμης
ὑπαρχούσης αὐτοῦ, τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἄρκεσθεις
μετίωμεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἑβδομον περὶ αὐτοῦ
σύγγραμμα.

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true also of the youth who had been driven out of
 his mind by the mad dog, and the frenzied dog
 itself was restored to its senses by the same method
 You must then, as I said, regard the whole series of
 miracles wrought by him, as having been accom-
 plished through a ministry of demons for the re-
 suscitation of the girl must be divested of any
 miraculous character, if she was really alive all the
 time and still bore in herself a vital spark, as the
 author says, and if a vapour rose over her face. CHAP.
XXXI
 For it is impossible, as I said before, that such a
 miracle should have been passed over in silence in
 Rome itself, if it happened when the sovereign was
 close by.

XXXII

THERE are a thousand other examples then which CHAP.
XXXII
 we may select from the same books, where the
 narrative refutes itself by its very incongruities, so
 enabling us to detect its mythical and miracle-
 mongering character. At the same time we need
 not devote too much attention and study to the
 gentleman's career, seeing that those of our con-
 temporaries among whom his memory survives at all,
 are so far from classing him among divine and
 extraordinary and wonderful beings, that they do not
 even rank him among philosophers. This being so,
 let us be content with the remarks we have made,
 and proceed to consider the seventh book of his
 history.

XXXIII

CAP
XXXIII

Κατηγορεῖται δῆτα γοητεῖαν ὁ ἄνθρωπος. εἶτα Δημητρίῳ φιλοσόφῳ ἀποτρέποντι αὐτὸν τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην παρόδου, μὴ πειθόμενος, ἐπαχθῇ τινα καὶ φορτικὰ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ ᾧδὲ πως λέγει· “ἐγὼ δὲ γυγνώσκω μὲν πλεῖστα ἀνθρώπων, ἅτε εἰδὼς πάντα, οἶδα δὲ ὧν οἶδα τὰ μὲν σπουδαίους, τὰ δὲ σοφοῖς, τὰ δὲ ἑμαυτῷ, τὰ δὲ θεοῖς.” καὶ δὴ ὁ ἐν τούτοις πάντ’ εἰδέναι μεγαλαυχούμενος, προΐων ἄγνοιάν τινων πρὸς τοῦ λόγου κατηγορεῖται. εἶτα Δάμις αὐτῷ μεταπλάττεται, διὰ θανάτου φόβον τὸν φιλόσοφον ἐπικρυπτόμενος. ἄκουε δ’ οὖν τοῦ συγγραφέως, ὃ περὶ αὐτοῦ φησιν ἀπολογούμενος· “αἰτία μὲν ἦδε τοῦ μεταβαλεῖν τον Δίμιν τὸ τῶν Πυθαγορείων σχῆμα, οὐ γὰρ κακία γε αὐτὸ μεθεῖναι φησιν, οὐδὲ μεταγνοῦς, τέχνην δὲ ἐπαινέσας, ἣν ὑπῆλθεν ἐς τὸ συμφέρον τοῦ καιροῦ.”

XXXIV

CAP
XXXIV

Ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Φιλόστρατος τέσσαρας αἰτίας, τὰς δὴ εὐχέρεις αὐτῷ πρὸς ἀπολογίαν νομισθεῖσας, ἐκτίθῃσιν, ἀπὸ πλείστων καὶ ἄλλων αὐτὰς ὁμολογῶν ἀνειλέχθαι, ὧν ἡ μὲν τις ἦν, τί δῆτα

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XXXIII

Here then we find him categorically accused of being a wizard. Next we find Demetrius the philosopher trying to dissuade him from going on to Rome, and Apollonius rejects his advice in words which are full of vulgar effrontery and fulsome praise of himself. They are as follows. "But I know most human affairs, seeing that I know everything, at the same time I reserve my knowledge partly for good men, partly for the wise, partly for myself, partly for the gods." And yet the man who in these words brags about his omniscience, before he goes much further is accused by the text itself of an ignorance in certain matters. Next Apollonius disguises Demis, for the latter conceals the fact of his being a philosopher because he is afraid of death. Listen then to the words in which our author apologises for him. "This was the reason taken of Demis' putting off his Pythagorean dress. For he says that it was not cowardice that led him to make the change, nor regret at having worn it, but he did it because the device recommended itself as suggested by the expedience of the moment."

XXXIV

After this Philostratus sets forth four counts of the indictment which he imagines it will be easy for his hero to defend himself from, and he admits that he has collected these out of a great many others. Of these the first was. What induced him

CHAP
XXXIV

μαθὼν οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν ἅπασιν ἔχοι στολὴν, ἢ δέ, τοῦ χάριν οἱ ἄνθρωποι θεὸν αὐτὸν κενονόμεσαι, τρίτην, πόθεν προεῖποι Ἐφεσίοις τὸν λοιμόν. ἐπὶ ταύτας, τίτι βαδίσας εἰς ἀγρον ἀνατέμοι τὸν παῖδα τὸν Ἀρκάδα. πρὸς ταύτας δέ φησι καὶ τὴν ἀπολογίαν αὐτὸν γεγραφέναι. προτερον δ' ἱστορεῖ δεσμοῖς αὐτὸν παραδοθῆναι καὶ τι θαυμαστὸν ἐνταῦθα κατεργασασθαι. τῷ γάρ τοι Δάμιδι μάλα λυπηρῶς, ὥς ἂν ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ τοῦ διδασκάλου, διακειμένῳ αὐτόματον ἐπιδεῖξαι λελυμένον τοῦ δεσμοῦ τὸ σκέλος, εἴτα πάλιν ἀναλαβόντ' αὐτὸν τῆς λύπης ἐνθεῖναι εἰς τὸ πρότερον σχῆμα τὸν πόδα. μετὰ τοῦτο κρινόμενον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ βασιλέως Δομετιανοῦ γραφεὶ δὴ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἀπολυθῆναι, καὶ μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἐγκλημάτων λύσιν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἀκαίρως, μοι δοκεῖν, ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα ἀναφωνῆσαι, "ὅς, εἰ βούλει, κήμοι τόπον, εἰ δὲ μή, πέμπε τὸν ληψόμενον μου τὸ σῶμα, τὴν γὰρ ψυχὴν ἀδύνατον. μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδ' ἂν τὸ σῶμα τοῦμον λάβοις."

οὐ γάρ με κτενέεις, ἐπεὶ οὗτοι μόρσιμός εἰμι."

καὶ δὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ περιβοήτῳ ῥήματι ἀφανισθῆναι τοῦ δικαστηρίου φησὶν αὐτόν, καὶ ἐν τούτοις τὸ περὶ αὐτοῦ καταστρέφει δράμα.

XXXV

CAP
XXXV

Ὁ μὲν οὖν συγγραφεὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὸ δεσμωτήριον θαύματος, κατὰ φαντασίαν, ὥς ἔοικεν, ὑπὸ τοῦ παρέδρου δαίμονος τῷ Δάμιδι ἐωραμένου, ἐπι-

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to wear a different robe from everybody else? and the second—Why was it that men esteemed him to be a god? the third, How had he managed to predict the plague to the Ephesians? and last of all—In whose behalf had he gone to a certain field and cut up the Arcadian boy? To meet these then, he alleges Apollonius to have written an apology. But first of all he relates how he was cast into prison, and the miracle which he wrought there. For we hear that Damis was extremely downcast at the misfortune which he imagined had befallen his teacher, whereupon Apollonius showed him his leg released without effort from the chain. Then having thus alleviated him for over a grief, he put his foot back again into its former condition and habit. After that he was brought to trial before the Emperor Domitian and we read that he was acquitted on the charges, and that after being so acquitted he, with curious inopportunities, as it seems to me, cried out in the court exactly as follows:—‘Accord me too, if you will, an opportunity to speak, but if not, then send someone to take my body, for my soul you cannot take. Nay you cannot even take my body, for thou shalt not slay me, since I tell thee I am not mortal.’ And then after this famous utterance, we are told that he vanished from the court, and this is the conclusion of the whole drama.

XXXV

Now in regard to the miracle in the prison, which it seems was an illusion, imposed on the eyes of Damis by the familiar demon, our author adds the

6AP φέρει λέγων, " τότε πρῶτον ὁ Δάμις φησὶν ἀκριβῶς
 XXXI ξυνεῖναι τῆς Ἀπολλωνίου φύσεως, ὅτι θεία τε εἶη
 καὶ κρείττων ἀνθρώπου, μὴ γὰρ θύσαντά τι, πῶς
 γὰρ ἂν ἐν δεσμοτηρίῳ; μηδὲ εὐξάμενον, μηδὲ
 εἰπόντα τι, καταγελάσαι τοῦ δεσμοῦ, καὶ ἐναρ-
 μόσαντα αὐτῷ τὸ σκέλος τὰ τοῦ δεδεμένου
 πράττειν." ἐγὼ δὲ οὐποτ' ἂν καταγνοίην βραδυ-
 τήτα τοῦ φοιτητοῦ, εἰ τὸν πάντα βίον συνῶν
 αὐτῷ, καὶ διὰ τινων περιέργων ὁρῶν αὐτὸν ἐποτε-
 λούντα τὰ παράδοξα, οὐδέν τι διαφέρειν αὐτὸν
 ἡγεῖται τῆς θνητῆς φύσεως, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν μετὰ
 τοσαύτην θαυματουργίαν τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ὠγνοεῖ,
 εἰκότως δ' ἀγωνιᾷ καὶ δέδωκε ὡς ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπου,
 μὴ τι πάθῃ παρὰ προαίρεσιν. εἰ δὲ δὴ πρῶτον
 ἄρτι μετὰ τὴν τοσαύτην διατριβήν, ὅτι δὴ θεῖος
 εἶη καὶ κρείττονος ἀνθρώπου φύσεως, συνήσιν,
 τὴν τοῦτου συνιδεῖν ἄξιον αἰτίαν, ἣν αὐτὸς ὁ συγ-
 γραφεὺς δηλοῖ λέγων, " μὴ γὰρ θύσαντά τι, μηδὲ
 ἐπευξάμενον, μηδέ τι τῶν ἀπορρήτων εἰρηκότα "
 τὸ παράδοξον ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν πεπωηκότα. οὐκοῦν τὰ
 πρότερον διὰ περιέργου μηχανῆς ἐτελεῖτο τῷ
 ἀνδρί, διὸ μηδὲ καταπλήττεσθαι αὐτὴν, μηδὲ
 θαυμάζειν τὸν Δάμιν· εἰκότως δὲ νῦν τοῦτο
 πρῶτον πέποιθεν, ὡς ξένου τινὸς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παρὰ

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following remark. "Darius says that it was then for the first time that he truly understood the nature of ~~his mission~~ to wit that it was divine and super human for without offering any sacrifice and here indeed in person could he have offered one? and without a single prayer without even a word he quietly laughed at the fathers, and then inserting his leg in their faces he vomited insults? he any other person?" I should be the last to accuse his point of being a dog withed man because after being with him all his life and witnessing him work ~~himself~~ by means of certain uterine agencies he failed to regard him as in any way superior to the rest of mortal men. And now after such a display of boundless energy as the above he is still ignorant of his true character and his mission to a more noble life full of activity and that can be right well, and full of expectation in his behalf but any affliction should come upon him against his own wish and will. But I indeed it was now for the first time after having passed so long a time with him that he seemed to at he was indeed divine and superior to the rest of the human race. Then it seemed as to scrutinize the reasons which our author alleges for his being so in these words "but without any sacrifice and without a single prayer, and without uttering a single mysterious word he saw that he had wrought this miracle. It follows that the former career trials were accomplished by the help of some unknown trick and that it was as he were. Darius was not astonished at these things, but filled with wonder in them. Nature is then at now for the first time experienced these feelings because he felt that his master had accomplished

CAP.
XXXV

τὰ συνήθη διαπεπραγμένον. πρὶς τὸ δεῖχθαι δὲ τοῦ δεσμοῦ φῆσμα καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαστηρίου ἡναχώρησιν, τὰς πρὸς Δομετιανὸν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου φωνὰς παραθείμην ἄν δεσμῶν γὰρ τοι αὐτὸν παραδοθῆναι προστίξαντος βασιλέως. πάνυ γε ἠκολούθως ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος συνελογίσσατο ὡδί πως· "εἰ μὲν γόητά με ἵγῃ, πῶς δήσεις; εἰ δὲ δήσεις, πῶς γόητα εἶναι φήσεις;" ἀντικρούσει γοῦν αὐτῷ τις ὡδί πως ἐκ τούτων ὀρμώμενος· εἰ μὲν οὐ γόης, πῶς λέλυται σου τὸ σκέλος; εἰ δὲ λέλυται, πῶς οὐ γόης; καὶ εἰ τῷ ὑπομεῖναι τὸν δεσμὸν οὐ γόης, τῷ μὴ ὑπομεῖναι καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν ὁμολόγηται γόης. καὶ αὖ πάλιν, εἰ ὑπομείνας τὸ δικαστήριον οὐ γόης, τῷ δὲ διαδριῖναι τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν βασιλέα, λέγω καὶ τοὺς ἐν κύκλῳ δορυφόρους, σαφῶς ἡναπέφανται γόης. ὃ δὴ μοι δοκῶ, συνησθημένος ὁ λόγος θεραπεύει τὸ γεγονός, ὡς δὴ ἄνευ θυσιῶν καὶ ἐπαρδῶν ἀρρήτηρ τινὶ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον δυνάμει τοῦ παραδύξαι πεφηνότος.

XXXVI

CAP.
XXXVI

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν αὐθις ὁ τῆς φύσεως παραστήσεται ἔλεγχος· αὐτίκα γὰρ τιμὸς ἐπιστάντος αὐτῷ καὶ φήσαντος, "ἐφίησί σε, ὦ Ἀπολλωνία, τουτωνὶ τῶν δεσμῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ

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something which was quite unusual and contrary to his habitual performances. In reference however to the CHAP.
XXXVthe painted chains shown to Darius and to his departure from the law courts, I will quote the words when Apollonius himself addresses to Decartian. For when the monarch ordered him to be thrown into chains, Apollonius with perfect consistency, argued as follows: "If you think me a wizard, how will you bind me? And if you bind me, how can you say that I am a wizard? Surely one may invert this argument and use it against him somewhat as follows, keeping to his own promises. If you are not a wizard, then how was your leg liberated from the chains? and if it was liberated, then how are you not a wizard?" And if because he submits to the chains, he is not a wizard, then if he does not submit to them, he is a wizard by his own admission. And again if, because he is entitled to be brought to trial, he was not a wizard, he was yet clearly revealed as such when he ran off and eluded the court and retreat of the Emperor, I mean of course the bodyguard that stood round him. Now I believe that our author is aware of this, and endeavours to gloss over the fact, when he pretends that this miracle was exhibited without sacrifice or any sort of incantation by some ineffable and superhuman power.

XXXVI

Moreover we have not got to go far, before a CHAP.
XXXVfresh test of his character is supplied to us, for presently a messenger presents himself and says "O Apollonius, the Emperor releases you from these chains, and permits you to reside in the jail where

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXXV. ἑλευθέριον δεσποτήριον συγχωρεῖ οἰκεῖν," ο κρείττων ἢ ἄνθρωπος καὶ τῶν μελλόντων προγνώστης, κωφοῦ τε ξυνηῖς καὶ οὐ λαλέοντος ἀκούων,

ὑπὸ τῆς ἄγαν, ὡς εἰκός, περιχαρείας ἀποπεσὼν τῆς προγνώσεως πυνθίεται, λέγων, "τίς οὖν ὁ μετασκευάσων με ἐντεύθην;" ὁ δέ, "ἐγώ," ἔφη, "καὶ ἔπου."

XXXVII

CAP. XXXV. Εἴτα καὶ λόγον ἀπολογίας ὁ θειότατος μίλα γε πεφροντισμένως συντάττει, ἀγνοῶν, ὅτι δῆτα εἰς μάτην αὐτῷ σπουδασθήσεται ἡ γραφή. οἶεται μὲν γὰρ ἀκούσεσθαι αὐτοῦ ἀπολογουμένου βασιλέα, καὶ ὡς ἀκουσομένου γε σφόδρα πιθανῶς παρασκευάζεται τὴν ἀπολογίαν, ὁ δὲ ταύτην μὴ ἀναμείνας εἰς οὐδέαν αὐτοῦ τὴν σπουδὴν κατεστήσατο. ἄκουε δὴ οὖν καὶ περὶ τούτων, οἷά φησι ὁ ἔλεγχος· "ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ λόγος αὐτῷ συνεγρίφη τις ὡς πρὸς ὕδωρ τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἀφῆσαντι, ξυνεῖλε δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ τύραννος ἐς ἧς εἴρηκα ἐρωτήσεις, ἰναγεγρίφθω καὶ ὁ λόγος." ὅρα διό, πῶς τοῦ μέλλοντος πορρωτάτω τυγχάνων ὁ πάντα θειότατος, μετὰ πλείστης ὕσης φροντίδος ὡς πρὸς ὕδωρ τὴν ἀπολογίαν ποιησόμενος ἐσπούδαζεν.

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prisoners are not heard", whereupon Apollonius, ^{CHAP}
 who is superior to mankind and has foreknowledge ^{XXXVI}
 of what is coming, and according to the poet

"Hath understanding of the dumb and heareth him
 who speaks not"

is so overjoyed, as well he might be, at the news,
 that he suddenly drops out of his gift of foreknow-
 ledge, and asks outright "Who then will get me
 out of this place?" and the messenger replied "I
 myself, so follow me."

XXXVII

NEXT this most divine of men composed in the ^{CHAP}
 most careful of manners an harangue in defence of ^{XXXVII}
 himself, quite unaware that after all his composition
 would prove a mere waste of effort. For he
 imagines that the Emperor will listen to his defence
 of his case, and on that assumption he arranges his
 apology along extremely plausible lines, but the
 latter by refusing to wait, renders all his trouble
 useless and unnecessary. I would ask you then to
 listen to the following, for what he says is a
 refutation of himself. "But inasmuch as he had
 composed an oration which he meant to deliver in
 defence of himself by the clock, only the tyrant
 confined him to the questions which I have enumer-
 ated, I have determined to publish this oration also."
 Note then how utterly at fault this entirely divinest
 of beings was about the future, if he took so much
 trouble and care to proportion the length of his
 apology to the time allowed him by the water-
 clock.

CAP.
XXXVIII

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ διεξιτητέον καὶ τὴν εἰς μίτην αὐτῷ πεποιημένην ὑπολογίαν, ἃ, ὡς πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἐν ταύτῃ, Δομετιανῷ προσφωνῶν ὑπαυθαδίζεται λέγων, ὡς ἄρα Οὐεσπασιανὸς “σὲ μὲν βασιλεῦ ἐπαίησεν, ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ δὲ ἐγένετο.” βαβαὶ τῆς ἡλαζονείας, ἦν οὔτι γε ὁ τυχών, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ εἰ φιλόσοφος τις ἡληθῶς, καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν ὑπεραίρων ἐγεγονει φύσιν, ἐτεραπεύσατο ἂν μὴ οὐχὶ δικην ἰνναίας παρὰ τοῖς ἔμφροσιν ὑποσχών. εἶτα δὲ τῆς κατ’ αὐτὸν ὑποψίας ἑαυτὰν ἀπολυόμενος ταῦτα περὶ γοήτων φησίν. “ἀλλὰ τοὺς γοήτας ψευδοσόφους φημί, τὰ γὰρ οὐκ ὄντα εἶναι παρ’ αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἄπιστα εἶναι.” καταμιθοὶ δ’ οὖν τις ἐκ τε τῆς ὅλης πραγματείας καὶ τῶν ἐν μέρει δεδηλωμένων, πότερα ἐν θείοις καὶ φιλοσοφοῖς ἢ ἐν γοήσιν αὐτὸν κατατακτεῖν, ἐπιστήσαν οἷς τε αὐτὸς περὶ γοήτων καὶ ψευδοσοφῶν εἴρηκε καὶ οἷς δεδήλωκεν ἢ κατ’ αὐτὸν ἱστορεῖα δρῦνς τε γὰρ καὶ πτελεαὶ ἐνύρθρω καὶ θήλει φωνῇ λαλοῦσαι, καὶ τρίποδες ἀντόματοι φοιτῶντες, καὶ χιῶλκοι θερίπωντες διακονούμενοι, πίθοι τε ἄμβρων καὶ ἡνέμων καὶ σανδαράκινον ὕδωρ καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα εἰσῆπται, παρ’ οἷς ἡγεῖτο θεοὺς, οὐκ καὶ οὐκ ὀκνεὶ διδασκαλοὺς ἐπὶ γράφεσθαι, τινος ἂν εἶεν παραστατικά ἢ τῶν “τὰ οὐκ ὄντα εἶναι καὶ τὰ ὄντα

XXXVIII

But we must not omit to pass in review the defence which he so vainly composed, for it contains among many examples of the arrogance with which he addressed Descartes the following utterance, to wit when he says, as Vesputius made you Emperor, so I made him. It was a most singular and an ordinary person at whom not any real philosopher could transcend the rest of mankind could emerge in such his leading amongst without exposing himself in the eyes of sensible men to a charge of being mad. Next in trying to rid himself of the suspicion which was against him, he holds that even a single man could change things and make worlds. But I can hardly credit a false wisdom for with this the unreal is taken for the real because incredible. One may learn then from the whole treatise and from the particular epistolæ what fortune whether wrought to mock him among poets and philosophers or among wizards. We have only to observe what he himself has said about wizards and false wisdom together with what is published in his own history. For what oak trees and oaks talk in articulate and human tones and tripods move of their own accord and waters of copper serve at tables and jars are filled with showers and with winds and water of sandal and all the other things of the kind are introduced among those whom he accounted fools and also did not hesitate to render instructors of whom he availed these things characteristic except of people who can exhibit the unreal as real and the real as

CHAP.
115

CAP.
XXXVIII

ἄπιστα εἶναι" παραδεικνύντων, οὓς αὐτὸς γόητας
 ὀνομάζων, ψευδοσόφους ὑπάρχειν ἀποφαίνεται.
 ἦτοι οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ θεῖος καὶ ἐνίμετος καὶ
 θεοῖς κεχαρισμένος τὸ σοφίας ἀναδησόμενος
 βραβεῖον, αὐτοῦ Πυθαγόρου καὶ τῶν, ὅσοι μετ'
 ἐκείνου, θειότερος ἀληθῶς καὶ μακρῷ εὐδαιμονέ-
 στερος ἂν κριθείη, ἢ ἔμπυλιν ψευδοσοφίας ἄλλους
 κακοδαιμόνων ἀποίσεται τὰ πρωτεῖα.

XXXIX

CAP.
XXXIX

Πύλιν δ' ἐν τῇ γραφῇ περὶ Μοιρῶν ἰσχύς
 φιλοσοφῆσαι αὐτὸν ἐν Ἱωνίᾳ φησι, διδύσκοντι
 οὕτως ἄτρεπτα εἶναι, ἃ κλύθουσιν, ὡς εἰ καὶ
 βασιλείαν τῷ ψηφίσαιτο ἕτερον ἤδη ὑπαρχουσιν,
 οὐδ' ἂν ἰποκτείνειέ τις ταῦτον, ὥς μὴ ἀφαιρεθείη,
 ποτὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ ἄρχειν, καὶ ἂν ἀναβιβῇ ἀπαθανῶν
 ὑπὲρ τῶν δοξάντων ταῖς Μοίραις καὶ τούτοις
 ἐπιλέγει αὐταῖς συλλαβαῖν· "ὅτῳ πέπρωται γενέ-
 σθαι τεκτονικῷ, οὗτος, κἂν ἰποκοπῇ τῷ χεῖρε,
 τεκτονικὸς ἔσται, καὶ ὅτῳ νίκη ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ
 δρόμου ἄρασθαι, αὗτος δ', οὐδ' εἰ πηρωθείη τὸ
 σκέλος, ἀμαρτήσεται τῆς νίκης, καὶ ὅτῳ ἔνευσαν
 Μοῖραι τὸ ἐν τοξικῇ κρίτος, οὗτος οὐδ' εἰ ἀποβίβλοι
 τὰς ὄψεις, ἐκπεσεῖται τοῦ εὐσκόπου." τούτοις τὸν
 ἄρχοντα κολακεύων ἐπιφέρει λέγων, "τὰ δὲ τῶν

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incredible"? In himself calling the latter wizards, CHAP
XXXVIII
he shows that they are people whose wisdom is false. Is it then on the strength of these things that this divine man, endowed with all virtue and the darling of the gods, is to bind on his brow the prize of wisdom, and to be accounted truly more divine than Pythagoras and his successors, and to be considered far more blessed than he, is he not rather to be found guilty of false wisdom and carry off the first prize for wretches?

XXXIX

In the same book we are told that he had reasoned p. 41
XXX X
The dis-
cuss on
about the
Fates p.
101 m
in loan about the power of the Fates, and had taught that the threads they spin are so immutable that, if they decree a kingdom to another when already belongs to some one, then, even if that other were slain by the possessor for fear lest he should ever have it taken away by him, the latter would yet be raised from the dead and live again in fulfilment of the decrees of the Fates: and he continues in these very words. "He who is destined to become a carpenter will become one, even though his hands have been cut off, and he who has been predestined to carry off the prize for running in the Olympic games, will never fail to win, even though he break his leg, and the man to whom the Fates have decreed that he shall be an eminent archer, will not miss the mark, even though he lose his eyesight." And then by way of flattering the sovereign he adds the following "And in drawing

ΔΡ
X X X X

Βασιλέων ἔλεγον ἐς τοὺς Ἀκρισίους δῆπου ἄρῶν
καὶ τοὺς Λαίους Ἀστυάγην τε τὸν Μῆδον καὶ
πολλοὺς ἑτέρους εὖ τίθεσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα δόξαντας,
ὧν οἱ μὲν παῖδας, οἱ δὲ ἐγγόνους ἀποκτείνειν
οἰηθέντες, ἀφηρέθησαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν τὸ βασιλεύειν,
ἀναφύοντων ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐξ ἀφανοῦς ξὺν τῇ πεπρω-
μένῃ· καὶ εἰ μὲν ἰγίπῳ κολακευτικήν, εἶπον ἦν
καὶ τιδε ἐντεθυμῆσθαι, ὅτε ἰπείληψο μὲν ὑπὸ
Βιτελλίου, κατεπίμπρατο δὲ ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Διὸς περι-
τὰς ὀφρὺς τοῦ ἄστεως, ὁ δ' εὖ κείσεσθαι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ
ἔφασκεν, εἰ μὴ διαφύγοι αὐτόν—καίτοι μεριόκιον
ἱκανῶς ἦσθα, καὶ οὐπω οὗτος—ἰλλ' ὅμως, ἐπεὶ
Μισοίραις ἐδόκει ἕτερα, ὁ μὲν ἀπώλετο αὐταῖς
βουλαῖς, σὺ δὲ τὰ ἐκείνου νῦν ἔχεις· ἐπεὶ δὲ
ἁρμονίᾳ κολακευτικῇ ἄχθομαι, δοκεῖ γάρ μοι τῶν
ἐκρύθμων τε καὶ οὐκ ευφρόγγων εἶναι, τετμήσθω
μοι ἦδε ἡ νευρὰ καὶ μηδὲν ἰγού τῶν σῶν ἐντεθυμ-
ῆσθαί με." δια τούτων δὲ ὁμοῦ τον ἄνδρα κόλακα
καὶ ψεύστην καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ φιλοσυφον ὁ
ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας παρίστησι λογικῆς, τῷσαῦτα
γὰρ πρότερον εἶπων κατὰ τοῦ Διομετιανοῦ κολα-
κεύει νῦν ὁ γεννάδας, καὶ καθυποκρίνεται ὡς οὐδέν
τι κατ' αὐτοῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τῶν περὶ
Μαιρῶν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνάγκῃς ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ κεκνημένων.

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my examples from royalty, I had reference, I admit, to the Arctians and to the house of Lams and to Astyages, the Mede, and to many other monarchs who thought that their power was well established, and of whom some were supposed to have seen their own children and others their descendants, yet were deprived by them of their thrones, when they grew up and assailed forth against them out of obscurity in accordance with destiny. Well if I were inclined to flattery I should have said that I had your own history in my mind when you were blockaded by Vitellius, and the temple of Jupiter was burnt on the brow of the hill overlooking the city. And Vitellius decreed that his own fortune was assured, so long as you did not escape him although you were at the time quite a stripling and not the man you are now. And yet because the Fates had decreed otherwise he perished with all his company, while you are now in possession of his throne. However, since I abhor the forced concord of flattery for it seems to me that they are everything that is out of time and out of tune, let me at once cut this string out of my lyre, and request you to consider that on that occasion I had not your fortunes in my mind. In this passage, a treatise written ostensibly in the interest of truth draws a picture of a man who was at once a flatterer and a liar and anything rather than a philosopher, for after inveighing so bitterly on the earlier occasion against Domitian, he now flatters him, generous fellow that he is, and pretends that the doctrines he mooted in Ionia about the Fates and Necessity, so far from being directed against him rather tend in his favour.

CHAT
XXXIX

Ἀνάλαβε δῖτα τὴν ἱστορίαν, ὦ συγγραφεῦ, καὶ τῆς μέθης διανήψας τὰ πρότερόν σοι γραφέντα λαμπρᾷ καὶ φιλαλήθει διέλθε τῇ φωνῇ, μηδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος, ὥς ἐν Ἑφέσῳ διατριβὼν "ἄφιστη Δομετιανοῦ τοὺς ἄνδρας, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπάντων ἐρῶνυσε σωτηρίας, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐπιστολιμαίους ὁμίλιας οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς αὐτοῖς ᾔετο, τῶν δὲ ἑταιρῶν τοὺς σωφρονιστάτους ἄλλοτε ἄλλον ὑπολαμβάνων, "διακονον," ἔλεγε, "ποιουμαί σε ὑπορρήτου λαμπροῦ. βαδίσαι δέ σε χρὴ ἐς Ῥώμην παρὰ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ διαλεχθῆναί οἱ," καὶ ὥς "διελέγετο μὲν ὑπὲρ Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης καὶ τὸν λόγον διῆκει, ὅτι μηδὲ οἱ τύραννοι τὰ Μοιρῶν οἷοι βιάζισθαι," καὶ ὥς "χαλκῆς εἰκόνοσ ἰδρυμένης Δομετιανοῦ πρὸς τῷ Μέλῃτι, ἐπιστρέψας ἐς αὐτὴν τοὺς παρόντας, "ἀνόητε," εἶπεν, "ὥς πολλοὶ διαμαρτάνεις Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης· ὃ γὰρ μετὰ σὲ τυραννεῦσαι πέπρωται, τοῦτον καὶ εἰ ὑποκτείνεις, ἀναβιώσεται." ὁ δὲ μετὰ τοὺς τοιουτοῖς λόγους κολακεύων τὸν τύραννον, καὶ μηδὲν τι τούτων ὥς πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰρήσθαι αὐτῷ κατειρυνόμενος, πῶς οὐ μοχθηρίας ὑπείσης ἂν καὶ ἀνελευθερίας κριθείη, εἰ μὴ ἄρα ψευδογύριους τινὰς καὶ κατηγοροὺς τοῦ ἀνδρός, οὐχὶ δὲ ἡληθεῖς συγγραφέας θεῖη τις τοὺς ταῦτα μνήμη παραδεδοκότας, καὶ ποῦ τοῦ Φιλαλήθους "οἱ παιδεύσεως μὲν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἤκουτες, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς τιμώντες

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Take then your history, my author, and regaining ^{CHAR} your sobriety after your fit of drunkenness, ^{XXXIX} read out loud and in a truth-loving tone the passages you wrote on a former occasion, without ceasing anything—read how when he was staying in Ephesus he did his best to alienate his friends from Donatist and encouraged them to espouse the cause of the safety of all—and as it occurred to him that intercourse with them by letter was dangerous to them, he would take now one and now another of the most discreet of his own companions aside and say to them: “I have a most important secret business to entrust to yourselves, so you must betake yourself to Rome to such and such persons and converse with them.” And of how “he delivered a discourse on the subject of the Fates and Necessity, and argued that not even tyrants can overpower the decrees of the Fates.” And how “directing the attention of his audience to a brazen statue of Donatian which stood close by that of the Miles he said: ‘Thou fool, how much art thou mistaken in thy views of Necessity and of the Fates. For even if thou shouldst slay the man who is fated to be despot after thyself he shall come to life again!’” The man then who after holding such language as this, proceeds to flatter the tyrant and cynically pretends that none of this language was directed against him, how can we judge him other than capable of all villainy and meanness, unless indeed you assume that the authors who have handed down to us these details of him were lying fellows who meant to accuse their hero and not true historians? But in that case what becomes, to use the language of the Lover of Truth, of those who “were historians

CAP.
XXV K

συγγραφεῖς, Δύμις τε ὁ φιλόσοφος ο καὶ συνδιαιτρίψας τῷ δηλουμένῳ καὶ Φιλόστρατος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος," ὑφ' ὧν ταῦτα παρατίθεται, οὓς σαφῶς οὕτως ἐναντιολογοῦντας, κομπάζοντάς τε ὑληθῶς, καὶ τοῖς μαχομένοις παρισταμένους ψεύστας ἐναργῶς καὶ ἡπαιδεύτους καὶ γόητας, τῆς ἀληθείας τὸ φέγγος διήλασεν;

XI.

CAP.
XI.

Ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἀπαλλαγέντα τοῦ δικαστηρίου, ἐν Λεβαδείᾳ ἱστορεῖ βουλόμενον εἰς Τροφωνίου κατελθεῖν, μὴ ἐπιτρέπεσθαι πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, γόητα καὶ τούτων ἰγνουμένῳ αὐτόν. καιτοὶ ἄξιον ἀπαρῆσαι παραθέμενον τὰς ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ Φιλοστράτου λέξεις, ἐν αἷς ἀπορῶν, ὅτι δὴ γόητα αὐτὸν ὑπειληφασιν, αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα θαυμάζει, λέγων "Ἐμπεδοκλέα μὲν καὶ Πυθαγόραν καὶ Δημόκριτον τοῖς αὐτοῖς μάγικαις ὁμιληκοταῖς οὕτω ὑπήχθαι τέχνη, Ἡλιάωνά τε παρὰ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἱερέων τε καὶ προφητῶν πολλὰ παρεληφότα, καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς ἰδίοις ἱναμίξαντα λόγοις, οὐδαμῶς δόξαι τισὶ μαγεύειν, τουτοῦ δὲ οὕτω γνωσκέσθαι παρ' ἡνθρώποις, ὅτι δὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθινῆς ὁρμήτο σοφίας, μύγον δὲ αὐτὸν πάσαι τε καὶ εἰσέτι νῦν νενομίσθαι, τῷ μάγοις

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at once most highly educated and respectful of the truth, namely Demas the philosopher who even lived with the man in question and Philostratus the Atticist." For these are the authors who lay these facts before us, and they are clearly convicted by the light of truth, since they thus contradict themselves, of being vapouring braggarts and nothing else, convicted by their inconsistencies of being downright liars, men devoid of education and charlatans.

CHAP.
XXXIX

XL.

THE story proceeds to tell us that after all this, Apollonius, liberated from the court, made up his mind to proceed into the cave of Trophonius in Lebadon, but the people there would not allow him to do so, because they too regarded him as a wizard. Surely it is legitimate in us to be puzzled, when one compares what one reads at the beginning of the book of Philostratus, I mean the passage where he owns that he is puzzled at people having regarded his hero as a wizard and expresses his surprise at the circumstance, remarking witnall, that "although Empedocles and Pythagoras and Democritus had conversed with the same Magi without ever stooping to the magic art, and Plato had derived much from the priests and prophets in Egypt, and had mingled their ideas with his own discourses, without ever being held by anyone to be a magician, yet men so far had failed to recognise his hero as one inspired by the purest wisdom, but had long since accounted him a magician and still did so, because he had

CHAP.
XL

Apollonius
refused at
Lebadon

31. Βαβυλωνίων Ἰνδῶν τε Βραχμᾶσι καὶ τοῖς
 Αἰγυπτίων ἑυμοῖς αμνησκῆσαι " τί δῆτα οὖν
 εἰρησεται πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς οὕτως, τῷδε τῷ ἄνδρι
 τί τοιοῦτο ἐπεχειρεῖτο, ὥς μόνον γυῖα πάλαι
 τε καὶ εἰσέτι νῦν νομοθετοῦσθαι παρα τοὺς τηλικον-
 τοὺς ἄνδρας, οἱ τῶν αὐτῶν αὐτῷ, ὥς φησι, διδα-
 σκαίων πεπειραμένοι, διέπρεψαν μὲν καὶ καθ'
 οὗς ἐγνωρίζοντο χρόνους, καὶ εἰς τοὺς μετεπειτα
 δὲ τῆς σφῶν φιλοσοφίας νοῖδιμον καταλελοίπασι
 τὴν ἡρετήν, εἰ μὴ ἤρα πέρα τῶν προσηκουόντων
 ἐγχειρῶν τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσι φανερός καθειστήκει·
 αὐτίκα τῶν νῦν εἰσιν, οἱ περιεργους μηχανὰς τῇ
 τοῦ ἀνδρός ἀνακειμένας προσηγορία κατεληφέναι
 λέγουσιν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔμοιγε ταύταις φίλαν προσ-
 ἔχειν τὸν νοῦν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς
 τῶνδρος ἀκολουθεῖ τοῖς προτεροῖς συντήττων, οὐδὲν
 ἄληθες ἐξέφημιν εἰδέναι, τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ
 τελευτῆσαι αὐτὸν ἱστορεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἐν Λινδῷ
 παρελθόντα ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνῶν, ἄλλους δὲ
 ἐν Κρήτῃ καὶ τοσαυτὴν ἄγνοιαν τοῦ περὶ αὐτοῦ
 τέλους κατασκευδίσας βούλεται αὐτὸν ἐς οὐρανὸν
 αὐτῷ σώματι χωρῆσαι. ἐσδραμόντος γὰρ ἐς ἱερεῖν
 φησι κλεισθῆναι τὰς πυλάς καὶ τινὰ φίδην
 ἠδόκετον παρθένων ἐκπεσεῖν, τὸ δὲ ἄσμα εἶναι
 " στεῖχε, στεῖχε ἐς οὐρανόν, στεῖχε." λέγει δὲ, ὥς
 μήτε τάφῳ μήτε κενταφίῳ τοῦ ἀνδρός πῶ περιτύ-
 χουσι, καίτοι τῆς γῆς, ὅποση ἐστίν, φησας ἐπελθεῖν
 πλειστην, καὶ βούλεται αὐτῷ ἡ διανοία μηδὲ
 ὅλως θανυτοῦ τὸν ἄνδρα θυγεῖν, προτερον μὲν γὰρ

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consorted with the Magi of Babylon and the Brah-^{chans}
 mans of India, and the Naked sages of Egypt.^{xi}
 What answer then can we make to him, except this?—
 My good fellow, what was your hero up to in this
 line for him alone to have been regarded both long
 ago and now as a wizard in contrast with these great
 men, who though, as you admit, they had made
 tons of the same teachers as he, yet were
 eminent both in the age in which they flourished,
 and now frequented to posterity in their philosophy
 a gift of such excellence that its praises are still sung.
 Is such a contrast possible, unless it was wrought by
 men of good sense meddling with things that were
 unwise? There are still among our contemporaries
 those who say that they have found superstitious
 devotes dedicated in the name of this man, though
 I admit I have no wish to pay attention to them.
 However as regards his death although Philostratus ^{Death of}
 follows in his book the accounts of earlier writers, ^{Apolonius}
 he declares that he knows nothing of the truth, for he
 says that people in Ephesus related that Apollonius
 died there, while others said that he died in Laodice
 after entering the temple of Athene and others in
 Crete, and after shudding so much doubt on the
 manner of his end he yet inclines to believe that
 he went to heaven body and all. For he says that
 after he had run into the temple, the gates were
 closed and a strange hymn of maidens was heard to
 issue from the building, and the words of their song
 were "Come, come, to heaven, come." But he
 says that he had never come across any sepulchre or
 cenotaph of his hero, although he had visited the
 greater part of the whole earth, but what he would
 like us to believe is that his hero never encountered

^(Λ')
 XL ἄμφιβυλλων περὶ τοῦ τρόπου, καθ' ὃν ἐτελεύτα,
 φησὶν "εἶγε ἐτελεύτα," ὕστερον δὲ διαρρηδὴν καὶ
 εἰς οὐρανὸν αὐτὸν χωρῆσαι φασκει. ὅθεν ὡς δη
 τοιοῦτον ὄντα, καὶ κατὰ τὸ προσίμιον τῆς
 γραφῆς καὶ καθ' ὅλην τὴν γραφήν. Πυθαγόρου καὶ
 Ἰμπεδοκλέους θειότερόν φησι πρυσεληλυθῆναι
 φιλοσοφίᾳ.

X1.I

^(Δ')
 X Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐν τούτοις περιγραφομένου τοῦ
 λόγου, βραχέ' αὐτα περὶ Μοιρῶν καὶ εἰμαρμένην
 φέρε διαλάβωμεν, ὃ τι καὶ βούλοιτο δι' ὅλης αὐτῇ
 τῆς ὑποθέσεως ὁ λόγος. τὸ μὲν ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀναιρῶν,
 ἀνάγκην δὲ εἰσάγων καὶ εἰμαρμένην καὶ Μοίρας,
 διαθρούντες, ταύτη γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐντελῶς καὶ ἢ ἐν
 δόγμασι ψευδοδοξία τῶνδ' ὁρὸς διευθυνθήσεται.
 εἰ δὲ οὖν κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀληθοῦς φιλοσοφίας λόγον
 ψυχὴ πᾶσα ἀθάνατος, τὸ γὰρ ἀεικίνητον ἀθάνατον,
 τὸ δ' ἄλλο κινεῖν καὶ ὑφ' ἑτέρου κινούμενον,
 παῦλαν ἔχον κινήσεως, παῦλαν ἔχει ζῳῆς, καὶ
 αἰτία ἐλομένου, θεὸς ἀναίτιος, τίς αἰρεῖ λόγον,
 ἄκουσαν, οὐχὶ δὲ κατὰ προαίρεσιν, ἡ ψύχῃ δίκην
 σώματος ἐξωθέν ποθεν κινουμένην, καὶ ὥσπερ εἰ
 νευροσπαστουμένην ὧδε κάκεισε, τὴν ἀεικίνητον
 592

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death at all, for on a former occasion when he is CHAP
 canvassing the manner in which he died, he adds XI.
 the proviso, "If he did die." But in a later passage
 he declares in so many words that he went to
 heaven. This is why he avows, no less in the ex-
 ordium of his book than throughout it, that it was
 by reason of his being such as he was that he wooed
 philosophy in a diviner manner than Pythagoras and
 Empedocles.

XLI

ARRIVING then the limits of our discourse are CHAP
 reached in the above, I would yet, if you will allow XI.
 me, raise a few points in connexion with the Fates
 and with destiny, in order to ascertain what now lies
 work us in view, when throughout its argument it
 sets itself to deny our responsibility, and to sub-
 stitute for it necessity, and destiny and the Fates
 For in this way we shall finally and completely refute
 the tenets professed by the author and prove their
 falsity. If then, according to the views of true philo-
 sophy, every soul is immortal, for that which is perpetu-
 ally moving is immortal, whereas that which moves
 another, and is itself moved by others, in admitting
 a cessation of its own movement, admits a cessation
 of life, and if responsibility depends on personal
 choice, and God is not responsible, then what reason
 is there for concluding that the nature, which is ever
 in movement, is actuated against its will, and not
 rather in accordance with its own choice and
 decision, for otherwise it would resemble a lifeless
 body or being moved by some outside agency, and
 would be as it were a puppet pulled by strings hither

C. 21A
 XI.
 Conclusion
 A. resolution
 doctrine of
 For a more
 destructive
 of personal
 identity

I A
XI, 1

ἄγεσθαι φύσιν μηδὲν μηδαμῶς ἐξ ἰδίας ὁρμῆς καὶ
 κινήσεως ἐνεργοῦσαν, μηδὲ εἰς ἑαυτὴν τὴν τῶν
 δρωμένων ἀναφέρονσαν αἰτίαν· ταύτῃ τε μήτε
 φιλοσοφοῦσαν ἐπαινετέαν τυγχάνειν, μήτ' αὖ
 ψεκτὴν, κακίας ἔμπλεων καὶ πονηρίας, τί δῆτα
 οὖν Εὐφράτῃ λαιδορουμένος καταμεμψῇ, ὃ τᾶν, εἰ
 μὴ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐξ εἰμαρμένης ἐπὶ τὸ κέρδος
 ἐκδούε, ὡς αὐτὸς ἡξιοῖς, ὠλιγωρεῖ φιλοσοφίας, τί
 δὲ καὶ γόησιν ἐνυβρίζεις, ψευδοσόφους ὑποκαλῶν,
 ὑπὸ Μοιρῶν, ὡς ἡγῇ, καθελκομένους ἐπὶ τὸν
 κακοδαίμονα βίον; τί δὲ κακίαν ὑπὸ νόμῳ ὀνομίζεις,
 καὶ πονηρὰς τις ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐν δίκῃ κρίνεται
 παρὰ σοί, τὸν ἐξ ἀναγκῆς εἰμαρμένον ἀποπληρῶν
 ὄρον, καὶ ἔμπαινον τίνι λόγῳ Πυθαγόραν σεμνολο-
 γῶν θαυμαστὸν ἐπιγραφῇ διδασκαλον, καὶ Μοιρῶν
 παύγειον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐραστήν ὄντα φιλοσοφίας οὐκ
 ἀπολείπεις ἐπαινῶν, Φραώτης δὲ καὶ Ἰαρχας οἱ
 Ἰνδῶν φιλόσοφοι, τί μαλλον παρὰ σοὶ θεῶν
 ἀπηνέγκαντο δοξάν, μηδέν τι παιδείας ἴδιον μηδ'
 ἡρετῆς ὑπενεγκαμένοι κλέος, Νερωνος δ' ὡσαυταῖς
 καὶ Δομετιανοῦ τί οὐχὶ Μοίραι καὶ ἀναγκὴ τὴν
 ἀκόλαστον περιμπτειν ἀγερωχίαν, πάσης αἰτίας
 καὶ παντὸς ἐγκλήματος ἐλευθερῶν τοὺς ἄνδρας,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ τῷ πέπτωται, ὡς φης, δραμικῶ καὶ
 τοξικῶ καὶ τεκτονικῶ, οὕτω δὴ καὶ εἰ γοητὶ τὸν
 τρόπον ὄντι μάγῃ ἀσαφανῆσαι μαιφόνῃ τε καὶ

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and thither. The nature which ever moves itself (chap. x.)
would, on such an hypothesis, effect nothing of its
own initiative and movement, nor could it refer to
itself the responsibility of its actions. In such a
case when it renounced of truth it would surely not be
worthy of praise, nor on the other hand be blame-
worthy, because it was filled with vice and wicked-
ness? Why then I would ask you my good fellow,
do you revile Euphrates and bid fight with him if
it is not of his own initiative but by the force of
destiny that he devoted himself to gun, as you
pretend, and neglected the philosophical ideal?
And why do you insult wizards by calling them false
sophists if they are dragged down by the Fates, as
you believe to their miserable lot? And why
do you keep in your vocabulary at as such a word as
vice, when any villain is unjust commended by you,
since it is by necessity that he fulfils his destined term?
And again on what principle do you solemnly call
yourself a disciple of the wonderful teacher Pytha-
goras and insist on praising one who, instead of being
a lover of philosophy, was a mere toy in the hands
of the Fates? And as for Phraotes and Iarchas, the
philosophers of the Indians what have they done
to win from you the reputation of being gods,
unless the glory they acquired by their culture and
virtue was their own? And in the same way with
regard to Nero and Domitian, why do you not saddle
upon the Fates and on Necessity the responsibility for
their unbridled insolence, and acquit them of all
responsibility and blame? But if as you say a man
who is destined to be a runner, or an archer or a
carpenter, cannot avoid being so surely also if it has
been destined that a man should be a wizard, and,

CXXI. ^{ΧΙ.} πονηρῷ καὶ ἀκολούστῳ, πάντως που ἐξ ἀνάγκης
 τοιόσδε τις υποβήσεται τί δῆτα οὖν περινοστών
 τοῖς μὴ οἷοις τε τυχεῖν διορθώσεως ἀρετὴν προ-
 κηρύττεις; ἢ τί καταμέμφῃ τοῖς τὴν μοῖραν, ἢ ἄλλ'
 οὐ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἀτοπωτύτοις; τί δὲ καί, εἰ
 αὐτῷ σοι πέπρωτο θείῃ ὄντι τὴν φύσιν ὑπερᾶραι
 βασιλέων δόξης, εἰς διδασκαλίαν ἐφοίτας καὶ
 φιλοσοφῶν, Ἀραβίους τε καὶ Βαβυλωνίων μίγνυς
 καὶ σοφοὺς Ἰνδῶν ἐπολυπραγμόνεις, πάντως γάρ
 που, καὶ τῆς τούτων δίχα κρινώμενος, τὰ ἐκ Μοιρῶν
 ἐτελεῖτό σοι.

Τι δὲ καὶ οἷς νομίζεις θεοῖς τὰ μελιττοῦτα καὶ
 τὸν λιβανωτὸν εἰς μύτην ῥίπτεις, εὐσεβεῖν τε
 ἐπιμορφαζόμενος ἐπ' εὐχὰς τρέπεσθαι τοὺς
 ἱταίρους παρορμᾶς; αὐτὸς τε εὐχόμενος τί παρὰ
 θεῶν αἰτεῖς, ὅποτε καὶ τούτων ὁμολογεῖς τὴν
 εἰμαρμένην κρατεῖν; καὶ μὴν ἔδει τοὺς ἄλλους
 θεοὺς παραμειψάμενον, Ἀνάγκη μόνον καὶ Μοίραις
 θύειν, καὶ τοῦ Διὸς αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον τὴν εἰμαρμένην
 προτιμᾶν. οὕτω δ' ἂν σοι θεοὶ μὲν οὐκέτ' ἦν
 ἦσαν, καὶ εἰκότως, ἅτε μηδὲ ἀνθρώπους οἰοί τε
 ὠφελεῖν. ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ πέπρωτο τοὺς Ἑφesusίους
 ἀλῶναι λαιμῷ πολέτας, τί τὰναντία νομοθετῶν
 παρακρούῃ τὴν εἰμαρμένην; μᾶλλον δὲ πῶς
 ὑπερῆρας τὴν Μοῖραν, τρόπαιον ὥσπερ κατ'
 αὐτῆς ἀρήμενος, εἰ δὲ καὶ τῆς Κλωθούς ἐπὶ τῇ

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

that being his character, a magician or a murderer CHAP. XLII
and a wicked man and a reprobate come what will, he must of necessity end by being such a person. Why then do you go wandering about, preaching the virtues to those who are incapable of reform? Why do you admonish those who are the monsters they are, not of their own choice, but by predestination? And why too, if it was decreed by fate that you yourself being of a divine nature should transcend the glory of kings did you visit schools of teachers and philosophers, and trouble yourself about Armatans and about the Magi of Babylon, and the wise men of India? For in any case surely, even without your meddling communications with them the decrees of the Fates were bound to be fulfilled in your case.

And why do you vainly cast before those whom you consider to be gods your honey cake and your frankincense, and putting on the cloak of religion encourage your companions to be diligent at their prayers? And what do you yourself in your prayers ask of the gods inasmuch as you admit that they too are subject to Destiny? Nay you ought to make a clean sweep of all the other gods, and sacrifice to Necessity alone and to the Fates, and pay your respects rather to Destiny than to Zeus himself. In that case no doubt you would have no gods left, and rightly too seeing that they are not even able to help mankind. And again, if it were decreed by fate that the citizens of Ephesus should be afflicted with pestilence, why did you sanction the opposite and so try to thwart destiny? Nay, why did you dare to transcend destiny, and as it were raise a trophy over her? And again in the case of the maiden raised to life, the thread of Clotho had reached its

CAP.
XLI

κυρῇ τὸ νῆμα πέρας εἰληχει, πύθεν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς
μετὰ θάνατον ἀναδησάμενος τῷ μίτῃ τον ἄτρακτον,
ζωοποιὸς αὐτῇ παραπέφνηας.

Ἄλλ' ἴσως Μοῖραι καὶ σὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ταῦτ'
ἦγον. οὔτι πω φήσεις κατ' ἡξίαν, πολλοῦ γε καὶ
δεῖ, ὥς πρὸ τῆς εἰς τοῦτο τὸ σῶμα παρύδου τῶν
ἐν θαλάττῃ καὶ κύμασι διατριβόντων γεγοιέναι
σεαυτὸν λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης. ὥς εἰκας καὶ
τοῦτο. οὐκ οὐν θαυμῖσις οὔτε τῆς πρώτης γε-
νέσεως καὶ τροφῆς, οὔτε τῆς ἐγκυκλίου παιδείας,
οὔτε τῆς ἐν ἡκμῇ σώφρονος ἡγωγῆς. οὐτ' ἰσκή-
σεως τῆς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ, ἣν δ' ἄρα τις Μοιρῶν
ἀνύγκη καὶ εἰς Ἡστυλωνίους ἐλαύνουσα, ὠθαύ-
μενος δ' ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς Ἰνδῶν ὠμίλειν σπέρειν.
καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίωι δὲ Ἰνδοῖς οὐχ ἡ
προαιρεσις, οὐδ' ὁ φιλοσοφίας πύθος, Μοῖρα δὲ
ἦγεν ἄγχουσα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ Ἰνδοῖς καὶ τὰν Ἱέρα
κλειους στήλας, ἔφον τε καὶ ἐσπέριον Ἰσπερνοῦ.
ἀλλ' αἰσθαι καὶ αὐταῖς ἡτράκτοις εἰς μίτην ἐξε-
βιύζετο περιστρέφεσθαι. εἰ δὲ δὴ μετεληφέ-
ναι τι σοφίας αὐτὸν ἐκ τούτων εἶποι τις, Μοῖρα
καὶ τούτων αἰτία, καὶ οὐκέτ' ἂν ἐν φιλομαθέσιν ο
ἀνὴρ καταλεχθεῖν, οὐδ' ἂν εὐλόγως θαυμασθεῖν
τῆς οὐ κατὰ γνώμην, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἀνύγκην αὐτῷ
πορισθείσης φιλοσοφίας ἐν ἴσῳ δ' ἂν συγκρινό-
μενος εἴη κατ' αὐτὸν Πυθαγόρας αὐτός καὶ τι

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

limit, and that being so why did you, when she was CHAP.
X. dead, bind a fresh thread on the spindle, by coming forward yourself in the role of the saviour of her life?

But perhaps you will say the Fates drove you also on to these courses. Yet you cannot say that they did so out of respect to your merits: far from it, seeing that before you passed into this body of yours, you were yourself by your own account, a sea-faring man who spent his life upon the waves and that of necessity for even this could not have been otherwise. There is therefore nothing remarkable about your earliest birth or your upbringing or your education in the circle of arts, or in your wise self-discipline in the prime of your life or of your training in philosophy, for it was after all some necessity of the Fates that led you to the ship and you were as it were driven on to associate with the sages of India, and it was not your own will and choice, nor a love of philosophy either, but Fate that led you in her name to the Naked sages of the Egyptians, and to Cankara and to the pillars of Hercules, and it was she who forced you to wander about the eastern and western oceans and along with her spindles whirled you all round. But for one admits, as they must, that his endowment with wisdom was due to these causes, then it was destiny that was responsible for him, and we must no longer reckon your hero among those who are fond of learning, nor can we with any pretence of reason admire a philosophy which was provided, not intentionally, but by necessity, for him. And we shall have to class on one and the same level, according to him, Pythagoras himself with any pretentious and abject slave, and

CAP
XI. τερατώδες καὶ ἀπερριμμένον ἀνδράποδον, Σωκρά-
της αὐτὸς φιλοσοφίας ὑπεραποθνήσκων καὶ οἱ
τούτου θανύτου ἄξιον γραψίμενοι, Διογένης τε
καὶ τὰ Ἀθηναίων μερίκια, καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν
ὁ σοφώτατος οὐκ ἂν διαφέρει τοῦ ἀφρονεστά-
του, καὶ ὁ ἀδικώτατος τοῦ δικαιοτατου, ὃ τε
ἀκολαστότατος τοῦ σωφρονεστάτου, καὶ ὁ
δειλότερος τοῦ ἀνδρειοτάτου, εἰμαρμένης καὶ
Μαιρῶν παιγνίων τούτων ὑπάντων ἀποδεδειγμέ-
νων.

XIII

CAP
XIII. Ἄλλὰ γὰρ πρὸς ταῦτα τῆς ἀληθείας ὁ
κῆρυξ ἀναβοήσεται λέγων ὦ ἄνθρωποι, θνητὸν
καὶ ἐπίκηρον γένος, ποῖ δὴ φέρεσθε τὸν τῆς
ἄγνοιας ἄκρατον ἐμπιόντες; λήξαιτε ποτὲ καὶ
διανήψατε τῆς μέθης, καὶ διανοίας ὀρθοῖς ὄμμασι
το σεμνὸν τῆς ἀληθείας ἐνοπτρίσασθε πρόσωπον.
οὐ θέμις ἀλήθειαν πολεμεῖν ἑαυτῇ καὶ μίχεσθαι,
οὐδὲ δυοῖν ἐναντιωτάτοις μίαν ὑφισταναί καὶ
τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν. τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίας τὰ
πάντα κρατούσης θείοις νόμοις διατέτακται τὸ
πᾶν, ἀνθρώπων τε ψυχῆς ὅρος αὐτοκράτορι τε
καὶ κριτῇ, ἡγεμόνα τε καὶ κύριον αὐτὸν ἑαυτοῦ
καθίστησι, φυσικοῖς νόμοις καὶ φιλοσοφῶν δόγ-
μασιν ἐκδιδάσκων, ὥς ἄρα τῶν ὄντων τὰ μὲν
ἐστὶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν, τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῖν
μὲν, ὅσα γένοιτ' ἂν κατὰ προαίρεσίν τε καὶ πράξιν,
ἃ καὶ φύσει ἐλεύθερα ἀκώλυτα ὑπαρεμπύδιστα

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

Socrates himself, who died in behalf of philosophy CHAP.
XII
with those who accused him and clamoured for his death, Diogenes, too, with the golden youth of Athens, and, to sum up, the wisest man will not differ from the most imprudent, nor the unjustest from the justest, nor the most abandoned from the most temperate, nor the worst of cowards from the greatest of heroes, for they have all been demonstrated to be playthings of destiny and of the Fates.

XIII

However, the herald of truth will raise his voice CHAP.
XIII
against such arguments and say: O ye men mortal and perishable race, whither are you drifting, after drinking the unmixed cup of ignorance? Be done with it at last, wake up and be sober, and, raising the eyes of your intelligence, gaze upon the august countenance of truth. It is not lawful for truth to be in conflict and contradiction with herself, nor that of two pronounced opposites there should exist but one and the same ground and cause. The universe is ordered by the divine laws of the providence of God that controls all things and the peculiar nature of man's soul renders him master of himself and judge, ruler and lord of himself, and it teaches him through the laws of nature, and the tenets of philosophy, that of things which exist some are within our own control but others not, and within our control is everything which comes into being in accordance with our will and choice and action, and these are naturally free, unhindered and unimpeded. But such

ΣΛΙΓ

τυγχάνει· τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀσθενῇ δοῦλα
 πωλυτὰ ἀλλότρια, ἃ καὶ περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὰ
 ἐκτός, ἄψυχά τε ὄντα καὶ ἄλογα, καὶ πάντῃ τῆς
 ἰδίας τοῦ λογικοῦ ζώου φύσεως ἀλλοτρίαν τὴν
 ὑπόστασιν ἔχει. τῶν δ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν τὴν ἐπὶ θάτερα
 ὁρμὴν ἀρετῆς τε καὶ κακίας ἕκαστος ἐν αὐτῇ
 κεκτῆται προαιρέσει, καὶ τὸ μὲν τῶν ὕλων δεσ-
 πύζον τε καὶ ἰγερμονοῦν εὐθέως περαίνει κατὰ
 φύσιν περιπορευομενον, τῇ δ' αἰεὶ συνέπεται δίκη
 τῶν ἀπολειπομένων τοῦ θείου νομοῦ τιμωρὸς, τῷ
 δ' ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις ὁρμῶν οὐ Μοῖραν, οὐδε εἰμαρ-
 μένης, οὐδ' ἀνάγκης αἰτία αἰτία ἐλομένου, θεοῦ
 ἀνάτιος· εἰ δὴ θρασύνονται τις τῷ ἐφ' ἡμῖν
 ἀντιπολεμῶν, μὴ παρακαλυπτέσθω αὐτός· ἰσχύ-
 τητα ἀναφανδὸν διεξαγορευέτω, μὴ προνοίαν, μὴ
 θεῖον, μηδὲ τι ἄλλο πλὴν Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης
 ὁμολογῶν καὶ τὰ ἀκολουθεῖν τούτοις γυμνῇ προπ-
 καταλαγέτω κεφαλῇ, μὴ σοφον, μὴ ὑφρονα, μὴ
 δίκαιον, μὴ ἀδίκον, μὴ ἐναρτεον, μὴ φαῦλον, μὴ
 γόητα, μὴ θεῖον ἐν ἀνθρώπων γίνεσθαι φύσει, μὴ
 φιλοσοφίαν εἶναι, μὴ παιδείαν, μηδ' ὅλως τέχνην
 τινᾶ, μηδὲ ἐπιστημὴν, μὴ τινα ἄλλον τὴν φύσιν
 ἀγαθὸν ἢ πονηρὸν ἀποκαλείτω, πάντα δὲ συλλήβ-
 δην ἀνάγκη καὶ Μοιρῶν ἀτράκτοις περιδινέσθαι.
 ἄθεος δὴτα καὶ δυσσεβὴς οὗτος ἐν εὐσεβῶν καὶ
 ἐν φιλοσόφων ἀπογεγραμθῶ κριτηρίῳ· εἰ δ', ἐπι-
 καλυπτομενος ἕτερα, δοξάζειν ἐπιχειροῖ προνοίαν

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

things as are not in our control are weak and CHAP.
 servile, restrained and alien to ourselves, for ¹
 example our bodily processes and external objects
 which are both lifeless and destitute of reason,
 and in their manner of existence wholly foreign to
 the proper nature of a reasonable living creature.
 As for things which are in our control, each one of
 us possesses in the will itself alternative impulses of
 virtue and vice, and while the principle which con-
 trols the universe and governs it executes its rounds
 in direct accordance with nature, it is at the same
 time always accompanied by a justice which punishes
 infractions of the divine law—but for the motives on
 which we act the responsibility lies not with destiny
 nor fate, nor with necessity. It lies with him who
 makes the choice, and God is not to be blamed.
 If therefore anyone is so foolishly as to controvert
 the fact of our responsibility, let him be duly
 exposed, and let him openly proclaim that he is an
 atheist, seeing that he does not recognise either
 providence or God or anything else except the fates
 and necessity. And let him bare headedly enumerate
 the consequences of these doctrines, let him cease to
 call anyone wise or foolish, just or unjust, virtuous or
 vicious or chaste, let him deny that anyone is
 divine or our humanity that there is any philosophy,
 any education in a word any art of any kind, or
 science, let him not call anyone else by nature good
 or evil, but admit that everything whatever is
 whirled round in an eddy of necessity by the
 spindles of the fates. Let such a person then be
 registered as an atheist and impious man in the
 tribunal of the pious and of philosophers. And if
 anyone under the cloak of other opinions undertakes

CAP. XLII και θεούς, Μοῖραν δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ εἰμαρμένην τις ἀνακηρύττοι, μαχομένοις καὶ ἐναντίοις παριστάμενος δόγμασιν, ἐν ἄφροσι δίκην ἀνοίας παρασχὼν καταγεγράφθω. ταυτὶ μὲν οὔν ταύτη. εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐν φιλοσόφων διατριβαῖς ἀξιοῖεν ἔτι καταλέγειν τινὲς τοῦ ἀνδρα, λελέξεται, ὥς ἄρα εἰ ὑποκαθηρειαὶ τῆς ἔξωθεν λύμης, ἅτᾳρ καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῆςδε τῆς γραφῆς ἐπεισκυκλουμένης αὐτῷ σκευῆς, φθόνος πᾶς αὐτοῖς ἐκποδὼν ἂν εἴη· ὅρους δ' εἰ ἀληθείας προΐων τις ὑπὲρ φιλοσόφους ἐκθειάζειν αὐτὸν πειρῶτο, λιθοὶ ἂν αὐτῷ γόητος ἡτεχνῶς διαβολὴν ἐπεντρίβων, ὥς ταυτὶ τὰ συγγράμματα σοφιστικῶς ἰναπλάσμενα οὐδὲν πλην ἐλέγχου καὶ δεινῆς τάνδρου διαβολῆς παρὰ τοῖς νοῖν ἔχουσιν ἡμῖγε δοκεῖ περιύχειν.

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

to entertain ideas of Providence and of the gods, yet in addition to these champions the cause of Destiny and Fate, so upholding conflicting and opposed opinions, let him be classed among the senseless and condemned to pay the penalty of his folly. This taen is so. But if after this there still remain those who are disposed to register this man's name in the schools of philosophers, it shall be said that, even if they succeed in clearing him from the filth thrown by others, nay in disentangling him from the punchbeck properties in which the author of this book has wheeled him in upon the stage, we shall raise no objection to their doing so. At the same time if anyone ventures to overpass the limits of truth and tries to defy him as no other philosopher has been defied, he will at the best through unwariness, be rabbling into him the accusation of wizardry, for this work of pretentious sophistry can only serve, in my opinion, to convict him, and lay him open in the eyes of all men of sense to this terrible accusation.



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